Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics
Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY
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VOLUME VII!
LIFE AND DEATH—MULLA

NEW YORK
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Principal of Aris College, Portsmouth; author of "Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature of Jewish Mysticism," MAincomides on the Jewish Creed.

Maimonides.

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Marriage (Jewish).

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Life and Death (Japanese), Missions (Endhuist).

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Life and Death (Chinese), Light and Darkness (Chinese).

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Manicheism.

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MEGARICS.

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MONASTICISM.

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MAGIC (Iranian).

CARNPENTER (J. ESTLIN), M.A., D.Litt., D.D., D.THEOL.
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Martieneau.

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LIFE AND DEATH (Christian).

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Melanesians.

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MORMONISM.

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MIRACLE-PLAYS.

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LIGURIAN RELIGION.

Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow.

MARY.

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LIFE AND DEATH (Primitive, American), LOCUST, LOVE (Primitive, American), MAGICAL CIRCLE, MASK, MAY, METALS AND MINERALS, MIRROR.

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MAGH, MAHABAN, MAHAR, MAHJHWAR, MAH, MISHNA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TITLE/POSITION</th>
<th>UNIVERSITY/LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruickshank (William), M.A., B.D.</td>
<td>Minister of the Church of Scotland at Kinnel, Berwick; author of <em>The Bible in the Light of Antiquity</em> (1913).</td>
<td>Light and Darkness (Semitic and Egyptian).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Davids (Mrs. Rhys), M.A.</td>
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<td>Logic (Buddhist), Love (Buddhist), Moksa.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mill, James and John Stuart.</td>
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<td>Meditation.</td>
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<td>Deutsch (Gotthard), Ph.D. (Vienna)</td>
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<td>Dottin (Georges), Docteur des-Lettres</td>
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<td>Monsters (Biological).</td>
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<td>Edgell (Beatrice), M.A. (Wales), Ph.D. (Würzburg)</td>
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<td>Memory.</td>
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<td>Elbogen (Dr. I.)</td>
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<td>Messiah.</td>
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<td>Meletianism.</td>
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Magic (Jewish).

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Mammas.

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Love (Psychological and Ethical).

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Muhammadanism (in Turkey).

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HALSIO (DR. F.).
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Moral Obligation.

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Mountain-Mother.

HARTLAND (EDWIN SYDNEY), F.S.A.
President of the Folklore Society, 1899; President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1906; President of Section I (Religions of the Lower Culture) at the Oxford International Congress for the History of Religions, 1918; author of The Legend of Perseus, Primitive Paternity, Ritual and Belief.
Life-Token.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

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Muhammadanism (in China).

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LOGES,

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Luther, Lutheranism.

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Magic (Chinese).

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Mithraism.

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Madura.

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Mental Reservation.

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Kahl ibn Anas.

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Masschabah.

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Marriage (Hindu).

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MOAB.

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Malay Archipelago.
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Marriage (Slavistic).

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Metaphysics.

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Mellancholy.

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Modernism.

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MONTANISM.

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Macedonism.


Mikros.

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Light and Darkness (Primitive), Locks and Keys, Lycanthropy, Magic (Celtic), Metamorphosis, Miracles, Monsters (Ethnic), Mountains and Mountain-Gods, Mouth.

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Literature (Buddhist), Lotus (Indian), Magic (Vedic).

MACFARLANE (GEORGE R.), M.A.
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Men, The.

MAGNUS (LEONARD A.), LL.B.
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Magic (Slavistic).

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Mordvin.

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Mongols.

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Mission (Inner).

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Love (Semitic and Egyptian).

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Love (Greek), Mother of the Gods (Greek and Roman).

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Lotus (Egyptian).

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Monarchianism.

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Mulla.

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Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.
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Lifc and Death (Biological).

THURSTON (HERBERT), B.A., S.J.

Ligouri, Loreto, Loredes, Loyola.

TOZZER (ALFRED MARSTON), Ph.D., F.R.G.S.
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MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Asia).

Formerly Professor of Tibetan in University College, London; author of The Buddhism of Tibet, Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley, Llama and its Mysteries.

LOTUS (Indian in Buddhism).

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MUGGLETONIANS.

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MORAL LAW.

WOODHOUSE (WILLIAM J.), M.A.
Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, New South Wales.

MARRIAGE (Greek).
CROSS-REFERENCES

In addition to the cross-references throughout the volume, the following list of minor references may be useful:

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<th>Probable Title of Article</th>
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<th>Probable Title of Article</th>
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<td>Life, Wheel of</td>
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<td>Light, Friends of</td>
<td>Deutsch-Katholicism</td>
<td>Mazdaism</td>
<td>Zoroastrianism</td>
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<td>Animals</td>
<td>Melanchthon</td>
<td>Synergism</td>
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<td>Probabiliorism</td>
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<td>Love, Family of</td>
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<td>Heredity</td>
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<td>Church, Doctrine of the (Anglican)</td>
<td>Mendicants</td>
<td>Religious Orders (Christian)</td>
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<td>Desire</td>
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<td>Celts</td>
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<td>Water, Water-gods</td>
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<td>Animals</td>
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<td>Moirze</td>
<td>Fate (Greek and Roman)</td>
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<td>Molech, Moloch</td>
<td>Ammonites</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Moluccas</td>
<td>Indonesians, Malay Archipelago</td>
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<td>Old Catholicism</td>
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<td>Synergism</td>
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<td>Monogamy</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
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<td>Moors</td>
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<td>Morelatshiki</td>
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<td>Festivals and Fasts (Hebrew)</td>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>Israel</td>
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<td>Religious Orders (Christian)</td>
<td>Mother of God</td>
<td>Mary</td>
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<td>Maundy Thursday</td>
<td>Feet-washing</td>
<td>Mountain of the World</td>
<td>Cosmogony and Cosmology</td>
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<td>Maurists</td>
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# Lists of Abbreviations

## I. General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.H.</td>
<td>Anno Hiaeae (A.D. 622).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ak.</td>
<td>Akkadian.</td>
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<td>Amer.</td>
<td>American.</td>
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<td>Apoc.</td>
<td>Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.</td>
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<td>Apocrypha.</td>
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<td>Ar.</td>
<td>Arabic.</td>
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<td>Aramaic.</td>
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<td>Asiatic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Altes Testament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Authorized Version margin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVm</td>
<td>Authorized Version margin.</td>
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<td>B.</td>
<td>Babylonian.</td>
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<td>Can.</td>
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<td>Cf.</td>
<td>Compare.</td>
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<td>Ct.</td>
<td>Contrast.</td>
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<td>D.</td>
<td>Deuteronomist.</td>
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<td>Ed.</td>
<td>Editions or editors.</td>
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<td>Egypt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eth.</td>
<td>Ethiopic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>English Version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVV</td>
<td>English Version, Versions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>and following verse or page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff.</td>
<td>and following verses or pages.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr.</td>
<td>French.</td>
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<td>Germ.</td>
<td>German.</td>
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<td>Gr.</td>
<td>Greek.</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>Law of Holiness.</td>
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<td>Iranian.</td>
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<td>Isr.</td>
<td>Israelite.</td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Jehu.</td>
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<td>Jehovah.</td>
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<td>Jer.</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>Manuscripts.</td>
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<td>MT</td>
<td>Massoretic Text.</td>
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<td>Onk.</td>
<td>Onkelos.</td>
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<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Priestly Narrative.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pal.</td>
<td>Palestine, Palestinian.</td>
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<td>Phoenician.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr.</td>
<td>Prayer Book.</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>Redactor.</td>
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<td>Rom.</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Revised Version.</td>
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<td>RVv</td>
<td>Revised Version margin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sab.</td>
<td>Sabean.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam.</td>
<td>Samarian.</td>
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<td>Sem.</td>
<td>Semitic.</td>
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<td>Sept.</td>
<td>Septuagint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sin.</td>
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<td>Skr.</td>
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<td>Syn.</td>
<td>Symmachus.</td>
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<td>Syr.</td>
<td>Syriac.</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>(following a number) = times.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talm.</td>
<td>Talmud.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Targ.</td>
<td>Targum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theod.</td>
<td>Theodotion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>Textus Receptus, Received Text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>Translated or translation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VSS</td>
<td>Versions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulg.</td>
<td>Vulgate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Westcott and Hort's text.</td>
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## II. Books of the Bible

### Old Testament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gn</td>
<td>Genesis.</td>
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<td>Ex</td>
<td>Exodus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lv</td>
<td>Leviticus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>Numbers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dt</td>
<td>Deuteronomy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>Joshua.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>Judges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ruth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 S</td>
<td>1 Samuel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 S</td>
<td>2 Samuel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 K</td>
<td>1 Kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 K</td>
<td>2 Kings.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ch</td>
<td>1 Chronicles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Ch</td>
<td>2 Chronicles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Est</td>
<td>Esther.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>Job.</td>
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<td>Ps</td>
<td>Psalms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Proverbs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ec</td>
<td>Ecclesiastes.</td>
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### Apocrypha

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<td>1 Es</td>
<td>1 Esdras.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Es</td>
<td>2 Esdras.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tob</td>
<td>Tobit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jth</td>
<td>Judith.</td>
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### New Testament

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<thead>
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<td>Mt</td>
<td>Matthew.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mk</td>
<td>Mark.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lk</td>
<td>Luke.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jn</td>
<td>John.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ac</td>
<td>Acts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ro</td>
<td>Romans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Co</td>
<td>1 Corinthians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Co</td>
<td>2 Corinthians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal</td>
<td>Galatians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eph</td>
<td>Ephesians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Philippians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col</td>
<td>Colossians.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.  
Wis = Wisdom.  
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesi.  
Bar = Baruch.  
Three = Song of the Three.  
Wis = Wisdom.  
J = James.  
Gal = Galatians.  
Eph = Ephesians.  
Ph = Philippians.  
Col = Colossians.
<table>
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<td>PBE = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCEM = Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEFSF = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</td>
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<tr>
<td>PG = Patrologia Graeca (Migne)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PJB = Prussianische Jahrbücher</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL = Patrologia Latina (Migne)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNQ = Punjabi Notes and Queries</td>
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<tr>
<td>PR = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRE = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Hertzog-Hauck)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRB = Presbyterian and Reformed Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSE = Proceedings of the Royal Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTS = Full Text Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA = Revue Archéologique</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAnh = Revue d'Anthropologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAS = Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>RAsyr = Revue d'Assyriologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RB = Revue Biblique</td>
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<td>RB EW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology</td>
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<td>RB = Revue Critique</td>
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<td>RCh = Revue Chrétienne</td>
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<td>RDM = Revue des Deux Mondes</td>
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<tr>
<td>RE = Realencyclopädie</td>
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<td>REG = Revue des Études Grecques</td>
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<td>REG = Revue Egyptologique</td>
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<td>REJ = Revue des Études Juives</td>
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<td>REN = Revue d'Ethnographie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHL = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHI = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</td>
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<tr>
<td>RN = Revue Numismatique</td>
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<tr>
<td>RP = Records of the Past</td>
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<tr>
<td>RC = Revue Colébien</td>
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<tr>
<td>RO = Royal Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>RO = Revue de l'Épigraphie et de l'Histoire Ancienne</td>
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<tr>
<td>RS = Revue de l'Institut des Sciences Naturelles et de l’Histoire de l’Église</td>
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<tr>
<td>ES = Revue de l'Institut des Sciences Naturelles et de l’Histoire de l’Église</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTAP = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTAP = Recueil de Travaux et de Traditions Populaires</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTPh = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</td>
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<tr>
<td>KT = Recueil de Travaux</td>
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<tr>
<td>RVV = Revue des traditions populaires</td>
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<tr>
<td>RW = Revue des traditions populaires</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften</td>
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<td>SBK = Sacred Books of the Buddhists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE = Sacred Books of the East</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDB = Single Vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK = Studien und Kritiken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMA = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie</td>
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(A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT², LOT⁴, etc.)
LIFE AND DEATH (Biological).—The characteristic quality, common to plants, animals, and man, which distinguishes them from all other things, is what we call ‘life.’ It cannot be defined in terms of anything else, but what the concept implies may be illustrated; and that is the aim of this article. The word ‘life’ is often used to denote the living creature’s complete sequence of activities and experiences throughout the period during which it is alive; as when we say that an eagle has a very long, busy, and free life. It is also used as a short word for what is almost always going on in connection with living creatures—their acting upon their environment and reacting to it; and it is, of course, quite clear and useful to say that life consists of action and reaction between organism and environment. We must, indeed, be careful never to lose sight of the fact that life is a relation. But what we wish to discern is the characteristic quality of organisms, one term in the relation. It may also be noted that ‘life’ is a distinctively biological concept, and that there is always a risk in transferring it to other fields. No harm is done, perhaps, in speaking of mental, moral, social, and spiritual life; but one may beg important questions in speaking of the life of crystals. By death we mean here the cessation of an organism’s individual life, a fatal disruption of the unity of the organism. There is no confusion in using the same word for the end of the individual as such, and for the apparently irreversible process which leads to the end.

1. General characteristics of living organisms.—Many biologists have sought to sum up the characteristics of living organisms, but no formulation has won general acceptance. This doubtless means that the insignia of life have not yet been discerned either wholly or in their proper perspective. One of the clearest statements is given by Roux (VII Internat. Zoological Congress Boston, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1912, p. 430), who recognizes five ‘elementary functions’: (1) self-dissimilation; (2) self-preservation, including assimilation, growth, movement, etc.; (3) self-multiplication; (4) self-development; and (5) self-regulation in the exercise of all functions, including self-differentiation, self-adjustment, self-adaptation, and, in many organisms, distinctly recognizable psychical functions. The persistent use of the prefix self, on the part of the founder of Entwicklungsmechanik, is very interesting. Praiborn (Experimentelle Zoologie, iv.) arranges ‘the criteria of life’ in three groups—morphological, chemical, and physiological. The morphological characteristic is some measure of differentiation or heterogeneity of structure, which distinguishes even the simplest organism from a crystal. The chemical characteristic is the invariable presence of albuminoid substances in a colloidal state. The physiological characteristic is to be found in growth and in the movement of parts. Another way of stating the general characteristics of organisms will now be expounded—under three heads.

(1) Persistence of complex specific metabolism and of specific organization.—We place in the forefront the fact that the organism is typically in continual flux and yet retains its integrity. Chemical change is the rule of the world, but the
peculiarities in the case of organisms are (a) that many of the changes are very complex, having in part to do with proteins; (b) that they are specific for each kind of creature; and (c) that they are correlated in such a way that they continue and the associated structure persists. Each of these peculiarities requires explanation. (a) Many chemical changes occur in the living organism, and some of them are relatively simple, but the essential changes appear to be concerned with protod or with the breaking down of molecules. These compounds are peculiarly intricate, with a large number of atoms or atom-groups in their molecules; they diffuse very slowly and do not readily pass through membranes; they occur in a colloidal state, although some are crystallizable, e.g. hemoglobin, they are not known in a crystalloid state in the living organism; they are relatively stable bodies, yet they are continually breaking down and being built up again in the living body, partly under the direct influence of ferments or enzymes. The constructive, synthetic, up-building, winds-up processes are summed up in the term 'anabolism'; the disruptive, analytic, down-breaking, running-down processes are summed up in the term 'katabolism', both sets of processes being included in the term 'metabolism', for which we have, unfortunately, no English equivalent like the fine German word Stoffwechsel, 'change of stuff.'

(6) It is a noteworthy fact that each kind of organism, so far as we know, has its specific metabolism, but not this one. This may be illustrated by the difference in the analogous chemical products of related species. There is chemical specificity in the milk of nearly related animals and in the grudgingly related dining. It has become possible of recent years to make absolutely pure, within given limits, of the kind of animal to which a blood-stain is due—e.g., whether horse or ass. The fact that there are people who cannot eat certain kinds of food—e.g., eggs, milk, oysters, crabs—without more or less serious symptoms is an illustration of specificity which is actually individual. It looks as if a man is individual not only to his fingerprint, but to his chemical molecules. We come back to what was said of old: 'All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds' (1 Co 15:45).

(c) In the ordinary chemical changes of the inorganic world, as in the weathering of rocks into soil, one substance changes into another. The same sort of thing goes on in the living body, but the characteristic feature is a balancing of accounts so that the specific activity continues. We lay emphasis on this characteristic since it seems fundamental—the capacity of continuing in spite of change, of continuing, indeed, through change. An organism was not worthy of the name until it showed, for a short time at least, not merely activity, but persistent activity, and not persistent activity alone, but persistence in a steady activity. It is the fundamental maintenance of the specific chemical activity of each cell and of the correlated invisible structure or organization. It is an extraordinary fact that physiology is primarily an activity of the nervous system; it may be restored after the destruction of the nerve-cells and fibres on which the activity previously depended—a fact all the more remarkable since in higher animals there is no regeneration of nerve-cells. But not less important is the manner in which a unicellular organism can spend its substance and yet, as it were, have it, because of the fundamental capacity for self-renewal.

To what has just been said several saving clauses must be added and qualified. (a) The organism is no exception to the law of the conservation of energy. In doing work and even in mere living it expends energy and suffers wear and tear. If it captures more energy and has time for rest and repairs. But its chemical activities are so correlated that it remains for a considerable time a going concern. Fatigue, senescence, and death show that its fundamental capacity for self-maintenance is not perfect. (b) A particular chemical reaction that takes place in an organism may sometimes be repeated in artificial isolation, and, when this can be done, it is plain that there is nothing characteristically vital about it. It is the same in the eagle as in the test-tube. But in the living organism it is a link in a concatenated series which makes for self-repair and continuance. The riddle of life is that of the burning bush—'ne cames consumebatur.' (c) If a living organism were to be minced up quickly, no change of chemical composition would need a little time. But what exhibition would there be of the alleged fundamental characteristic of self-repair? It may be answered that the minced-up organism would be dead, whereas we are dealing at present with living organisms. Or it may be more shrewdly pointed out that the living units of the body are adapted to chemical self-repair in particular conditions—e.g., an environment of other cells, which have been supplied by the organism. But perhaps the most instructive answer is the experimental one, that, if a sponge be minced up and forced through a cloth filter, little drops of the deposit, placed in appropriate vessels, will at once proceed to build themselves up into new sponges. (d) It has to be admitted that the criterion of life to which we are giving prominence is relative. Some organisms very much go for a hundred years, and some for only a hundred days, and some for only a hundred hours—the question rises as to the limit. Among the primitive organisms may there not have been some which lived only for a hundred days, or for a hundred hours, and were, low then would these hypothetical creatures have differed from the pill of potassium which flares itself out, rushing over the surface of the basin of water on which it has been thrown? The answer must be that an organism did not begin to be until alongside of disruptive processes associated with protod substances there were also correlated constructive processes, making for repair and self-maintenance.

(2) Growth, reproduction, and development.— When an inorganic thing is affected by an external influence inducing chemical change, the result is apt to be destructive. It changes into something else—the bar of iron into rust, and the barrel of gunpowder mostly into gas. The organism's response to stimuli—in most cases a more accurate phrasing than 'reactions to external forces'—also involve disruptions, but these are not destructive. As we have seen, they are correlated with self-maintaining processes. Now we can conceive of an organism which is balanced in its account from hour to hour, but never had much margin. There are such organisms which live, to use a homely expression, from hand to mouth. They are viable, going on; and yet at the same time are not productive, are not making a crucial addition to the base of capital. It is plain that organisms could not have gone very far on such dangerous lines. They could not have survived any crisis. There is
obvious advantage, therefore, in storing energy in potential form, and this accumulation of reserves is fundamental to all organisms—especially of plants. As regards income and output of energy, an organism is far and away more efficient than any engine that has yet been invented. The organism can make its income go further and for a longer time, and turn the energy that can be used later on.

J. Joly ("The Abundance of Life," Scient. Proc. Roy. Soc. Dublin, vii. [1891] 55-90) expressed the dynamic contrast long ago when he said that, whereas the transfer of energy into an inanimate material system was attended with effects conducive to dissipation and retardation to further transfer, the transfer of energy into an animate material system is attended with effects retardative of dissipation and conducive to further transfer. This seems to lead on to the criterion of growth. A surplus of income over expenditure is the primal condition of organic growth, and in this respect plants are pre-eminent, since they accumulate such rich reserves (potential energy of chemical substances) and are so very economical in the getting of them. It must not be forgotten that the plant worker that has made it possible for animals to dispense, relatively speaking, with intra-organismal stores. In the art 'growing' it has been pointed out that the growth of living creatures, as contrasted with that of crystals, is at the expense of materials different from those which compose the organism; that it implies active assimilation, not passive accretion; and that it is, in quite a new sense, a regulated process. An organism does not grow like a snowball rolling down a hill. To sum up, the power of sustained metabolism—of balancing accounts with some margin to go on with—makes growth possible.

But growth naturally leads on to multiplication or reproduction. As Haeckel clearly pointed out in his Generelle Morphologie (Berlin, 1866), reproduction is discontinuous growth. It seems impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line between a fragmentation which separates off overgrowths and the more specialized modes of reproduction. We seem to be dealing with a basic organic life when we see the breakage of a protoplasmic mass which has grown too large to be a unity. It was long ago pointed out by Herbert Spencer and others that a living unit would tend to divide when the increase of volume outran—as it soon must if it continues—the increase of surface. In a sphere, for instance, the volume must increase as the cube, and the surface only as the square, of the radius. Thus, if it grew beyond a certain size, a spherical organism would get into serious functional difficulties, the volume of material to be kept alive having increased out of proportion to the surface by which it is kept alive. By division into two units, the disproportionate is counteracted. It has also been suggested that there is a certain normal proportion between the nucleus and the cell-substance or cytoplasm, which is disturbed if the cytoplasm increases beyond a certain limit. A non-nucleated piece of cytoplasm cut off from a large protozoan can move about for a time, but it cannot feed nor grow. There are facts which indicate that the nucleus is a trophic and respiratory centre of the cell. It may be then that the division of a cell is a means of restoring the balance between volume and surface, and not merely of reproduction. The balance may also be restored by the emission of processes from the surface of the cell, as in rhizoid protozoa (Amoebe, Foraminifera, Radiolaria, etc.); or by a multiplication of nuclei, as has been suggested as a theory of the advantage of cell-division, not of the immediate physiological reason for its occurrence. As to this, it has been mooted that a period of growth is followed automatically by a process of 'autolysis,' then 'replication' of energy to sink into unavailable form. It can turn potential energy into useful form in a way that engines cannot do without enormous waste. More than this, the growth process may be brought about by what we may be used later on.

In most cases a cell divides into two precisely similar daughter cells; this is associated with an exceedingly complicated division of the nucleus, which secures that each of the two daughter cells gets a very accurate half of each part of the original nucleus. But the difficulty of the problem is increased by the fact that a cell may also divide into two dissimilar halves, one with and another without one or more of the constituent parts of the original nucleus. In some cases among higher animals the division may be apparently less complicated than in the usual 'indirect' method. The cell contracts in a dumb-bell-like fashion, and the nucleus expands. In the case of organisms there is a fragmentation of the unit. It is probable that the complicated methods of cell-division which are now the rules are the results of a long process of evolution, and that the fundamental characteristic is simply division. It is not case to decide that the power of spontaneous division is one of the most distinctive features of living units.

A consideration of effective activity led us to the idea of self-repair and the accumulation of reserves; this led us to the fact of growth; and this to multiplication, which takes place by division. It is characteristic of organisms to multiply, and, since what is separated off is in many cases a fragment, a group of cells, or a single cell, we are brought face to face with development—the power that a part has of growing and differentiating until it has literally replaced the whole organism; and the expression of the latent possibilities of an imperfect organism in an appropriate environment. It is the making visible of the intrinsically manifoldness of some primordium—a bud, a fragment, a sample, or a germ-cell—and, as it appears to us, it should be thought of as a continuation (under special circumstances and with a special result, namely, a new individual) of the restitution and regrowth which goes on always to make good the body's wear and tear. Every gradation between the two may be illustrated by the phenomena of regeneration, which is exhibited when a lost part is replaced. It is a noteworthy fact that a starfish, which practises autotomy or self-amputation in the spams of capture and finds safety in its reflex device (for it often escapes and can regrow at leisure what it has lost), may have (e.g., Acanthiella guietinghian) habitually multiply in this rather expensive fashion.

Bateson quotes Sir Michael Foster's definition: "A living thing is a vortex of molecular and nucleic changes, and points out that 'the living vortex' differs from all others in the fact that it can divide or multiply without change, though which again matter continually swirls. We may perhaps take the parallel a stage further. A simple vortex, like a smoke ring, if projected in a suitable way will form two rings. If each loop as it is formed could grow and then twist again to form more rings, the same process would be much the same as one of the essential features of living things" (op. cit. p. 46).

It has to be added, as we have seen, that the living
vortex' is the seat of complex and specific chemical changes which are correlated in such a way that the creature lasts. But more has to be added still, even beyond the equation of experience, and variability—The common idea in this grouping is self-expression. (a) Life is a kind of activity, reaching a climax in behaviour, i.e., in an organically determined, coordinated series of acts which may be indefinitely repeated. Behaviour concerns the organism as a whole, as in locomotion, or a considerable part of an organism, and differs from a reflex action in being a concatenation. It has different modes (instinctive, reflex, instinctive behaviour, intelligent behaviour), but there is the common feature of correlation, of purposiveness (not necessarily purposefulness), and, usually, of internal architecture. An ameba appears to go on the hunt, follows another, catches it, loses it, re-captures it, we must say either 'behaviour' or 'magic.' We need not suppose that the ameba knows what it is about, but it is very difficult not to say that its awareness is accompanied by some analogy of 'will.' In the case of instinctive behaviour there is often an extraordinary adher- ence to routine, and this may be itself, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred what is done is effective, and the individuality probably finds expression in ways that escape us. (b) The effectiveness which characterizes behaviour of organisms (i.e., of those that show behaviour at all) as we have studied seems to depend on profiting by experience in the individual lifetime, or on the results of successful ancestral experiments, or, usually, on both. It appears to us to be one of the inmost features of life that the organism registers its experiments or the results of its experiences. We must here include under the term 'organism' the germ-cell, which naturally may exist for a long time in the potenita, and may be said to make experiments in internal organization just as much as, in reality far more than, a protozoon which makes experiments in its skin of perception or in its behaviour. As W. K. Clifford said, 'It is the peculiarity of living things not merely that they change under the influence of surrounding circumstances, but that any change which takes place in them is not lost, but retained, and as it were built into the organism to serve as the fountain of all the variations.' (Lectures and Essays, London, 1879, p. 83.)

As Bergson puts it, 'Its past, in its entirety, is prolonged into its present, and abides there, actual and acting.' (Creative Evolution, p. 16.)

As we have seen, from the physiognomic point of view, in discussing the behaviour of the starfish, the precise way each part shall act under the influence of the stimulus is not determined by the past history of that part, but by the stimulus that has acted upon it, by the reactions which it has given, by the results which these reactions have produced (as well as by the present relations of this part to other parts, and by the immediate effects of its present action). We know only so far as we know anything in physiology that the history of an organism does modify it and its actions in ways not yet thoroughly understood, doubtless, yet none the less real. (Behavior of the Starfish, University of California Publications in Zoology, iv. [1907], 177.)

(e) The organism's variability or power of producing some distinctively new changes must, in the present state of science, be taken as 'given.' The only capacity it that we know of is our own power of mental experiment—the secret of the artist, the thinker, the inventor. It may be that 'modifications' wrought on the body by some peculiarity of nurture, environment, or habit are to be distinguished from germinal variations. They are important individually, but they are not those variations which are plainly interpretable as new arrangements of previously expressed ancestral characters, there is no theoretical difficulty. What is that modification, how long, is the origin of something definitely novel, especially when it is reason to believe that it originates brusquely. We can hardly do more at present than assume that the organism is essentially creative. Just as the intact organism, for instance, in the correlation of experiments, so the germ-cell, which is no ordinary cell but an implicit organism, a condensed individuality, may perhaps make experiments in self-expression, which we call variations or mutations. This completes our statement of the general characteristics of organisms.

2. Death.—It is convenient to distinguish, from a biological point of view, three different kinds of death. (1) There is violent death, when some external influence shatters, or dissolves, or beheads the organization. A wound, a sudden change of temperature, or being swallowed by another organism may involve the irrecoverable cessation of bodily life. For many animals in open nature the end seems to be always violent. (2) There is death from disease, when some micro-organism, establishing itself in the body, multiplies exceedingly and produces fatal effects. The intruders cause lesions, or destroy important elements, or produce fatal toxins, and so on. In the wild nature it is life which often, when man effects disarrangements in distribution, so that organisms are exposed to the attack of new microbes. (3) There is natural death, which results from the laws of the development of vital processes. Hard-worked organs, such as the heart, may suffer from the imperfect recuperation of their wear and tear. The highly specialized cells of the elephant, crustacea, and certain protozoa may have in life their power of dividing and therefore of replacement; thus in higher animals there is not after birth any increase in the number of nerve-cells. In various ways there arises within the body an accumulation of physiological arraers which eventually implies physiological insolvency. Especially does the process of reproduction strain the resources of the organism.

In spite of these facts, Weismann's doctrine of the immortality of the protozoon remains acceptable. Not that these unicellular organisms live any charmed life; they are continually being killed off by accidents, and the mortality of them is occasionally used by microbes; but it seems to be the case that in their normal conditions (when waste-products do not accumulate in the surrounding medium and when there is opportunity for conjugation) many of them at least are not subject to natural death in the same degree as higher animals are. Some of them, indeed, may be exempt from natural death altogether. The reasons for this immunity are to be found in the relative simplicity of structure, for unicellular organisms can continuously and completely make good their wear and tear, and in the relatively simple modes of multiplication, which do not involve the nemesis so frequent in higher organisms. Though it is not improbable that very simple multicellular organisms, such as the freshwater hydra, may enjoy some measure of immunity from natural death, there is doubtless general truth in the epigram that, in the course of evolution, natural death was the price paid for a body. The relative immunity of unicellular organisms strongly suggests that natural death is not to be regarded simply as an intrinsic necessity—the fate of all life.

Life was described by Bichat as 'the sum of the functions which resist death,' but this is a one-sided emphasis. For, while it is characteristic of
organisms that they are continually at work in securing the persistence of their specific organization, it is equally characteristic that they spend themselves in securing the continuance of their kind. Instead of seeking to avoid death, to speak metaphorically, they orient themselves as the fly does the fly, facing themselves in producing and providing for the next generation. Their reproductive activities put an end to their self-preservation. Natural death is not to be thought of as the watching the sun down a clock. It is more than an individual physiological problem; it is adjusted in reference to the welfare of the species. As has been noted in art, age, there is good reason for regarding the occurrence of death at a particular time as adaptive. Constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of a year have been selected in certain conditions; constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of ten years have been selected in others. It is certain, as Weismann says, that ‘worn-out individuals are not only valueless to the species, but they are even harmful’ (Essays on Heredity, etc. i. 24). As Goethe put it, ‘Death is Nature’s expert contrivance to get plenty of life’ (‘Aphorisms on Nature’, tr. Huxley, in Nature, i. (1869) 1).

3. Organism and mechanism.—The task of mechanical description is to describe completely and in the simplest manner the motions which take place in nature (Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik, Leipzig, 1876, i. 1). A mechanical description is distinct from such a way of thinking that it enables us to formulate a process as a continuous series of necessarily concatenated mechanical operations like those of an automatic machine or of a volcano. We shall use the term ‘mechanical’ throughout as meaning a matter-and-motion description, and as equivalent to physico-chemical, for chemical and physical descriptions are (ideally at least) reducible to mechanical terms. The question before us is how far mechanical description can be usefully employed in the study of organisms. The question is twofold: (1) how far can we describe characteristically vital events in terms of those which have been called their inorganic aspect. Chemically regarded, living involves a complex of reactions in or associated with the material which we call ‘protoplasm’, and some of these can be reproduced apart from the organism altogether. Some vital processes illustrate J. H. van’t Hoff’s rule of chemical reactions, for they increase in rapidity as the temperature increases. This may serve as an instance of the solidarity of the organism’s chemical processes with those that occur in things in general, but it must be carefully noticed that we cannot assert that the movements of molecules in a living organism are the same as those in an inorganic system. In his posthumously published Prinzipien der Mechanik (Leipzig, 1894) H. Hertz emphasized the need of caution.

It is certainly a justified caution with which we confine the realm of mechanics expressly to inanimate nature and leave the question open how far its laws can be extended beyond. In technical language we would thus say that we maintain that the internal phenomena of animal beings obey the same laws as do the physical laws (expressed by E. T. T. Wentzel, Handbuch der physikalischen Optik, 6th ed. Leipzig, 1912) 354).

It is plain that many physical processes occur in the body which are comparable to those observ-

able in the inorganic domain—processes of diffusion, capillarity, surface-tension, and so on. And, just as the living body illustrates conservation of matter, so is it with the conservation of energy. One mode may change into another mode, but no energy can be produced out of nothing. Careful experiments with a calorimeter show that it is possible to square accounts of the energy-income and energy-expenditure of an organism, the slight discrepancies which are sometimes observed being reasonably explained as due to the inevitable imperfections of instruments and observations. It should be noticed, however, that, according to some physicists, the second Law of thermodynamics does not apply to living creatures. While no fact securely established in regard to organisms has been shown to be inconsistent with the generalizations of chemistry and physics, and while many results of importance, both theoretically and practically, have rewarded the application of chemico-physical methods to living creatures, we believe it to be quite inaccurate to say that mechanical concepts and formula suffice for more than a partial and abstract description of the life of organisms. We shall proceed to test this.

(a) Everyday functions.—As things stand at present, the mechanical description of all the chemical description of any total vital operation, even of everyday functions such as the interchange of gases in the lungs, the passage of digested food from the alimentary canal into the blood-vessels, or the filtering processes that go on in the kidneys.

The co-ordination involved in the discharge of a function and the correlation of one function with another are characteristic physiological facts which are not made clearer when the chemistry or physics of an artificially isolated corner is worked out. Even in such a familiar occurrence as a response to a stimulus, there is in reality an experimental system, and the question is how far the process can be understood as one of physical and chemical reaction... in the case of physiological stimulus and response or real quantitative relation can be traced between the supposed physical or chemical cause, and its effect. When we attempt to trace a connection we are lost in an infinite mass of complex conditions, out of which the response emerges (J. S. Haldane, Mechanism, Life, and Personality, p. 34).

A very familiar fact is that the same stimulus applied to two apparently similar animals, or to the same animal at different times, evokes different answers. We can indeed give reasons for this, but the reason is often no more than that.

(b) Behaviour.—When we think of a collie dog controlling a flock of sheep according to instructions, or of a swallow returning from its winter in the south to its nest in the north, or of the spider spinning a typical web with webby legs, or the skeleton of the larval freshwater mussel fastening itself to the sand, or of the larval louse slaking its hunger by which alone it can successfully continue its life, or of the amoeba capturing its prey, losing it, following it, re-capturing it, and so on, we are face to face with animal behavior which transcends mechanical description. The behaviour is made up of a succession of acts which are correlated in a particular sequence. This is true even in instances where we know nothing of the associated mental states. In speaking of the amoeba’s behaviour implies chemical and physical events, but the bond of union eludes the chemist and physicist. There are elements of spontaneity, plasticity, adaptiveness, and purposiveness that are foreign to mechanical reasoning. We can make nothing of behaviour without new concepts, notably that of the organism as an historical being that trades with time.

(c) Development.—The condensation of the inheritance into microscopic germ-cells, the combination of two inheritances in fertilization, the subsequent division of the inheritance involved in the
segmentation of the ovum, the process of differentiation which from the apparently simple the obviously complex emerges, the embryo's power of righting itself when the building materials of its edifice are artificially disarranged, the way in which different parts are correlated and, as it were, conspire together towards some future result—these and many other facts lead towards a convincing impression that development far transcends mechanism.

In Science and Philosophy of the Organism (1905), Driesch has with unexampled thoroughness and subtlety tested the possibilities of mechanical description with particular reference to the facts of development, and reached a conclusion of the first importance.

'No kind of causality based upon the combinations of single physical or chemical acts can account for organic individual development; this development is not to be explained by any hypothesis about configuration of physical and chemical agents.

...In short, the description of development is beyond mechanics, what, it may be asked, is the role of the young and vigorous science of "developmental mechanics" (Entwicklungsmechanik) so well represented by the theory of mutants? Has it been shown that the developing embryo, as a material system, does of course exhibit chemical and physical processes which may be analyzed apart and treated simply as great molecules acting and reacting upon one another? But it is demonstrable that even in such cases, such as the tides, is not the ideal formulation even within the domain of the world of chemistry. And if it be adequate to the life of the earth, it will be still less adequate within the outermost limits of organic reality. The question then arises, can it be answered that this is not a biologist's business. All will admit that mechanical formulation works very usefully within the inorganic domain; but the biologist finds that they do not apply to the problems of his particular science. He therefore seeks for formule of his own. (b) It is often pointed out that, although we cannot at present translate vital happenings, such as the division of the cell, into terms of any known mechanics, we may be able to do so in the course of time. It may be, for instance, that the concepts of chemistry and physics will undergo profound modification in centuries to come, and no one can say that they have not changed in the past.

The practical answer to this question is that we can speak only of the chemistry and physics that we know. (c) It is held by some that it is constantly true of the world that it is not possible to explain the fundamental characteristics of an organism as an entity in terms of any known mechanics, that the facts of nature are not reducible to what is known, and that the facts of the organism are not reducible to what is known. If, on the other hand, we should attempt to explain the facts of the organism in terms of what we know, we should find that it is not possible to do so. The organism is not a chemical system, and cannot be reduced to a chemical system. The organism is not a mechanical system, and cannot be reduced to a mechanical system. The organism is not a biological system, and cannot be reduced to a biological system.

4. The uniqueness of life.—The negative conclusion is arrived at with that mechanical or physical-chemical concepts do not suffice for answering biological questions. This is because organisms show a certain apartness or uniqueness, the various theories of which may be roughly designated vitalistic. Before considering these, however, we must refer, practically rather than philosophically, to three preliminary points. (a) It is maintained by some that mechanical formulation, legitimate and useful for certain purposes, appallingly oversimplifies the development of things as they happen. But in certain cases, such as the tides, is not the ideal formulation even within the domain of the world of chemistry. And if it be adequate to the life of the earth, it will be still less adequate within the outermost limits of organic reality. The question then arises, can it be answered that this is not a biologist's business. All will admit that mechanical formulation works very usefully within the inorganic domain; but the biologist finds that they do not apply to the problems of his particular science. He therefore seeks for formule of his own. (b) It is often pointed out that, although we cannot at present translate vital happenings, such as the division of the cell, into terms of any known mechanics, we may be able to do so in the course of time. It may be, for instance, that the concepts of chemistry and physics will undergo profound modification in centuries to come, and no one can say that they have not changed in the past.

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peculiar to the complex nature of the molecule of protoplasm, on which each exhibits an uncuing alternation of unipolar and bipolar states, the latter resulting in cell-division.

The attraction and repulsion observed between cell and cell are manifestations of the supposed form of energy—but probably not by any means all; just as attraction and repulsion, and manifestations of the same form of energy under certain conditions, but are not by any means the only manifestations. In nerve injuries we may, for instance, really be experiencing manifestations in another way of the same form of energy which under other conditions produces the attractions and repulsions. Lovelace, on the dividing cells, and the actual cell-division. . . By this supposed form of energy, I do not mean a mysterious metaphysical influence, but a form of energy comparable to gravity, electricity, or magnetism—in some respects similar to these but in other respects differing from each, and a form which could be investigated by the ordinary methods of mensuration and computation available to the mathematician (Abastamen, Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik, xix. 601).

(3) The third view is thoroughgoing vitalism, best represented by the work of Driesch. Its postulate is a non-perceptual vital agency or entelechy, which does not occur in not-living things, but is associated with organisms, where it operates in certain cases, directing the chemico-physical processes so that their results are different from what they would have been apart from its intervention. The postulated entelechy is not the outcome of more complex physical conditions, 'not a new elemental consequence of some constellation'; it introduces, 'in a certain stage, introducing some occasional indeterminism; it is supposed to be a genuine agent, counting for something, 'at work,' as Driesch says. On this view, there is a deep-lying 'unreasonableness,' a difference in principle—between the flight of a bird and the movement of a comet, and biology is by hypothesis autonomous. We cannot enter into a discussion of Driesch's ingenious and consistently worked-out theory of entelechy, or of the three proofs which he gives of the autonomy of life. The first is based on a study of morphogenesis, i.e. of the way in which an organism realizes in development its specific form and structure; the second is based on a study of inheritance; the third is based on a study of the movements of organisms. That they show the impossibility of 'a machine-theory of life' will be admitted by many who are not disposed to postulate an organismal entity. According to Driesch, entelechy is 'an autonomous agent,' 'of a non-spatial nature,' without a seat or localization. It is not possessed, it is not energized; it is not in consistent in its agency with the laws of energy; its function is to suspend and to set free, in a regulatory manner, pre-existing faculties of inheritance.

'There is something in the organism's behavior—in the widest sense of the word—which is opposed to an inorganic reasoning-and which shows that the living organism is more than a sum or an aggregate of its parts. . . This something we call entelechy' (op. cit. p. 368).

In illustration of the criticisms of Driesch's position, reference may be made to three points.

(a) It is argued that, if entelechy is effective, it implies a breach in the fundamental law of the conservation of energy. But it is like begging the question to press this difficulty, and Poynting has suggested, in discussing the analogous case of the operation of our will, that a merely deflecting force does not destroy, though it changes configuration. The will may introduce a constraint which guides molecules to glide past one another instead of clashing—a slight change of spin which may be caused by the slight opposite spin put on the rest of the body.

The will may act as a guiding power changing the direction of motion of molecules in the brain, and we may imagine such a guiding power without having to modify our ideas of the constancy of matter or the constancy of motion, or even the constancy of energy itself (p. 745).

The same may apply to the action of entelechy and attention must be directed to the care that Driesch has taken to state his doctrine so that it does not violate the principle of the conservation of energy. He supposes entelechy to cause actions which are possible 'with such compounds as are present, and which would happen without entelechy. And entelechy may regulate this suspending of the action of the laws. It may be noted, however, that even in another, suspending and permitting possible becoming whenever required for its purposes' (op. cit. ii. 180). Entelechy stops a movement, and the energy of the large systems set up in another, permitting that on the movement may continue, the potential energy being reconverted into kinetic. Thus no violence is done to the principle.

(b) A recurrent argument in Driesch's exposition of his doctrine of vitalism is that no machine-like arrangement can possibly account for the facts of development, inheritance, or behaviour. A machine is defined as 'a given specific combination of specific chemical and physical agents,' and Driesch seeks to reduce to absurdity the theory that any machine could do what is required. His argument is very convincing, and of course we can argue only that it implicates that we know and imaginative combinations or improvements of these, but it seems open to the critic to reply that no one knows all possible machines, and to urge that probably the intractability of a machine does not prove the necessity of postulating an entelechy. Concerning the ingenious machines invented by man, it may not be needless to remind ourselves that the introduction into the present argument is apt to be fallacious. For they, like the wonderful achievements of the synthetic chemists, are the fruits of intelligence, not fair samples of the inorganic world. An ingenious machine, like a type-writing machine, is an elaborated tool, an extended hand, and has inside of it, so to speak, a human thought. It is because of these qualities that it is a little like an organism. Practically, however, most of those who have a near acquaintance with living creatures will agree with Driesch that their behaviour is not very like the working of machines. For certain purposes it is useful to think of the organism as an engine, but we must recognize that it is a self-stoking, self-repairing, self-perceiving, self-adjusting, self-increasing, self-reproducing engine.

(c) Another objection is stated by J. S. Haldane:

In order to 'guide' effectually the excessively complex physical and chemical phenomena occurring in living material and at many different parts of a complex organism, a guiding principle would apparently require to possess a superhuman knowledge of these processes. Yet the vital principle is assumed to act unconsciously. The very nature of the vitalistic assumption is thus totally unintelligible (op. cit. p. 28).

Similarly Jennings urges the difficulty of understanding how entelechy gives its power of coordinating and individualizing:

'To accept the Entelechy unanalysed and unexplained is merely to give up the problem as insoluble'; and he tries to work out a development of entelechies, 'then surely we are merely transferring our problem from the complex that we actually find in time and space to a sort of manufactured copy of this problem, presenting the same difficulties, with the additional ones, that it is impalpable and it is impalpable, and it deals with all. The entelechy simply adds to our difficulties' ('Behavior of the Starfish,' loc. cit. p. 185).

Jennings also points out that, according to Driesch, two living systems absolutely identical in every physico-chemical respect may behave differently under absolutely identical conditions. This depends upon whether, and in what respect, the entelechy takes part in the process. This leads to a very serious admission of experimental indeterminism, which for some minds is enough to condemn the whole argument. It should be stated that Driesch has replied vigorously to the criticisms brought against his position, and that he never for a moment pretended that we could understand
LIFE AND DEATH (Biological)

'even in the slightest degree' how entelechy is able to discharge its function as regulator and integrator.

Differing from Driesch's position, according to which entelechy is not identical with the psychical, is the animism so ably expounded by McDougall in his Body and Mind. In their writings, Panpsychism of Paulsen and the very distinctive position of Bergson should also be considered.

According to McDougall, 'not only conscious thinking, but also affective, pain, desire, and volition, are directly psycophysiological processes. All alike are conditioned and governed by psychical dimensions in which has been built up in the course of the experience of the race' (p. 379).

5. Provisional conclusion.—Looking backwards, we cannot admit that the study of animal behaviour, for instance, is not more than the study of very subtle problems in chemistry and physics; we do not find evidence to justify the view that organisms exhibit a new kind of physical energy in a line with electricity and the life; and we do not share the opinion of many recognized authorities that the facts cannot be met except by a theory of entelechy. What then is our position? It is that of 'descriptive' or 'methodological' vitalism.

Making no pronouncement whatsoever in regard to the essence of the difference between organisms and things, if anything, we hold to the belief that mechanical formulæ do not begin to answer the distinctively biological questions. Bio-chemistry and bio-physics added together do not give us one biological answer. We need new concepts of vitalism; and thus, we hold to a new kind of historicism; a being, a genuine agent, a concrete individuality, which has traded with time and has enregistered within itself past experiences and experiments, and a universe which has hitherto been towards the future. We need new concepts because there are new facts to describe, which we cannot analyze away into simpler processes. In the present state of our knowledge, this is not in the nature of the case, meta-physical.

If we go beyond science in the endeavour to form some connected reconstruction, we should say that these constellations of 'matter' and 'energy' called organisms afford opportunity for the expression of aspects of reality which are not patent in the inorganic domain. We do not think of 'matter' and 'energy' as the exclusive stones and mortar of the ever-growing cosmic edifice; they are abstract concepts, defined by certain methods, which serve well in the description of the physical universe. They certainly represent reality, for we safely make prophecies and risk our lives on the strength of this. But it is quite another thing to say that they are exhaustive. An aspect of reality which may safely be neglected in astronomy and navigation, in chemistry and engineering, becomes patent in the movements of organisms, and we call it 'life.' It is neither a product of 'matter' and 'energy' nor an outcome of the increasing complexity of constellations; it is an expression of the reality of which atoms and their movements are also but conceptual aspects. It may be regarded as that aspect of reality which is clearly manifested only in protoplastic systems— and in normal conditions in all of them. May it not be that the qualities which render the postulation of entelechy or vital impetus necessary to some minds have been in kind present throughout the history of the Nature that we know to be 'in kind,' since it is plain that we share in a movement which is not the unrolling of something originally given, but a creative evolution in which time counts. Instead of supposing the intervention of a non-material agency which controls the chemical and physical processes in organisms, we suppose that a new aspect of reality is revealed in organisms—that capacity for correlation, persistence, and individuality, for growing, multiplicity, and development, which we may call 'life,' which we may nowise be explained in terms of anything simpler than itself.

To the biologist the actualities are organisms and their doings, and life is a generalized concept denoting their peculiar quality. What life in essence or principle is he does not know. Taking life in the abstract, therefore, as 'given,' we have had to content ourselves with stating the general characteristics of living creatures. It is plain, however, that analytical and formal discussion falls far short of giving any adequate idea of life in its concrete fulness. For that requires a synthesis, and that, again, is impossible without sympathy. We must use our everyday experience of livingness in ourselves and in other organisms, not for knowledge alone, but as a source of sympathy wherewith to enliven the larger data of biology; and we need not be afraid of exaggerating the wonder of life. Sympathetically and imaginatively, therefore, we must seek to envisage the interrelations of hundreds of thousands of distinct individualities or species; the abundance of life—like a river always tending to overflow its banks; the diffusion of life—exploring and exploiting every corner of land and sea; the insurmountable life—self-assertive, persistent, defiant, continually achieving the apparently Impossible; the cyclical development of life—ever passing towards the unrolling of death; the intrinsic life—ever cell a microcosm; the subtlety of life—ever drop of blood an index of idiosyncrasies; the inter-relatedness of life—with myriad threads woven into a interrelated web; the drama of life—plot within plot, age after age, with every conceivable illustration of the twin motives of hunger and love; the flux of life—even under our short-lived eyes; the progress of life—slowly creeping upwards through unthinkable time, expressing itself in ever nobler forms; the beauty of life—every finished organism an artistic harmony; the morality of life—spending itself in the service of every individual ends; the mentality of life—sometimes quietly dreaming, sometimes sleep-walking, sometimes wide awake; and the victory of life—subdividing material things to its will and in its highest reaches controlling itself towards an increasing purpose.

See, further, ABRIGENESIS, AGE, BIOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, HEREDITY.

LIFE AND DEATH (Primitive).

In primitive thought, so far as we can analyze it, life and death are not the balanced opposites which civilized contemplation has made them. To early man life is the normal condition, death an abnormal catastrophe, unnatural, miraculous, and terrible. An exception is to be made when a man kills his quarry or his foe; here the satisfaction of an end achieved inhibits the feelings aroused by the death of a distinct being. According to Australian philosophy, men would live on indefinitely, except for the result of actual physical violence or of sorcery, a refined form of it. This is the usual idea of the savage, though it is hardly a reasoned opinion. The savage, like the majority of civilized men, lives in the present; this fact involves a certain inertia of thought as to the contrast between life and death, and it is true of both stages of culture that 'the fear of death is as nothing.' The primitive mind, when it exercised itself on the subject of life, was concerned with the acquisition of physical strength and moral influence; it had little sympathy with the problem of the nature of vitality; but the constant rage and terror which characterized its attitude towards death involved a permanent concern with the supposed causes of an event which, though inevitable, remained a mystery and a violation of natural law.

1. The Nature of Life.—The distinction between life and soul is in some cases confused, and in others not drawn. Again, the latter concept includes several ideas. We have, however, to deal with a 'life-principle' whenever there is a clear connexion between a concept and facts of life. For our earlier usage of the word 'death' the chief datum is the difference observed between the dead body and the living and moving body. It is inferred that something has departed from the body when dead; the something is a concrete object or substance, and the idea of something, its appearance, etc., is clearly shown by the Tongan and West African notion that these objects 'die' when they are broken or destroyed. The view that so vaguely idealized a content is concrete is supported by the fact that any haphazard identification serves as 'life'; examples will be found below. But the primal concept is, as the first Australian instances show, to be an idea resulting in which a man's 'life' is itself in repleni.

This perhaps is to be regarded as the second stage of analysis. The Hervey Islanders considered that fat men had fat souls, thin men thin souls. According to the Karen of Siam, a man's tendi disappears at death. It is a copy of the owner, his 'other self.' According to the Karens, which personates the varied phenomena of life is the koikh or koa, which is 'not the soul,' but 'is distinct from the body and its absence from the body is death.' It is also the individuality of the animated being. It merely gives life, and cannot be distinguished from the person himself.

The Iroquois conceived of an exceedingly subtle and refined image, possessing the form of the body, with a head, teeth, arms, legs,' etc.

The next stage is characteristic of Yaman and Malay belief.

'The Dayak idea of life is this, that in mankind there is a living principle called the semangat or semang, that sickness is caused by the temporary absence and death by the total departure of this principle from the body.'

But this 'principle' is a replica of a particular man in a particular place. It is the samang or 'little man,' of the Torajas of Celebes. The semangat of the wild Malay tribes is a shape, exactly like the man himself, but no bigger than a grain of maize. The semangat of the Malays is a 'thumling,' and corresponds exactly in shape, proportion, and complexion to its embodiment or casing (strong), i.e. the body. It is the cause of life; it is itself an individual person, as it were, and is separable from the body in sleep, sickness, and death. A similar conception is found in S. Africa, America, and other localities sporadically, but it is general enough to be regarded as typical.

The problem of its origin is not clear. J. G. Frazer thus describes the conception:

'As the savage commonly explains the processes of inanimate nature by supposing that they are produced by living beings working in or behind the phenomena, so he explains the phenomena of life itself. If an animal lives and moves, it can only be, he thinks, because there is a little animal inside which moves it; if a man lives and moves, it can only be because he has a little man or animal inside who moves him.'

The argument agrees with the fact that the miniature replica is usually supposed to be the cause of life, but it is difficult to understand how the idea of an inner being, whether inanimate things or in living men, could have arisen in the first instance. Only the contrast between the dead and the living body seems adequate to produce it; later, the idea could be applied to all natural objects. As for the miniature size of the replica, this is probably a refinement of an earlier conception, in which such qualities were distinguished, and it would be naturally deduced from the fact that the man's body is still present, without any reduction; that which has departed, therefore, must be infinitesimally small. The same result is obtained.

W. W. Gill, Myths and Songs of the South Pacific, London, 1876, p. 171.


E. B. Cross, J.A.S.B., (1854) 399 ff.


J. Macdonald, Religion and Myth, London, 1895, p. 82.

J. O. Swan, South African Contributions, xvi. (1904) 34.

necessitated by the idea that the life must take its departure by some one of the orifices of the body, and that, possibly, the certain characteristics of the memory-image may have exercised an influence.\(^1\)

In these early stages the life-principle is, though refined,\(^2\) always material; the conception of insubstantiality is quite a late achievement of thought.\(^3\) But certain natural confusions occur. Thus, the \textit{simangat} of the wild Malays differs from the \textit{simangat} held by other races in the same regions, for that which gives life is the \textit{jiwa}. The Patau Malay also believes in a ‘life breath,’ \textit{nyawa}; the \textit{simangat}, in their view, is not the vital principle, but is possessed by every object in the universe.\(^4\)

In his study of the animism of the Moluccas and neighbouring districts, A. C. Kruft finds a permanent distinction between the soul of a living man and the soul of a dead man. The former he considers to be impersonal, though in many cases it is certainly itself a person, and always is a miniature replica of the owner; it gives him life. Its material is fine, ethereal substance; it has various seats in the body where its action is most conspicuous, such as the pulse. It dies when the man dies. The other soul is a continuation of the individual after life and does not appear till death. In the latter conception we seem to have a combined result of the memory-image and the hallucinations of the flesh.\(^5\)

A later detail, which involves the idea that all things in nature either are animate or possess ‘souls,’ is also attached to the theory of the \textit{simangat}, though it is chiefly things concerning or incident to death that possess this miniature replica. The \textit{simangat} of the Eastern Semang is real like blood, or in the blood.\(^6\) Life is usually regarded as being closely connected with the blood—a natural inference from observation of wounds or of death by loss of blood. Life and blood are identified.\(^7\) A vaguer identification is frequently found with various parts or states of the living organism. To some, as the Iroquois, life is the flesh—\(^8\) a concept which probably originated from experience of nutrition. The heart is a seat of life; in some cases it, like blood, has a ‘soul’ of its own.\(^9\) The Australians regard the kidney-fat as an important seat of life,\(^10\) and the caudal fin and omentum are so regarded.\(^11\)

The absence of breath in the case of the dead is a fact naturally inspiring a belief that the breath is the life, or that the life is in the breath. In the Marquesan it was the custom to hold the nose and lips of dying persons, in order to prevent death.\(^12\) In primitive thought there is no explicit distinction between the identifications made with various parts of the body. The early books of the \textit{OT} hold, now the breath,\(^13\) now the blood, to be the ‘life.’ Primitive biology, in its secondary stages, has a larger list.\(^14\)

This is to be included the shadow of a man, which is (like everything connected with personality) a vital part,\(^15\) and a man’s reflexion is also closely akin to, if not identified with, his life. In Moluccas is a soul ‘into which if any one looks he dies; the malignant spirit takes hold upon his life by means of his reflexion on the water.’\(^16\)

The lore of shadow, mirror-image, and portrait becomes prominent, however, only in the third stage of culture—that of the higher barbarism. The Chinese place the dying man’s picture upon his body, in the hope of saving his life.\(^17\) In Siam, when a copy of the face of a person is made and taken away from him, a portion of his life goes with the copy. In some cases the essence with fire is the best known of many metaphorical analogies, and occupies a prominent place in myth—e.g., the fire of life infused by Prometheus into the clay figure which became men—and in metaphysical theology.

Until modern times, speculation has concerned itself with the source of life rather than with its origin. In early mythology conceptions like that of the Harvey Islanders, who regarded a ‘point’ as the beginning of existence, are rare. Rare also are such pseudo-biological ideas as the Maori concept that the life of a man is contained in the catamenia.\(^18\) But the usual conclusion is that the ‘soul’ is the source of life or is itself life.

2. The life of nature. Life in the vegetable kingdom has probably always been recognized, and primitive thought doubtless distinguished it as being different in character from that of animals. The same may have been the case with its attitude to inanimate things, unless it merely ‘personalized’ them.

The view of Tylor, that in primitive animism there is ‘a belief in the animation of all nature,’ and that ‘man recognizes in every detail of his world the animation of personal life and will,’\(^19\) can be applied only to certain developments of the higher barbaric stage.

‘It is not likely that at one stage man regarded everything as alive, and at a later stage gradually discriminated between animate and inanimate. The fact is, that he began by regarding everything as neutral, merely as given. Yet though he never thought of distinguishing these two classes, he distinguished as well as we do between animals and inanimate.\(^20\) Whatever prominence and importance he [primitive man] may have ascribed to inanimate objects, he drew the strongest ties between objects and what was endowed with life.’\(^21\)

An excellent observer remarks of the Kafrs of S. Africa, in regard to the question whether they ‘imagine everything in nature to be alive,’ that they very rarely think of the matter at all. When questioned on the subject of the animation of stones, they laughed, and said, ‘It would never enter a Kafr’s head to think stones felt in that sort of way.’\(^22\)

Throughout the fluid and ill-defined psychology of primitive man we may distinguish a tendency to mark off the concept of things as living from the concept of them as ideas, whether in life or after death. The latter aspect is idealistic, the former practical. In the one case with various parts of the body, in the other, the distinction is the Indonesian view, expounded by Kruft, that the life-soul of creatures is never confused or compounded with the after-death soul. In later psychologies, on the other hand, Tylor’s hypothesis, that eventually the ‘Life’ of a thing and its ‘phantom’ are combined, holds good.

Language has probably had much to do with the combination. The view of Kruft, however, that the Indonesian ‘Life-soul’ is but a part of the world-soul, applies only to the higher developments of animism.\(^23\) Here we have a parallel with the pantheistic theories of the world.

3. Regard for life. Another parallel with these is the regard for life generally, a regard which develops with culture but is more pronounced in Oriental than in Western morality. At first this feeling is a vague altruism, but later it is fused with a rigid code of duty. The life of another is tabooed, and life is held to be sacred. The life of other beings is held to be equal in value to the life of himself. The life of a man is held to be the life of a man, and not of some mythical ‘self-soul’ or ‘world-soul.’

\(^2\) \textit{Ib.}, pp. 57, 239; the \textit{Kinjin Dayak} term is in point, \textit{wirip-ak}—\textit{the ethereal life}.
\(^3\) Skeat-Blagden, \textit{B.} 194; \textit{N. Annandale, Man, Ill.} [1903] 27.
\(^4\) Crawley, p. 112.
\(^5\) Skeat-Blagden, loc. cit.
\(^6\) Crawley, p. 112 f.; Crawley, \textit{Ib.} 112, 114; Crawley, \textit{Ib.} 240.
\(^7\) Hewitt, loc. cit.
\(^8\) \textit{Ib.} 120, 125.
\(^9\) \textit{Ib.} 120 f.
\(^10\) \textit{Ib.} 112, 114.
\(^12\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^13\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^15\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^16\) \textit{Ib.} 120 f.
\(^17\) J. E. Young, \textit{The Kingdom of the Yellow Rose}, London, 1885, p. 140.
\(^18\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 33, quoting Gill.
\(^19\) \textit{Ib.} p. 90.
\(^20\) \textit{FC} I, \textit{ESB}, p. 424 f.
\(^21\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^23\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 33, quoting Gill.
\(^24\) \textit{Ib.} p. 90.
\(^25\) \textit{FC} I, \textit{ESB}, p. 424 f.
\(^26\) \textit{Ib.} 120 f.
\(^27\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^28\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
\(^29\) Crawley, \textit{Idea of the Soul}, p. 220.
with metaphysical estimates of the intrinsic value of life, as such.

In Buddhism, Jainism, and Taoism the respect for animal life is more concerned with the suggestion that it may not deprive any creature of life, not even a worm or an ant. He may not drink water in which animal life of any kind whatever is contained, nor eat or drink things that are, or must be, destroyed; he walks slowly lest he inhale a living organism; he considers that the evening and night are not times for eating, lest he might then eat a life to his mistake, and he rejects not only meat but even honey, together with various other foods he is supposed to consume, not because of his distaste for worms, but because of his regard for life. 1

Throughout Japan, ‘the life of animals has always been held more or less sacred. 2 In China it is regarded as meritorious to save animals from death—even insects if the number mount to a hundred,... to set at liberty animals intended to be slaughtered.” 3 To kill ten insects,... without great reason to kill..., animals for food,... "to be forewarned to encourage the slaughter of animals" are regarded as errors ‘of the same magnitude as the crime of devising a person’s death or of drowning or murdering a child’. 4 The Burmese ‘laugh at the suggestion made by Europeans, that Buddhists abstain from taking life because they believe in the transmigration of souls, having never heard of it before.’ 5 The same position may be assumed with regard to the Brahman doctrine of ahimsa, which includes the sanctity of all life. On the other hand, ‘no creed in Christendom teaches kindness to animals as a dogma of religious obligation, but all the religions of animals, but Mahayana did not originate on Christian ground.” 6

The life deposit. — A remarkable belief is that of the ‘life-index’ or ‘external soul’, which is found with such regularity in all the stages of the lower civilizations. An early example is the sex totemism of Australia.

The Woyjobinka tribe of South-Eastern Australia ‘held that “the life-index (the evil spirit) and the life of Yarakturk (the Nightstar) is the life of a woman,” and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is also killed. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim of this merciless power and therefore great fights arose among the tribe.” 7

In later folk-lore the idea is crystallized into the totemism, but previously a host of objects are regarded as eligible for the safe-deposit of the individual life. It is not unusual that the subject is more frequent in mythology than in practical life. The fact that, according to the common-sense view, the more ‘deposits’ of life a man has, the more he is liable to death, may explain this natural difference.

A remarkable aspect of the fact is the connection with the growth of children and the growth of plants. The idea of this conception can hardly be attributed to any other influence than the observation of the growth of growth. It is not probable not originated by the notion of life.

But the sympathetic relation soon develops into a life-interest:

3. In folklore the life of a person is sometimes sown up with the life of a plant that the withering of the plant will immediately follow or be followed by the death of the person. 8

4. Another to the same effect is found in Western Europe. In the eighth century, when two children were born on the same day, the people plant trees in the name kind and dances round them. The life of each of the children is believed to be bound up with the life of one of the trees; and if the trees are cut down, they are sure that the child will soon die. In Sierra Leone it is customary at the birth of a child to plant a shoot of a mango-tree, and they think that the tree will grow with the child and be its god. If a tree which has been thus planted withers away, the people consult a sorcerer on the subject. Some of the Papiassu unite the life of a newborn child sympathetically with that of a tree by driving a pebble into the bark of the tree. This complete mastery over the child’s life; if the tree is cut down, the child will die. In Bali a certain tree is planted at the birth of a child. The life of the child is believed to grow up equally with the child, and is called its ‘life-plant.’ 9

1 Frazer, Golden Bough, ii. 497.
5 The Chinese plant M. pollinosa and the life of Yarakturk (the Nightstar) is the life of a woman, and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is also killed. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim of this merciless power and therefore great fights arose among the tribe.
6 ib., p. 200.
8 Howitt, op. cit., p. 144. Simeon, the prince of Bulgaria, was bound up with a certain column in Constantinople; if the capital of the column were removed, Simeon would immediately die. This column took the place of the capital, and at the same hour Simeon died of heart-disease in Bulgaria.
9 The conclusion of these ideas supplies a constant motive in fairy-tales and the mythology which is their basis.

Thus, ‘Roshedel the Deathless is killed by a blow from the egg or the stone in which his life or death is enclosed; the magician dies when the stone in which his life or death is contained is put under his pillow; and the Tartar hero is warned that he may be killed by the golden arrow or golden sword in which his soul has been stayed away.” A remarkable instance occurs in the myth of the god Balder. His life was bound up in the mistletoe. The apparent inconsistency that he was slain by a blow from the pillar explained by Frazer: ‘When a person’s life is conceived as embodied in a particular object, with the existence of which his own existence is inseparably bound up, and the destruction of which involves his own, the object in question may be regarded and spoken of indifferently as his life or his death. Hence, if a man’s death is in an object, it is perfectly natural that he should be killed by a blow from it.”

10 The idea that the mistletoe itself is the life of the tree on which it grows is of the same order as the Malay and Chinese idea with regard to the knobs and excrescences on tree trunks. Two converse ideas may be noted. A person whose life is magically isolated has a weak spot, as Achilles. Death, no less than life, may be deposited, as in the stories where it is kept in a bottle. See, further, art. LIFE-TOKEN.

The life-index. — The magic significance of life as a magical essence is established; the formula is applied all round the social and religious sciences. The elementary facts of nutrition thus become the basis of an elaborate vitalistic philosophy. In its more primitive forms this as a practical science of life insurance.

11 Food... during thousands of years occupied the largest space in man’s mental area of vision. For the explanation of the existence of so large a body of superstitions concerning food, and into these enter the magical and, later, the vitalistic theory. Particular creatures are eaten because of their particular vital force. The slayer accepts of his foe in order to assimilate his life and strength (see, further, art. CANNIBALISM, §§ 3-7). In order to procure longevity the Zulus atke the flesh of long-lived animals. Meade injected into the veins of an ox an infusion of the long-lived deer, and so to the lower culture special virtue is assigned to human flesh. Besides the eating of flesh and the drinking of blood, there are various methods of acquiring the ‘life essence.’

12 The Tibetan Buddhist acquires ‘life’ by drinking the ‘ambarisa’ from the ‘Vase of Life’ (see, further, art. Food and Eating the God). Long life is often the subject of charms. The Chinese wear a longevity garment on birthdays. The Hindus ascribed long life to continence. Most religions include prayers for long life. After Frazer, Golden Bough, ii. 1951.

13 ib. p. 270.
15 Farrer, L. 170.
18 Ovid, Metam. vii. 237 ff.
19 Parker, L. 30.
22 Frazer, G.E.P., p. 147.
24 De Groot, l. 60 ff.
25 De Groot, II. 142.
a death, magic is employed to prolong the life of the survivors.

Magical persons, and later the gods, are regarded as both possessing a rich storehouse of life and being able to impart it to others; the savage medicine-man is able to infuse life into an inanimate fetish. Breathing into it is the object of the breath of life (as in Ezekiel's apologue of the dead bones); smearing it with blood gives it the life of the blood. According to the Tantras, a king may slay his enemy by infusing life into the foe's effigy and then destroying it. Divine persons naturally tend to become long-lived or immortal.

But, though divine persons throughout bear a more or less 'charmed life,' absolute immortality is a late conception. The gods of the Homeric pantheon maintained their life through eating ambrosia, the 'food of deathlessness,' and by drinking nectar; and similar ideas were connected with the Persian Anahus and the Indian soma. In Scandinavian myth the apples of Idunn are eaten by the gods in order to perpetuate their life. The Egyptian gods were mortal. The tendency to immortality, however, is carried out in the higher religions, probably in connexion with the natural attribution to the gods of a general power over life and a control of creation. In the end the gods assume in the devout the ultimate hopes and fears of men, and they become 'lords and givers of life.'

6. Renewal of life.—A crude form of the ideas connected with a renewed earthly life after death, or resurrection, may be seen among the Australian aborigines, who speak of the ghost returning at times to the grave and contemplating its mortal remains. Similarly, on the W. Coast of Africa it is the man himself in a shadowy or ghostly form that continues his existence after death. The belief in the revivification of a dead person does not appear until the thalattographic stages of barbarous religion, when it becomes a favourite motif performed by a word of power or by the life-giving touch or contact with the body of the divine person. But the belief in a second life, or, rather, a series of lives, is a remarkable and regular feature of primitive thought. It takes the form of reincarnation; the dead are born again in their descendants, the idea being a natural inference from the resemblance of children to their parents and grandparents. The Central Australians have developed this idea into an elaborate theory of heredity, in which the 'life' is a germ-plasm. Other Australians evolved the notion that white men were blackfellows returned to life; 'tumble down blackfellow, jump up whitefellow,' is a familiar phrase. The whiteness of the native corpse after cremation has been suggested as the basis of the notion. The idea of reincarnation refers also to living parents. Thus an old blackfellow of Australia cries to his son, 'There you stand with my body!' and the son is recognized as 'the actual re-incarnation of the father.' This frequent belief has been sug-

7. The nature of death.—Primitive thought has no definition of the nature of death, but the usual attitude toward it, to explain it (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Introductory], vol. iv. p. 411 f.). A common motive of these is a mis-understanding or a trick. At a higher stage death is attributed to the malvolence of those supposed to cut the life of men and so produce death. Otherwise, the separation of the life-giving soul from the body as a fact, not as a theory of origin, is usually explained as the result of sorcery, except in cases of obvious violence or accident. By various means the human sorcerer, like the supernatural demon, destroys or abstracts the life.

In the higher barbarian death appears as a punishment for breaking taboo or other supernatural injunctions. The greater religions connect its origin with sin, Christianity with the primal sin of disobedience. Throughout, humanity is instinctively certain that death is the end of the life, and the conception of a second life is a protest against it.

8. Mythological and ethical applications.—Apart from myths in explanation of the origin of death and the frequent fancies of a magical life-source, primitive thought makes little use of the concepts of life and death as motives of
LIFE AND DEATH (American)

story. Their deification is rarer still. In some stories one or more remarkable personages are brought into close connexion with the facts of life and death. Thus, the Maoris tell how men would have been deadless if Manui, the culture-hero, had not appeared in travelling through the body of Night. In Scandinavian story Life and Ljósfráð (‘life’ and ‘desiring life’) survive the destruction of the world. The usual result is that some great deity possesses control over life, as in Hebraism, Christianity, and Islam. There is a tendency also to connect vitality with the sun-god; the Rigveda speaks of the sun in the character of Svarit, the Vivifier. In Hindu theology Yama, the first of mortal man, became ‘King of the Dead.’ In Christian theology a contrast is drawn between the old Adam, by whom death entered the world, and the new, who re-introduced ‘life’ on a higher plane. A less refined moral is drawn in the Babylonian epic; the conclusion is that Gilgamesh must die and cannot escape the universal lot.

... He will then, at least, not suffer the pangs of hunger in the World of spirits.

The Scandinavian figures, Life and Ljósfráð, are among the rare cases where life is personified. Death is more frequently deified. Old Slavic myth seems to have had a goddess Smrť, and the Baltic customs tell of a god of death, Nalma. The Etruscan figure of Charon may be similar to the last, the conception being derived from human executioners, and the god being a slayer rather than a god of death. The Thamatos of Greek poets was thought of as the harbinger of religious personification. The Shedu of the OT and the Hel of the Eddas are originally places which receive the dead. As a rule, the figure later described as Death is either a god of the gods or a god whose office is indirectly connected with the death of men. So Yama has his messengers, and the Tartars believe in an ‘angel’ of death. The latter is the type of Christian ideas. The Greeks had both Charon and Hermes Psychopompos, but in modern Greek folk-lore Charon has become a figure of terror, Death himself. Death with his seythe may be a transference from a personification of Time.

A certain control over life is assumed in primitive ritual drama, as in the pretended death and revivification of youths at initiation, and of candidates for the priesthood. Ideas of a magical vitality grew up out of sacred meals; at the same time there appears the connexion of sin and death, and the consequent aspiration towards a purging of sin accomplished by a renewal of the soul. Out of these elements arises the ethical view of the renewal, but still uninduced from a mystical idea of a spiritual prolongation of existence. ‘Salvation’ in the life after death was promised by the Greek mysteries. In its lowest terms the salvation resulting from belief in Christ was eternal life. Faith and morality meet when eternal life is the reward for a good life on earth. Life is identified with goodness.

The fear of retribution in a future existence has been impressed by several of the great religions, notably by Christianity. But there is no justification for connecting the origins of religion with either this fear (long posterior to the inception of religious ideas, and a late and special ethical development) or the worship of death or the dead. The dead are mourned or less feared than when they were alive; the infection of death is carefully avoided; the ghosts of the dead are intensely dreaded, and therefore carefully propitiated. Many ghosts, it is true, have been reduced into gods, but there are many keys which fit the doors of religion.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the article, but the whole of E. B. Tylor’s exposition of animism in his Primitive Cultures, London, 1891, applies to this point.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LIFE AND DEATH (American).—The beliefs of the aborigines of Americas agree in the main with those of other peoples at the same stages of development; but there are a few interesting features of an individual character. With regard to ideas of the life which informs the organism, the Eskimos identify it or its action with the ‘life-warmth.’ So the Navahos regarded the warmth of the body as the living soul; the ‘shade’ or ‘double,’ a distinct concept, was supposed to wander away when a man was sick or dying; the Sauk identified the soul with ‘vitality,’ and supposed it to exist after death. The Tojotee explained that it was ‘something within’ them which must leave them: this was called death when it quitted them. Identifying breath or air with the vital principle, the Aztecs held that the atmosphere with a mortificatory quality.

In many American languages the Great Spirit and the Great Wind are one and the same both in word and signification.

The Aztec word chcoatl, e.g., means ‘wind, air, life, soul, shadow.’ A phrase attributed to an Indian orator is: ‘The fire in your huts and the life in your bodies are one and the same thing.’ Spirits and human magicians, such as the shamans, devour men’s souls; the result is death. Death is ‘infectious’; a dead man’s belongings decay quickly. Such is the ancient opinion among the Irish also, who hold that a dead man’s clothes wear out more quickly than those of a living man.

The belief in the reincarnation of the dead in children is widely spread and firmly held. The Haida refine upon it by saying that after five such reincarnations the individual ‘soul’ is annihilated.

A special feature of American religious theory, on which practically the whole ritual of the central nations was founded, was developed from the usual primitive idea that divine persons are subject to senility, death, and decay. Alone among the Mexican gods Tetzcatlipoca is credited with perpetual juvenility. The principle was developed that the gods, in particular the sun, would die if deprived of food. Hence the perpetual round of human sacrifices offered on Maya and Nahau altars. This daily ‘feast of flowers,’ as it was euphemistically termed, kept the gods alive. A serious result was the equally perpetual carrying on of warfare for the sole purpose of obtaining captives to sacrifice as victims. The heart, as the symbol of life, was the choicest portion.


3 J. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 129.

4 W. H. Holmes, Religions of Babylonia and Assyria, Boston, 1898, p. 632.

5 G. Grimm, 1650.


9 Fidner, Iran, 182: Cicero, Leges, lib. 14;


12 W. H. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter’s River, etc., Philadelphia, 1851, p. 238, 239, 244.


14 1893, III, p. 117.

15 J. J. Jefree, J. R. A. xxvii. (1907) 103; 176.


19 Ib. I, 592;

It is natural that an old chronicler should say: 'The Maya have an immoderate fear of death, and they seem to despise sickness.' In the Dresden and other codices a God is represented as a figure with outstretched hands, a symbol of sickly mortality, with the marks of corruption on his body, and displaying every sign of mortality, of the decay of flesh and life, a mummiform, corpse-like sign of him, perhaps to typify the connection between birth and death. He also wears a pair of cross-bones. The Hieroglyph which accompanies his figure represents a corpse's head with closed eyes, a skull, and a sacrificial knife. His symbol is that for the calendar of the Maya, which indicates that the period over which the life of the dead, the region towards which they invariably depart with the setting sun. That he is a death-god there can be no doubt, but of his name we are ignorant. He is probably identical with the Aztec god of death and hell, Mictlan, and is perhaps one of these Lords of Death and Hell who invite the heroes to the celebrated game of ball in the Kapal Pupuh, and hold them prisoners in their gloomy realm.

Like Hel and Hades, Mictlan seems to have developed from a place into a person. He is a grisly monster with capacious mouth, like the medieval European identification of the whale and hell. Medieval Europe evolved also, but by poetical rather than religious imagination, a figure akin to that of the American god A. For similar reasons the Sinulac are said to have devoted most of their worship to Cocociname, who is Death.

A profound influence on the later concept of the human sacrifice is this: The idea that the god thus slain in the person of his representative comes to life again immediately, was graphically represented. The skinning of the slain man and dressing in his clothing a living man, who thus became the new representative of the godhead.

This principle, if probable enough, is, however, a secondary development; the revivification of the god was the primary meaning of the sacrifice.

In Mexican theology the supreme deity Thoque-Nahauque (of Molina) is 'he upon whom depends the existence of all things'; he is the case elsewhere, the sun is connected with vitality, 'animating and keeping alive all creatures.' An interesting point is the connexion of Mexican bud-godnesses with the idea of life and its bestowal.

The aboriginal creation of a Great Spirit has been disregarded. Equally unreliable are such forms as the Master of Life (of Laftan), and Master of Breath, though such phrases may have been applied sporadically by the Northern Indians to some 'great medicine.'

A feature of the eschatology is the other-world paradise for the brave, compared only with the belief of Islam, although European chivalry shares the aversion from dying in bed. The 'happy hunting-grounds,' which become a proveer, and the 'Graveyard,' the Guiana belief, 'the orthodox American paradise, in its full glory. In the direction of the setting sun lie the happy prairies, where the buffalo lead the hogs, and where all kinds of animals and birds have excess of the most delicious food and those who have excelled in hunting and horse-stealing, approach as as to assume supreme felicity.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the text of D. G. Brinton, Mexico, the New World, New York, 1888; de Nahiañas (J. A. de Bougnot), Prehispaniers American, to. 1884.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

Life and Death (Chinese),—I. Popular Ideas.—Life and death are more intimately associated in the Chinese mind than in the Western. The curtain separating life and death is thinnest. The future life to the average Chinese, taught as he is by popular Buddhism and Taoism, is largely a replica of this life and a different phase of existence, but death is no theme of beauty. After passing through the Judgment Halls of the Ten Judges of Hades (a hell with many furies), the victims are supposed to require food, clothing, housing, due reward, means of travelling both on land and on water, and money. All these are sent to them by their friends and relatives by means of burning paper models and imitations.

2. Ancient Beliefs.—The ancient Chinese were unable to distinguish between death, sleep, and a swoon. They therefore tried to resuscitate the dead by calling them by name to return, etc., by providing for them, by keeping their names in the dress that they wore, and, at first, by tightly covering the corpse. Many customs now in vogue in China are due to this belief. Death was a prolonged sleep, and that to suspended animation; and, as the sleeper will wake, so the corpse may do the same, should the soul return to its habitation. Articles which were believed to promote vitality, such as jade, gold, silver, pearls, and cowries, were stuffed into the mouth of the dead. No methods of disposing of the dead were employed which would quickly destroy the body, and coffins were made of such materials as pine and cypress, for they were intended to preserve human bodies from putrefaction and to facilitate their resurrection by enveloping them thus air-tight in a material which, being possessed of vital energy, was considered capable of transmitting life once more into the clay.

The ancient Chinese were most scrupulous in washing and dressing the dead, so that the body might be received in the proper form for the soul to return to its fleshly dwelling-places.

The strong Chinese reprobation of the mutilation of the body has its origin in these ancient ideas, for mutilation prevents the body from being in a fit state for the soul to return, or to appear in the next world. Hence criminals were beheaded as a severe punishment, and strangling was considered a lesser one. The mode since the revolution seems to be that of shooting.

In the belief of the Chinese life 'remains after the soul has left the body.' There is thus a belief in a life in death itself, or, as de Groot graphically describes it, a cohabitation of soul and body after death. In accordance with this idea, there is not a complete separation of soul and body. In the popular ideas of the people, one of the three souls is in the grave. Thus death dominates life, and life lives in death and is not extinguished by it. One of the other souls is believed to inhabit the ancestral tablet, while the third passes on to the other world.

3. Classical Ideas.—If we turn now to the ancient classics, which throw a light on the early life of the Chinese, we find, besides the views already expressed, higher conceptions as well, or, at all events, less gross ones. Amidst all the ceremonial and ritual, the belief in immortality is clearly seen. Ancestor-worship alone is enough to prove this. Even before the days of Taoism and Buddhism, the souls of the ancestors were believed to be in heaven. Confucianism teaches the existence of the soul after death, but nothing regarding the character of that existence. The knowledge of a future life was hazy and indefinite in the old religion of China.

'Thus they looked up to heaven (whether the spirit was gone) and buried (the body) in the earth,' for, it is added, 'the body and animal soul go downward; but the intelligent spirit is high.'

1. Legge, Chinese Classics, Hongkong, 1850-72; SBE xxvii.
3. de Groot, i. 342 ff.
12. J. Legge, Religions of China, p. 117.
13. Legge, SBE xxvii. 367; see also p. 444.
The attitude of Confucius towards death was that of an agnostic. He virtually avoided a direct answer to the question asked him by one of his disciples about death, his reply being: 'While we do not know life, how can we know about death?' The elder commentators say that the master 'had no answer, because spirits and death are obscure and unprofitable subjects to talk about.' Some of the modern Confucians writers agree with these observations, but the majority say that the master's silence was profound, and showed the proper order in which such inquiries should be prosecuted, for 'death is only the natural termination of life.' To the ordinary reader, however, it would appear that this reply was only an exemplification of a passage in the Doctrine of the Mean (xl. 2), 'There is that which even the Sage does not know.'

The followers of Confucius have not risen above the agnostic posture which he took, and here it was that Buddhism came to satisfy the longings of the ignorant as to the future with its scheme of rewards and punishments, its firm beliefs and precise statements, its apparent knowledge of futurity, and its assurance of lives to come and the influence of this life on them.

The duration of life and its early or late ending were believed by most of the Confucian school to be dependent on man's proper use of life, and this is a very general belief among the Chinese.

'Haven does not cut short men's lives—they bring them to an end in mutual confidence.' 'A man truly wise makes little of life.' 'He who tries to live as a Sage is sure to have long life.' A concrete example of this is the Great Shun (c. 2500 B.C.), whose filling pike was so great that it attained the age of 1000.

Length of days, therefore, was regarded by the Chinese as the reward of virtue, and longevity is one of the five blessings earnestly desired. Over many centuries the Chinese have lived longer than before; and many a wise man would welcome the New Year, bearing the wish, 'May the five blessings descend on this door.'

Though what is stated above is the general opinion, all have not held it.

The materialistic Wang Chung (c. a. d. 97) says, 'Worthies are taken ill and die early, and wicked people may be strong and robust and become old, while good and virtuous men die not a retribution for evil doing.' When a man expires, his fate is fulfilled. After his death he does not live again. 'Human life and death depend on the length of the span of life, not on good or bad actions.'

The Chinese temperament is one which enjoys life to the full. The people are generally contented and happy, and the deep hidden meanings of life are largely wanting.

4. Taoism.—In the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. Chinese philosophy was in its golden period. It critically examined life and its connotations, and evolved original conceptions of the nature, motives, and mysteries of existence. This 'poetry of truth and wisdom' revealed a few notable men among its adherents. Later, Confucianism, with its love of rites and ceremonies and its reverence for former sages, had the effect of turning men's minds from the inquiries which a philosophical spirit delights to make, and Taoism, under whose guise such inquiries had arisen, to a large extent changed to a system of rites and idolatry.

Primitive Taoism—that shown to us as developed through the sayings and mind of its founder, Lao-tzu (b. 604 B.C., and its earlier writers—knew little more than Confucianism as to the great subjects of life and death.

Lao-tzu (Laotse, 4th cent. B.C.) says: 'The living and the dead . . . know nothing of each other's state.' 'We all have an end.' 'The good and the bad is unknown.' 'The Scholar (Chuang-tzu, 3rd and 4th cent. B.C.) asks: 'What should the dead know of the living or the living know of the dead? You

1 Legge, Chinese Classics, I. 104 (Confucian Analects, xi. 11).
2 J. R. S. Lockhart, A Manual of Chinese Quotations, Hong- kong, 1858, p. 270.
3 Id., iii. 264 ff. (Shu King Book of Songs, xi. 11).
5 Legge, Chinese Classics, I. 292 ff. and note (Doct. of Moen, xi. 11).
9 Id., p. 29.

and I may be in a dream from which we have not yet awaked.'

'To him who can penetrate the mystery of life, all things are revealed.'

The prolongation of life and the cheating of death of its due, or, rather, the raising of mortal life above death by the transforming of life into a higher existence, has been one of the aims of Taoism, to be attained 'by quietism and dis-passionatism, by regulating one's breath and using medicines.'

Lao-tzu is stated to have said that, to a perfect man, 'life and death . . . are but as night and day, and cannot destroy his peace.' In Lecius we find (as the statement of one almost a legend) that life and death were looked upon in the same light. Lecius says that 'the source of life is death.' 'There is no such thing as absolute life or death: '7 c. f., 'from the standpoint of the Absolute, since there is no such principle as life in itself, it follows there can be no such thing as death.' 8 On the other hand, we have such statements as: 'the dead have no knowledge . . . It gives rest to the noble-hearted and causes the face to turn white.' The sage looks upon life and death 'merely as waking and sleeping.'

In the idealistic and mystical writings of Chuang-tzu (Chuang-tzu), one of the great Taoist philosophers, who lived about two centuries after the founder Lao-tzu, there are some striking statements. He says that, for the sage 'life means death to all that men think life, the life of seeming or reputation, of doing or action, of being or individual self.' 9 'He who clearly apprehends the scheme of existence and is not rejected over life or repine at death; if he knows that terms are not final.' In other words, if life and death are not linked in his mind, then life is inevitable, for it 'comes and cannot be declined. It goes and cannot be stopped.' 10 The quick passage of life is thus expressed: 'Man passes through this sublunary life as a white horse passes a crack. Here one moment, gone the next.' 11 The life of man is but as a passing day to man.' 12 'The living are men on a journey.' 13 'Life is a lean.' 14

Taoism borrowed largely from Buddhism, and developed its scheme of life and death, amplifying its descriptions of a revivified life, which are to succeed death itself. 15

In the Epicurean Yang Ch'iu's philosophy (c. 300 B.C.) life is to be lived for the pursuit of 'pleasure, and the life of confucian is deathitous for it is a pursuit of his individuality. There is to be a disregard of life and death; life is of importance only to him who lives it, and that solely during his period of active life.' 16 The dead man cannot become a body again. 17

5. Buddhism.—For the general attitude of Bud- dhism as regards life and death see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhism). It is, however, more than questionable whether esoteric Buddhism, with its metaphysical aspect towards the world of senses, has much or any hold on the masses of the people. 18 Accordingly, many of

1 H. A. Giles, Ching-Chiao Tzu, London, 1899, p. 56.
2 Id., p. 438.
5 H. A. Giles, Ching-Chiao Tzu, p. 297; J. Legge, SBE xxxix., 22.
6 H. A. Giles, Twist Teachings, p. 51.
7 Id., p. 52.
8 Id., p. 27.
10 Id., p. 203; see also p. 233 ff.
11 Id., p. 289.
12 Id., p. 266.
13 Id., p. 203.
14 H. A. Giles, Twist Teachings, p. 28.
16 See Legge, Religions of China, p. 183 ff.
17 A. Forte, Yang Chiu's Garden of Pleasure, p. 28; see also pp. 38 ff., 40 ff.
19 Id., p. 135.
LIFE AND DEATH (Christian)—In passing from the OT view to that of the NT there is no abrupt or startling gap, although a delicate tact is conscious of a difference of atmosphere, and becomes aware that the elements common to both are not in the same proportion, and appear to have been subjected to some organic change in the later form.

In the OT words denoting 'life' occur in 166 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 24; words denoting 'death' occur in 364 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 111. On the other hand, in the NT words denoting 'life' occur in 138 passages, and words denoting 'death' in 128. In this quantitative analysis the striking fact is that death occupied the OT mind more predominantly than life. Qualitatively taken, however, a striking difference at once appears. Life in the OT for the most part refers to existence here in the flesh, and comparatively rarely rises above it, being summed up in the LXX phrase in Sir 27:2; 'the life of man is in the number of his days.' Instances occur, of course, especially in the later Psalms and Wisdom literature, of life being regarded as independent of bodily conditions, but these are to be treated as indications of a transition in thought to a higher plane, as a praeparatio evangelica.

The significant feature of the NT allusions to life is in their want of any real interest in mere earthly living, and this feature is plain even where the necessities of experience compel reference to the fact of physical death. Thus, out of the 135 passages where 'life' (psalm) or 'living' occurs, more than seven can be referred to physical life. In one (Lk 12:) the text varies, and the life referred to might be heavenly. In Lk 16 the life of Dives is sharply contrasted with the life of Lazarus. Ac 8:2 is a quotation from the LXX; Ac 17:3 is inspired by Stoic thought. In Ro 8:6, 1 Co 2:3, and Ph 3, where life and death are conjoined as correlative terms, the sentence is formed with the life of the spirit and life, but the probability is that in each case the meaning is that spiritual life and spiritual death face us. In the first passage it is invisible powers personified that are declared incapable of saving the Christian from Christ's death; in the second passage the words are equally patient of either meaning; and in the third, if Theophylact may be followed, the spiritual meaning prevails.

Besides the OT the NT does not seem to be used anywhere in the lower sense.

The case is different with the term 'death' (Θανάσιοι), for in something less than a score of passages in the Gospels, and in eight passages of Acts, the death of Jesus is referred to; in nine passages of Heb, physical death, especially that of Jesus, is the subject. It is only personified in conjunction with Hades, or is described as being followed by a second death, or is regarded as the term of this life. On the other hand, St. Paul and St. John, with hardly an exception, when they refer to death at all, mean spiritual death, not physical. Our task is to examine the passages where the terms ζωή and Θανάσιοι, or their cognates, occur in the NT, in order to ascertain their precise meaning.

1. Life.—(a) The first mode of expression for the 'life' which Christ gives is to be found in the use of the definite article. Examples of this are Mt 7:4, 'straitly is the way that leadeth to life'; 18:16, Mt 9:3, 'to enter into the life mailmed,' 'to enter into the life with one eye'; Mt 19:16, 'thou wouldst enter into the life'; Jn 5:23, 'behold the life'; 5:16, 'the bread of the life'; 8:3, 'shall have the light of the life'; 11:2, 'I am the life'; Ac 3:15, 'the prince of the life'; Ro 6, 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus'; 2 Co 4:18, 'the light in you'; Ph 3, 'the mortal may be swallowed up by the life'; 1 Ti 6:11, 'lay hold of the eternal life'; 1 Jn 1, 'the word of the life'; 3:2, 'he that hath the Son hath the life'; Rev 22:19, 22:21, 'the tree, the crown, the book of the life'; 21, 'the water of the life.'

In all these cases the article is used in what grammarians call the anaphoric sense, by which the substantive is pointed to as referring to an object already definitely known. Thus, in the instant case the implication is that life is mentioned in that with which the reader were already familiar as the subject of Evangelic preaching, and an object of their own religious experience. It is also implicitly contrasted with another and a lower kind of life—that of the natural man, of the man of this world (cf. F. W. Blass, Grammar of NT Greek, London, 1905, p. 160).

(b) Life which is unreal and fleeting is set aside in favour of the life which is real and abiding: 1 Ti 4:2, 'life that is now and life which is to come'; 6:20, 'the life that really is.'

(c) It is assigned a heavenly nature by a predicative clause: Ro 5:5, 'we shall be saved by his [the Son's] life'; 2 Co 4:4, 'the life of Jesus'; Eph 4:2, 'the life of God'; 2 Ti 1:11, 'life that is in Christ Jesus,' 1 Jn 5:5, 'the life in his Son.'

(d) The characteristic NT expression qualifying life, however, is 'eternal,' rendered in AV 'everlasting' 24 times, and 'eternal' 49 times, but both are used as a quantitative in terms are not qualifying, as giving a quantitative in terms of new life I live, and Christ is all things to me, breath and life and light,' (See M. R. Vincent, 'Philippus and Philomen,' ICC, 1897, in loco).
The question whether `æon' and `æonian' are to be rendered qualitatively or quantitatively is not identical with the question whether a Jewish or Greek conception is the determinant, for the Hellenization of this Christianity was an organic change if not in its acute form, from the earliest NT days. Greek thought had penetrated Jewish before NT times (W. Bauer, Die Religion des judenrum innerhalb des christentums, Berlin, 1903, viii, 27), and that is one of the 'aeon' torments", in 4 Mac 9; 'æonian life' in Enoch 10; 'judgment of the æon of Æons,' 102; 'the King of the æon,' 277), and is embedded in the NT itself. Moreover, the Jewish antimthesis of 'life on earth' and 'that world' lay on the border-line of Greek thought, and might pass easily into it. The witness of Philo must be added to that of the Synoptic Gospels (with their many isolated sayings redolent of Greek thought and their record of the teaching of a mystery-religion), the Fourth Gospel as a whole, Eph. and Col., and the constant tendency of the Greek in St. Paul to burst its Jewish fetters.

We conclude, therefore, that `æon' or `æonian' in the NT is life that belongs to a higher order than animal or ordinary human life; it is from above, and the recipient of it is lifted, by possessing it, into a higher side of life, a new plane of being. The present life indefinitely or infinitely prolonged, nor is it life beyond the grave distinguished as such from life on this side of the grave.

It is not possible here to say that the word `æon' or `æonian' stands for a superhuman being who is good or evil, supreme or subordinate. Hippolytus (Ref. iv. 29) questions speculators who 'spoke of a sedition of æona and of a revolt of good powers to evil, and of a concord of good and wicked æona.'

Tremens (Iren. i. 15) relates that the Valentinians taught the Temple when he was twelve years old, and in his baptism when he was thirty. The apocalyptic references in the system of apo. K. Reichenstein (Poliphilus, Leipzig, 1901, p. 130) quotes a Hermetic hymn addressed to the gods on the mountain in the world of becoming. Similarly, Plato (Tim. 37) says: 'When the father and creator saw the creature which he had made moving and living, the created image of the eternal gods (æon ù Æôn ù), he rejoiced, and in his joy determined to make the copy still more like the original; and, as this was eternal (ágllos), he sought to make the universe eternal, as far as he might.' In this sense, where Plato wants to express the idea of everlastings, he has the word ágllos ready to his hand. But, when he comes on to express the idea of a different sense (ágllos): 'Now the nature of the eternal being was æonian (æonian), but to bestow this attribute in its fullness on a creature, he might, be said to make a moving image of the æon (ágllos); and, in order to be the same time that he, when he saw him, he added in unity (ägllos ágllos) an image that in itself was æonial) to move in accordance with number; and this image we call time. And, in the reference to the fact that he was dealing with a category of quantity, and, accordingly, he employed the word ágllos, 'eternal.' J. Adam (Fidius of Pontus, Cambridge, 1861, p. 86) translates upon in his translation of Plutarch (fr. 181, ed. Bergk) as the 'living man,' and says that it never means 'eternity,' but 'eternal.' The passage is: "æoiai áglloiai eis oxai ù tauta ù ómoun (fr. 11, xix. 27). Plato's allusion of æon and Æon of time to Eternity, is made on the page in Philo (ed. T. Mangey, London, 1714, i. 490), who makes the three æons, Æon, æon, and æon, before sun and moon were created, an image of æon and the æon of the æon, and the æon after the sun, which is a copy of æon. Similarly, he says (Sup. 619b) that 'Æon is the invisible world is called æon, as that of the sensible is called time.'

The transition from the sense of 'æonian' in the LXX (where it [or its cognates] is used about 240 times) to its sense in the NT is of the nature of an evolution. The NT sense of 'spiritual,' or 'divine,' is not wanting in the OT, yet the more usual sense of the term is that of duration. Out of this lower sense there gradually unfold, at first tentatively and then with increased assurance and the grounding on which duration rests, viz. the possession of an essence which is superior to the category of time. What endures is that of which time is but the changing expression, and the name of Christ God is seen to consist in the power which He confers of escaping from the jurisdiction of 'the prince of the power of the air' to the higher realm where the æon or 'Æonian' kings rules.

The use of the term 'æon' in the NT is important for our present purpose; for, in addition to the passages in which the temporal meaning of the term is required, there are a number which allude, and that is a further gift of Christ. 'Æon' is certainly used in a personal sense. Different ages, or different regions of the universe, are placed by God under the control of rulers to whom the name of 'æonian' is given. In Ac 15 the rendering should in all probability be 'God maketh these things known from æon.' So in Ac 3 and Lk 1 the prophets are said to receive their inspiration from æon; the Æon is beyond the scope of our knowledge. The word 'æon' is best reached by paraphrasing it: 'From the realm of the æon the news has not been heard of anybody opening the eyes of a man born blind.' In Eph 2 no æon is raised, for this 'æon of æons' of this world there is clearly a personal being, since he is given as a sub-title 'the prince of the power of the air.' In 1 Ti 1 God is distinguished as the 'King of the æons.' In Col 1 the revelation given to the saints is exalted above that given to the æons. The latter knew nothing of the mystery of the indwelling Christ, the hope of glory. The knowledge of this was the prerogative of the saints. In 2 P 3 the 'day of æon' can be nothing but the 'day of the Lord,' and hence the æon here is Jesus (cf. also He 1, 1 Co 10,1 Ni, and the appendix to Mk in the freer-logic).

The new heaven and the new æon, in the climate of a Gnostic environment, that among the Gnostics the doctrine of personal æon was universal, and that 1 Clem. 35, Origen (c. Celsum, vii. 31), Ignatius (I. 1. 1) relates that the Valentinians taught the temple where he was twelve years old, and in his baptism where he was thirty. The apocalyptic references in the system of æon. K. Reichenstein (Poliphilus, Leipzig, 1901, p. 130) quotes a Hermetic hymn addressed to the gods on the mountain in the world of becoming. Similarly, Plato (Tim. 37) says: 'When the father and creator saw the creature which he had made moving and living, the created image of the eternal gods (æon ù Æôn ù), he rejoiced, and in his joy determined to make the copy still more like the original; and, as this was eternal (ágllos), he sought to make the universe eternal, as far as he might.' In this sense, where Plato wants to express the idea of everlastings, he has the word ágllos ready to his hand. But, when he comes on to express the idea of a different sense (ágllos): 'Now the nature of the eternal being was æonian (æonian), but to bestow this attribute in its fullness on a creature, he might, be said to make a moving image of the æon (ágllos); and, in order to be the same time that he, when he saw him, he added in unity (ägllos ágllos) an image that in itself was æonial) to move in accordance with number; and this image we call time. And, in the reference to the fact that he was dealing with a category of quantity, and, accordingly, he employed the word ágllos, 'eternal.' J. Adam (Fidius of Pontus, Cambridge, 1861, p. 86) translates upon in his translation of Plutarch (fr. 181, ed. Bergk) as the 'living man,' and says that it never means 'eternity,' but 'eternal.' The passage is: "æoiai áglloiai eis oxai ù tauta ù ómoun (fr. 11, xix. 27). Plato’s allusion of æon and Æon of time to Eternity, is made on the page in Philo (ed. T. Mangey, London, 1714, i. 490), who makes the three æons, Æon, æon, and æon, before sun and moon were created, an image of æon and the æon of the æon, and the æon after the sun, which is a copy of æon. Similarly, he says (Sup. 619b) that ‘Æon is the invisible world is called æon, as that of the sensible is called time.'
life which forms the theme of the NT. To be born from above (John 3:3) is to be turned and become as little children (Matt 18:3) to come unto the resurrection of life (John 5:24); to put on Christ (Gal 3:27); to be quickened together with Christ (Eph 2:6); to be in Christ (2 Cor 5:17); to put on the new (Eph 4:22-23). These are all new creatures (Gal 6:15)—these and many similar passages describe that dynamic process of which the result is eschatological life, or salvation, or the Kingdom of God, or bliss.

2. Death. Christian theology has been at once oppressed and confused by its failure to prove to the mind that in the NT it is not physical life cleared of its experiences, but that it is called life. Just that it is not physical death as such is connected with sin. (1) Reflection would assure us that, when life is used in a super-physical sense, it is at least probable that the death referred to is always something more than the death which dissolves the connexion between the self and its physical vehicle. If one be of the transcendental order, so must the other be. It has never been explained how to maintain a causal nexus between sin as a wrong act of will and death as an event of the natural order. Modern science has convinced itself that death has reigned not only since Adam's transgression, but from the first act of creaturehood, apart from sin, is a process of nature and not a super-natural punishment for sin. (2) Christianity is admittedly a religion whose home is in the spiritual order, and its light cannot be perceived in the physical, though real, is only indirect. From its superior standpoint it may have something to say as to the origin and meaning of physical death, but, if it speaks of death as intimately bound up with its own life, that death will not be of the physical order. (4) The law of analogy points in the same direction. A principle which is operative on one level repeats itself on another in a more comprehensive and elevated form. It may be described without strainning as love engendered in matter, or, conversely, as love in the spiritual world exercises an attraction which binds spiritual beings as surely as gravity binds together atoms, so death as physical is a reflection of a similar principle in the world where life is life indeed. (5) All philosophy assures us of the existence of an infinite principle or truth in the finite order. In fact, of the existence of a univeral in the particular. But a physical death is a fact in the world of space and time; hence it conceals what is more than a fact—a truth or idea, or a fragment of reality presented under the guise of the actual. If, therefore, a religion which proclaims itself as having the real for its object speaks of death, or attributes to death any place in its world, it cannot be supposed to limit its reference to the death which is merely physical.

It will be found on examination that the conclusion thus reached a priori is confirmed by a careful scrutiny of the evidence. (a) We may conveiently begin with passages in which death is obviously treated as acting in the spiritual sphere. The following passages in the Fourth Gospel may be cited: 'He hath passed out of the death into the light' (John 5:28); 'If a man keep my word, he shall never see death' (John 8:51); in ch. 11 the difficulty caused by the apparent inequality of Jesus in the beginning, by the reference to a physical death. (b) We find that the believer should never die can be fairly met only by the hypothesis that the story in form moves on the physical plane, but that in substance it is the story of that death of the sin unto death (or not unto death) and the reference to the manner of death in 1 Cor 15 is contained in what is certainly a gloss. In 1 John we have similar references to spiritual death: 'He that loveth not abideth in the death' (3:9), where the death is clearly on the same plane of being as love; in 5:11 the sin unto death (or not unto death) is also clearly a sin which is followed by death of the same order, viz., in the world of free will, for it is said in explanation that God will give life for them that believe unto death. It is, therefore, a new creation (Gal 6:15)—these and many similar passages describe that dynamic process of which the result is eschatological life, or salvation, or the Kingdom of God, or bliss.

In the Epp also many passages occur in which death must be interpreted as spiritual. In Rom 6 St. Paul, speaking not as a jurist but as a preacher (cf. W. Sanday and A. C.orraine, Romans, Edinburgh, 1865, ad loc.), sets up an ideal standard with ideal consequences for violation of it. Those who outrage the plainly expressed mind of God as to what righteousness is do so with the full knowledge that they deserve death ('und neint damit den ewigen Tod' [H. A. W. Meyer, Der Brief an die Romer, ed. B. Weiss, Gottingen, 1899, ad loc.]). In the striking passage Ro 6:23, unless St. Paul is guilty of inexcusable logical confusion, the death which in vv. 17-21 is obviously spiritual must be of the same kind in vv. 18-19. The current exegesis which assumes such looseness of thought in St. Paul is itself, to a great extent, apart from any sense of the meaning that is simple, plain, and consistent throughout: Adam was guilty of a sin which was spiritual in its character, being a misuse of free will; therefore he brought into the world a death or a spiritual death has afflicted mankind ever since. But now at last the Christ of God, by Himself entering into vital union with a race self-deprived of the higher life, that is, by sharing in some sense their loss, has restored what they had lost; He has, that is, obeyed the law that only through death do we enter into life. The death He has undone is that which consists in the fact that the life He has borne is that which consists in the process of taming the lower nature, in the process of the mystic crucifixion. The one lost eschatial life by self-will; the other gained it by obedience, and gave it through love.

Similarly, the linking of baptism with Christ's death and life in Ro 6 is explicable only if it is eschatological life and eschatological death that are in question, and the best proof of this is to be found in the difficulties into which this exegesis has long been implicated through its mistaken assumption that the life and death referred to are physical. Hence it has to say that St. Paul's 'thought slides backwards and forwards from the different senses of "life" and "death" almost imperceptibly' (Sandy; Headlam on 6). But, from the facts that Christ's death was transacted in the spiritual order, that baptism in its genuine meaning was a moment in a dynamic process, that the life which Christ truly lived was an eschatological life, it follows that, the life being the same both in the Lord and in His disciples, they both were united in the mystic Vine, since one and the same life was in it and in its branches. Therefore, St. Paul concludes, since it is now eschatological life that rules in both Christ and His disciples, it is both to be his own and to the life and death referred to are physical. Hence it has to say that St. Paul's 'thought slides backwards and forwards from the different senses of "life" and "death" almost imperceptibly' (Sandy; Headlam on 6). But, from the facts that Christ's death was transacted in the spiritual order, that baptism in its genuine meaning was a moment in a dynamic process, that the life which Christ truly lived was an eschatological life, it follows that, the life being the same both in the Lord and in His disciples, they both were united in the mystic Vine, since one and the same life was in it and in its branches. Therefore, St. Paul concludes, since it is now eschatological life that rules in both Christ and His disciples, it is both to be his own and to the
Even the famous passage in 1 Co 15 is given a coherent meaning only when the thought of spiritual life and spiritual death is kept in the foreground. It is true that here the thought is less pure, and that the physical death of Christ and His resurrection from physical death are made the proofs of physical death till they come. But, even so, it is not the physical resurrection that is the vital point, but the spiritual, of which the physical is but an expression. The argument is as follows. To be still in your sins is death; faith, however, when it comes, annuls this spiritual death, for it is essentially life. This living faith (the life of God in the soul) is what filled Christ, and constituted His title to the higher state of being, as is proved by the fact that He overcame (spiritual) death; the proof that He did so overcame spiritual death is to be seen in the fact that He could not be holden by physical death. Hence death in both senses is abolished, or is in the process of being abolished, but the death which is the enemy is spiritual, and, if physical death comes into question at all, it is incidental only or by way of illustration. That this is the true interpretation becomes clear when we observe that the remainder of the chapter (vv. 52-58) is concerned only with affirming that this higher spiritual, or risen, life will require a cognate spiritual body, and that as God gave the life so He will give the suitable body.

(b) There are, however, unquestionably many passages in the NT which seem, on the surface at all events, to refer exclusively to a physical death. They are those which in the Gospels (12 times) and the Acts (8 times) deal with the death of Jesus Christ. But even here a sound exegesis will compel us to a conclusion that what is said and what is signified. What is said is that Jesus suffered physical death at the hands of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of His day. What is signified is that His sufferings as witnessed had a hidden counterpart and a universal validity because, He being a heavenly subject, what He experienced in strong crying and tears affects all who are united to Him as a transcendental subject by being made sharers of His life, partakers of His divine nature. What is signified is that His crucifixion is a mystic process before it takes shape in the moment of a physical death, and that this process of crucifixion, therefore, applies to all who are made one with His life (Gal 5:1, 6). What is signified is that the physical death and burial of Christ are a reflexion of a spiritual death and burial which He underwent in order that He might be a radiating centre of heavenly life to all men. The real death and burial are to be found in the world; the death and burial that fall under history are shadows of the real.

The Epistle to the Hebrews also refers explicitly to the physical death and sufferings, but here we must allow for the exigencies of the line of argument adopted. This compelled the author to place the physical death of the man Jesus over against the physical death of the animals slain in OT sacrifices. Yet, even so, the force of the argument depends on the superior worth of the former. His sacrifice was all-compelling, partly because it was voluntary (7:28; 12:10) and more, because of its transcendent worth, it being the offering of One whose life was divine, and made in accordance with the power of an Indissoluble life (7:26) and through an exomian spirit (8:2). The life, we may say, that even here is dealt with is essentially spiritual, and is physical only in a secondary and subordinate sense.

It is a truth that small class of passages alone remains where death is of an ambiguous appearance. In Rev 11:8, 12:9, 20:12. Death is personified and joined with Hades, and both may attack man on his physical or on his spiritual side. In Mt 20:34 and Lk 13 the death of the heathen world, where spiritual death is surely meant. In Mt 16:16, Mk 9:1, and Lk 9:27 contemporaries of Jesus, it is said, should not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God. It is impossible to say what was the original context of this triplicated passage, but it is improbable that the passage itself is to be regarded as a falsified prophecy of a literal fact. The 'Son of God' and the 'Son of Man' are terms which express inner realities, and it is at least likely, then, that 'death' is also an omission. In this case the meaning of the passage is that there were some (a 'remnant,' the few who were 'chosen') who would not taste the bitterness of spiritual death, because to them would be vouchsafed the mystic vision of the King in His beauty, of the land that to most men remains far off.

It will be clear, from what has been said, that the NT and Christian antithesis is not that of the OT and Judaism, between this world and the next, but between two kinds of life here and there. It is a qualitative and not a quantitative difference. On one side is the life of sense, of intellect, of static forms, of fixed perceptions and well-defined conceptions—the life, in short, whose boundaries are set by the practical needs of the empirical age. On the other side is the life which creates the very power by which sense and intellect discharge their limited functions, which is in itself distinct of forms, is only partially grasped by perceptions and for the most part remains outside conceptions—the life, in short, which Jesus came to reveal and to give, which is called theon, or spiritual, or heavenly, or divine, and is that everlasting stream from the life of God of which all expressions of life are at all levels fragmentary flashes. We pass from the fragment towards the complete and perfect in exact proportion to our deeper and separated self to the life of the whole, which is God. It is this enhanced life and expanded consciousness that the religion of Jesus Christ and His Church is primarily concerned with. Its interest in eschatology, in theories about resurrection, in hypotheses such as that of universalism, of conditional immortality, of the nature of the ultimate union of soul and body, or of reincarnation, though it may be suggested to the reader that it is concerned with a higher life experienced here and now, and to grow hereafter more and more towards the perfect day. It is interested in theories about that life, but its interest in them is not vital.


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magical means to kill their enemies, thinking thus to be rid of them. Such inconsistencies arise from the blending of the single distinction between physical life and death with the extremely ancient, and almost universal belief in immortality—a belief that is rooted partly in the passionate abhorrence which death inspires as an indignity inflicted upon the living, and partly in the fact that death is known to us only through observation of the external world, and not by conscious inner experience.

Life and death are facts, since they are ever being forced upon our notice; death is a falsehood, however, because we have never known it to be true of ourselves, and, furthermore, because we will not admit that it can be true of ourselves. But, if after the physical death we are not dead, then we must be alive. The words ‘life’ and ‘death’ thus both acquire a double meaning, and a wide field for speculation opens out; the achievements of the Egyptians within this field have here to be considered.

1. Philological.—Whereas the Egyptian word for ‘to die,’ mort, Coptic 모트 (indefinite), 모크 (qualitative), is shared with all the Semitic languages, the verb for ‘to live,’ 무, Coptic 무, 무, is of doubtful affinities. Several derivatives from the same stem, such as 무, ‘sandal-string,’ 무, ‘goat,’ 무, ‘ear,’ fail to suggest any earlier or more concrete meaning for it, while other words having the same radical, such as 무, 몽, (Coptic 맹), or 무, ‘mirror,’ clearly derive their meaning from 무, ‘to live.’ Closely related in sense are the verbs 무, ‘to exist,’ and 려 (Coptic 맨, ‘life’). See particularly H. Hertz, ‘La Représentation collective de la mort,’ in Assoc. x (1903-06) 154.

belief in immortality; these are 무, ‘to become,’ 무, ‘come into existence.’ For ‘death’ there are various euphemistic expressions, such as 오 또는 오, ‘passing away,’ 려, ‘reaching port’; ‘my dying day’ is once expressed by 려 무 너-미 무, ‘the day on which it went well with me’ (Sphinx, iv. [1901] 16); the phrase 오 림 임, ‘to attain to beatitude,’ is ambiguous, sometimes referring to honours old age and sometimes to death. The dead are described as 무 너 무, ‘those who are yonder,’ or as 오 너 무, ‘the weary ones.’ Theological is the phrase 무 나 오, ‘to go to one’s ks, or double’; so, too, are the words 무, ‘glorified being,’ 무, ‘noble,’ and key, ‘blessed,’ applied to the illustrations dead. Two epithets that from the early Middle Kingdom onwards are appended to the names of dead persons reflect the one the identification of the dead with Osiris, and the other the

1 From an ivory tablet of King Den (W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, London, 1900, l. pl. 14).
2 Elaborate form of hieroglyph in Old Kingdom inscriptions (Margaret A. Murray, Sagona Mastabas, London, 1906, pl. 11, fig. 69).
3 Simplified form of hieroglyph (Petrie, Medium, London, 1897, pl. 14).
4 J. Garstang, The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt, London, 1907, p. 6, opposite p. 188; over the sandal-strings the original has the superscription, ‘the two 무 (sandal-strings) under his feet.’
5 H. Schäfer, Priestergräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-re, Leipzig, 1906, p. 54.
6 From the slate-palette of Na-mer, 1st dyn. (E. E. Quibell, Hierakonpolis, 1, London, 1900, pl. 29).
7 N. de G. Davies. Deir el Gerzawi, London, 1905, i. pl. 11, completed from ii. pl. 6.
8 F. W. von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ns-ns, Berlin, 1905, i. pl. 16.
LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian)

xxvi. (1904) 130), was first enunciated by Battiscombe Gunn, who proves the symbol to depict the strings or straps of the sandal.

No demonstration of Gunn's discovery (acknowledged by A. Erman in 'Aegyptische Grammatik,' 1911, p. 88) has yet found its way into print; the crucial evidence in the following argumentation has been supplied by Gunn himself. There is an object called 'nḫ, exactly resembling the symbol and hieroglyph for 'life,' which is often represented pair-wise at the sides of the sandal. Buildings and coffins are covered with pictures of articles deemed necessary for the happiness of the dead in the after-life, and care is taken in most cases to place such objects in its appropriate position; as regards the body of the dead man within the coffin; thus necklaces are shown on the level of his neck, sceptres within reach of his hand, and so forth. A priori, therefore, it is to be concluded that the object was connected with the feet—a point clinched by the fact that a pair of these objects is usually shown next one or more pairs of sandals, while the other objects are not, and that they are, when otherwise shown, shown more clearly connected with the feet (see J. Garstang, Burial Customs of Anc. Egypt, London, 1907, pl. 6, opposite p. 165; E. Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire, Paris, 1914, no. 23394 [p. 90]; H. Schäfer, Priestergräber, Leipzig, 1908, fig. 72 [p. 94], 83 [p. 95], and pl. 11). In several instances the accompanying inscriptions describe the pair of objects as 'the pair of the sandals under his feet' (cf. Garstang, Burial CUstoms, pl. 102); the preposition 'under' must not be pressed too closely, but it at least shows that the 'nḫ was part of, or belonged to some way to, the sandal. If now we compare the object \( \Omega \) with the representation of the sandals, we shall see that the same elements enter into both—the long loop that passes over the toes, the two straps which are fastened to the sides of the sandals, and possibly a kind of thong bow or buckle. It is difficult to make the representations harmonize in detail, but⁠—with one exception, namely, that the modes of binding the sandal to the foot vary greatly—and there is also the extra pair of sandals, perhaps actually worn but laid out in such a way as to exhibit them to the best advantage—we shall hardly doubt that the objects shown on the Middle Kingdom coffins and called 'nḫ are a sparse pair of sandal-strings for use in the event of those attached to the sandals requiring replacement. The cut of the preceding page depicts various examples of the sandal-strings both as an object and as a hieroglyph, together with pictures of sandals for comparison; the hieroglyph is normally painted black.

There being no obvious connexion between the literal depiction of the sandal-strings and the idea of life, it must be supposed that the idea of life, not being itself susceptible of pictorial representation, was symbolized by an object the name of which fortuitously coincided in sound with the in question to the procedure is merely the procedure called 'phonetic transference,' extremely common in hieroglyphic writing.

It is, of course, possible that 'nḫ ('sandals'), 'sandal-strings,' and 'nḫ ('life') (the vowel in both cases is hypothetical), are ultimately connected etymologically, but, as said above, the coincidence is too slender to demand certainty; it is certainly wrong to advance the hypothesis that the sandal-strings were used only because they resembled the symbol of life, the origin of that symbol itself being regarded as undiscoverable. The evidence of the earliest writing (the absence of the scene of death) proves that the 'sandals-sign was regarded as a phonetic and not as a pictorial sign.

As a symbol the 'sandals' is everywhere to be found on the Egyptian monuments. Gods and goddesses hold it in their hands, or present it to the nose of their favourites. It appears with arms supporting a standard (e.g., E. Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, London, 1905, pl. 149) or as itself representing the legs of a human figure (Lauver, CI 15): such religious representations have still to be collected and classified. As a mere ornamental device the 'sandals-sign is frequently found on furniture, jewellery, etc., often in association with other auspicious symbols, e.g., \( \Omega \), \( \Omega \), 'life, stability, and prosperity.' As an amulet the 'sandals is fairly common, and is usually made of green or blue faience.

(6) There is no corresponding symbol for 'death.' The words 'death' and 'to die' are in early times followed (or 'determined,' to use the technical expression) by a sign representing a man fallen upon his knees, and bleeding from a wound on the head; later this sign is merged in a wider application and varying form—the commonest form is \( \psi \)—which accompanies various words meaning 'prisoner' or 'enemy.' Very often, however, these hieroglyphs are mutilated or suppressed because of their illomened associations (ZA li. [1914] 19).

3. Literal views of life and death. How life was envisaged may best be learned from the following words on behalf of a dead man:

'May there be given to thee thy eyes to see, thy ears to hear what is spoken; thy mouth to speak, and thy feet to walk. May thy hands and arms move, and thy flesh be firm. May thy members be pleasant, and mayest thou have joy of all thy limbs. Mayest thou scan thy flesh (and fix it) whole and sound, without any blench upon thee; thy true heart being with thee, even the heart that thou didst have heretofore' (K. Sethe, Urkunden des AT 47. Altertums, Leipzig, 1894-95, iv. 214).

Death is the negation of life; in slaying their foes, the Egyptians sought to make them 'as though they had never been' (Urkunden, iv. 7, and passim), and the custom of cutting off their hands and phalli indicates what they held that this act was intended to deprive them. Further light is thrown on these materialistic conceptions of life and death in the passage of the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead, where the state of the dead is described as 'an emblem in the hand of the dead, where the state of the dead is described as 'an emblem in the hand of the dead, hence is stopped in the hand of the dead' (see p. 1903, § 14); the cube, or block, 

'Out of truth it is without water, it is without air—deep, dark, and void, a place where one lives in quietude. Pleasure of love and life is not there to be had, nor for the dead is there in lieu of water and air and love, quietude in lieu of bread and beer.'

Inertia is the chief characteristic of the dead, wherefore they were called 'the weary,' the ' inert' (§ 1); elsewhere we find death compared with sleep (e.g., Pyramid Texts, ed. Sethe, Leipzig, 1908, 721). Life, on the other hand, is full of activity, and chief among the needs which are air to breathe ('breath of life is a common expression) and food and drink for sustenance. Here, again, the wishes for the dead are the best evidence of the things deemed needful for the living: bread and beer, oxen and geese, cloth and linen, incense and myrrh, and things good and pure whereon a god lives—so runs the common formula, which hardly less often mentions 'the sweet breezes of the Northwind' as a necessity of life. The place of life was pre-eminently the earth; 'O all ye who live upon earth,' begins a favourite invocation.

Various views were held as to the whereabouts of the spirit of the dead, but it is evident, or at least can certainly be supposed to be correct, that the spirit was not one of the dead; those who are yonder is, as we have seen, a common designation of the dead. That the land of death is a land where there is no returning (though it was early said, already in the pyramid passages (p. 175) we find the warning, 'Go not upon those western ways, for those who have gone yonder come not back again' (the same thought recurs later; cf. Harris, 690, recto 7, 2). Religions as to the duration of life and death are often encountered in the texts. The Egyptian prayed that, like Joseph, he might attain to the age of 110 years (see RTAF xxiv. [1912] 16-18). In comparison with death, the endlessness of which was so obviously alluded to (cf. the 'city of eternity' for the necropolis, 'the lords of eternity' for the funerary gods), 'the span of things done upon earth is but a dream' (PSTF i. [1912] 190; cf. Pop. Petersbuehnen 1116 A, recto 55 [Les Papyrus hiéroitiques ... de l'Ermitage, 1913]; it should be said parenthetically that this comparison of life with a dream refers only to the natural sequence of its events, not to any speculations concerning its reality). With regard to the extension of the idea of life, it seems to have included man and the animal

1 Except for this and other valuable references the writer is indebted to Professor Sethe of Göttingen.
kingdom only (cf. the words quoted from a Memphite text in § 11); it is doubtful whether an Egyptian would have spoken of plants as living; nor is there any expression found to describe the neutral inanimate state of things not belonging to the animal world.

4. The hatred of death.—The opening words of the gravestone-formula, *O ye who love life and hate death,* strike to the root of the most profound feeling in the Egyptians for the intense love of life and detestation of death more than any other. We have devoted more time and thought to funerary things than has been done by any other people before or since. The best expression of these feelings is on a stele dating only to the year 46 B.C., but which contains in its inscription a woman speaks from the tomb to the husband who has survived her:

'O brother, husband, friend, highest—thine heart shall not grow weary of drinking and eating, drunkenness and love. Celebrate a happy day; follow thy heart by day and night; put no care in thy heart. What are thy years upon the earth. The West (i.e. the place of burial) is a land of slumber, dark and heavy, the habitation of those who are yonder, who sleep in their mummy-shrouds, nor wake to see their likeness, nor regard their fathers and mothers, and their hearts are rest of their wives and children. The five waters of which all have a share for me it is thirtieth, but it comes to him who is upon earth. There have I, though water is beside me, and I know not the place where and what this day. . . . Turn my face to the North wind on the bank of the water; perchance so may I catch the mouth of the wind but death, his name is "Come"; every one to whom he hath called comes to him straightway, their hearts are afflicted, through fear of him. There are also men beside them either of gods of men; great and small alike rest with him, nor can any stay his finger. He loves all that are living together with their tablets. The old man moves to meet him, and all men fear and make petition before him. Yet, he turns not his face towards them, he comes not to him. He who is with him, he hearkens not. When he is worshipped, he shows himself not, even though any manner of being is given to him. Anzahl der schlagenden Urden des ägyp. Alterthums, Leipzig, 1843, pl. 16.

This is perhaps the only passage in which death is personified, though the Egyptians were not averse to a certain abstractation of abstract ideas; Life, e.g., is found beside Health in the outward guise of a Nile-god (J. E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht, Paris, 1903*, p. 25). The inscription *celebrating a happy day* recurs again and again in the songs of the Harper at Egyptian banquet, together with the reminder that life is short, death inevitable and eternal. Herodotus tells us (II. 79) that at the entrance of the temple of the goddess Isis a figure of a dead body in a coffin was borne around and shown to the guests, with the words: *When thou longest upon this, drink and be merry, for thou shalt be such as thou art. No reference is made to this custom in our texts, but it is thoroughly Egyptian in spirit (see also Plut. de Is. et Osir., xvii.). The old songs collected by W. Max Müller, *Die Liturgiepoese der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1856 (pp. 29-37), recall the wretched fate of the dead:

*The nobles and glorified ones . . . buried in their pyramids, who built themselves chapels, their place is no more; what is become of them? I have heard the words of Imhotep and Hardebt, told and told again; where is their place? Their walls are destroyed, their place is no more, as though they had never been. None cometh thence who can relate how they are there . . . Here cometh the inevitable fatal: 'Be of good cheer, forget and enjoy thyself. Follow thy heart, so long as thou livest; place mouth on the heart, clothe thyself with fine linen, anoint thyself; forget sorrow and remember joy, until arriveth that day of putting to shore in the land that loveth silence.*

5. The hope of immortality.—From the same Theban tomb from which the last words are drawn (tomb of the priest Neferhotep [50], XIth dym.; compare a song expressing widely different sentiments: *I have heard those songs that are in the ancient toms, and what they tell exalting life on earth, and belittling the region of the dead. Therefore do they show the men of the land of Eternity, the just and fair, where terrors are not? Wrangling is its abhorrence, nor does any gird himself against his fellow.*

That land free of fear, all our kinmen rest within it from the earliest day of time. The children of millions of millions come thither, every one. For some may tarry in the land of Egypt; none there is but passes not yonder. That land of immortality is but as a dream; but a fair welcome awaits him who has reached the West (ZBSA xxx, 109).

This pretty poem voices the opinion of those who, holding this term faith in immortality, rejected the cold comfortless views of death already illustrated. No doubt that faith was born of a revulsion of feeling against the pitiless cruelty of death; for the conclusion of death is the destruction of torment and also of the than; and because of the reason, it did not supersede or drive out the opposite belief. There is an argumemtative, controversial note in the assertion of the old funerary texts, 'Thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead' (Pyramid Texts, 154; cf. 533); or we may quote the reiterated assurance, 'Thou diest not,' in the same texts (657, 775, 781, 792, 810, 875, 1464, 1477, 1810, 1812, 2291). The multifarious funerary rites, the contracts made with ka-priests, and the petitions or threats to passer-by and visitors to the tombs all imply that the benefits of immortality were not to be obtained except by a certain forethought, separate effort. It is true that a discontinuance of the funerary cult might not entail complete annihilation; the Egyptians dreaded, for instance, lest the conclusion of life be the beginning of an endless state of decay and fall to pieces (Book of the Dead, titles of chs. 45, 163), this fear giving rise to the strange apprehension of a 'second death in the necropolis' (Del. chs. 44, 176; 45, 192).

Similar conclusions might perhaps be drawn from the variety of the theories concerning the fate of the departed, who were alternately (or even simultaneously) believed to be stars in the sky, dwellers in the other world, incarnations of Osiris, or spirits living in the tomb or revisiting their earthly homes (see art. STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]). It is unthinkable that all these divergent views were accepted and believed with a fervent sincerity; rather they were conjectures sanctioned by ancient tradition, half-believed, half-doubted, and expressed with a naive and credulous thoughtlessness. The same time failed to silence the haunting suspicion that absolute death, after all, might be a reality.

6. Secondary views of life and death.—Under the influence of this conception of immortality the terms *life* and *death* became so imprecaton each with the meaning of the other that they no longer contradicted and excluded one another as they had originally done; *life* was not necessarily the short term of existence upon earth, and *death* was perhaps but another mode of living. Sometimes, of course, by the abstraction which language permits, the words were used in their old strictly contrasted senses, but often there is left only a shadow of the original meaning; *living* may be any form of existence vaguely analogous to physical, terrestrial existence, and *death*, either the state or condition of existence that is to be applied to various states from which some characteristic feature of living was absent. A few examples, mainly of philosophical interest, may serve to illustrate this transition of meaning. Not only was prolongation of life the reward of moral conduct (see ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 6; but in a sense the moral life was the only true life; in the Teaching of Ptahhotpe we read:

*As for the fool who hearkens not, he achieves not anything, he looks upon him who knows as one who is ignorant, and upon things useful as things harmful, . . . he lives upon that*
Life and Death (Egyptian)

23. Mummification. Men, a divinity, friends, matter, ones), Capart, Pharaoh (sSp soul (W. 13 thus, he that kind relatives have knew bright the early (Cairo, by vitality sidered hieroglyphs often were imputed or superseded, obviously because they were considered to have the same power to injure as living things (ZA li. 1-64).
7. Death and the gods. — Could the gods be said to die? In sense, no doubt, they were considered to live more fully, more truly, than human beings. The solar deity in particular was full of vitality; the Pharaoh is said to be 'granted life in his latter days upon truth'; regular hymns, especially those to the Aten (the solar god of the heretic king Akhenaten) represent all life as emanating from the god; and all gods and goddesses were dispensers of life. On a closer view, however, we find that the kind of vitality that the gods are said to have is more analogous to the life of the blessed dead than to the life of human beings; to the virtuous dead it is promised, 'he who is yonder shall be a living god' (Erman, Gesprächen eines Lebensmädchens mit seiner Seele, Berlin, 1896, p. 142; cf. Pop. Petersbg, 1116 B, recto 56). That the gods dwell afar off together with the dead is shown by the following sentence from a sepulchral stele of the Middle Kingdom: 'I have gone down to the city of eternity, to the place where the gods are' (Cairo, 20485). Various dead Pharaohs and celebrities were posthumously deified (see art. Heroes and Hero-Gods (Egyptian)), and the green or black complexions of their images suggest that they were not regarded as wholly alive. Osiris, as King of Eternity, chief of the Westerners, led but a shadowy existence, and his遥远 appearances were in fact the terminus of his living to his terrestrial representatives. The Pharaoh ruled as Horus 'on the throne-of-Horus of the living'; under another aspect he was the 'living splint of image of Atum' (sip nāt a 'Itm). Alternately regarded as 'son of Re' and as identical with Re, the King did not die, but 'flew to heaven and joined the sun, the flesh of the god becoming merged in its creator (Sinuhe, R 71). Erman and Mnevis bulls were respectively living emanations of Ptah and Atum, and other sacred animals whose cult was celebrated in late times doubtless stood in a similar relation to their divinities to whom they represented. Lastly, the historical aspect from which the gods were sometimes regarded represented them as rulers of a far-distant age, and in consequence, as beings long since dead.
8. The dead as a class of beings. — In the Book of the Dead and elsewhere we find the following classification: men, gods, blessed dead (3q, 'bright' ones), and dead (ntw) (see E. A. W. Budge, Book of the Dead, London, 1908, pp. 113, 293, 3.98, 308, 366, 395, 477). In this classification there is a kind of chronological hierarchical arrangement; the dead of the most remote times are holier, and partake more of divinity, than the recently deceased. So, too, the Turin Canon of Kings conceived the earliest rulers of Egypt to have been the gods of the first creation; then came the lesser gods, and, lastly, the followers of Horus and earliest historical kings. Manetho records a similar sequence of 'gods' and 'mortal dead' (vives of nqtht), In the Book of the Dead and elsewhere 'the dead' are spoken of in a way that clearly assumes them to enjoy a kind of existence; they 'see', 'hear', and so forth.
9. Relations of the living and the dead. — Some Egyptians, influenced more by anthropological theories than by the unambiguous evidence of the Egyptian texts, have asserted that the funerary rites and practices of the Egyptians were in the main precautionary measures to protect the living against the dead (e. g., J. Carpat, in Trans. Third Congr. Int. Egypt., Oxford, 1908, i. 203). Nothing could be farther from the truth; it is of fundamental importance to realize that the vast stores of wealth and thought expended by the Egyptians on their tombs—that wealth and that thought which was not only the material but also the practice of mummification and a very extensive funerary literature—were due to the anxiety of each member of the community with regard to his individual future, and not to the feelings of respect, or fear, or duty felt towards the other dead. We have only to read the story of the exile Sinuhe to realize the horror felt by an Egyptian at the prospect of dying abroad, and of being there deprived of every honours; it is a feeling akin to this that created the whole system of funereal observances.
It does not vitiate the assertion here made that the dead cannot bury themselves, and are at that extent at the mercy of the living. Death does not absolutely snap all relations; and motives of filial piety, the calculation that one's own funeral rites are dependent on others, liberal inducements in the form of legacies, previous contracts with the deceased, and also a certain modicum of fear and hope—all these things afforded a certain guarantee to the dying man that his own wishes with regard to burial and post mortem cult would be carried out. But there was no real ancestor-worship or objective cult of the dead in ancient Egypt. The feelings of the living towards the other-dead, if they may be so called, constitute an important question apart from the question of funerary rites (see art. Death and Disposal of the Dead (Egyptian)). The Egyptians wailed and mourned at the death of relatives, not merely out of grief, but as a matter of propriety; under the New Kingdom, mourning-cloths of a bluish colour were worn by women at the funeral (ZA xlv. 162); we have at least one possible allusion to fasting on the occasion of a death (Pop. Petersbg, 1116 B, recto 42); friends as well as relatives attended the funeral. It was thought that after death the deceased might return to at least provide for their children on earth (Urkundenlv. iv. 491; Nina de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, Temp. of Amenemh., London, 1914, pl. 37); and we have a number of pathetic letters to departed relatives praying their intervention and help (Cairo, 25,195, hieratic text on linen, Old Kingdom; Cairo, 25,375, and Petrie collection, bowl with hieratic inscription, before Middle Kingdom; Pitt-Rivers collection, cup with hieratic inscription, 7th-8th dyn. =PSBA xiv. (1892) 328). In one of these letters (Pop. Leyden 571, 20th dyn.; see Maspero, Études égyptiennes, Paris, 1878-91, i. 146-159) I. See, further, art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (18).
bitter reproaches are addressed to a dead woman by her widower, who has fallen ill, blaming her for her neglect of him after all his kindness towards her while she was alive.

10. The dead as malignant beings.—In the magical and medical papyri incantations are often directed against any male or female dead person male or female, who shall come to injure N, the son of M. The dead are conceived of as the cause of disease, though perhaps only those dead, as in the modern gypsy belief, who may be a household over the earth. The evidence seems fairly clear that actual ‘possession’ by the dead, conceived of as haunting spirits, is meant in such cases; for the demon is charged to ‘flow forth,’ and honey is said to be a useful medicament which is sweet to men, but bitter to the dead’ (Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Berlin, 1901, p. 12 f.) At the same time, the duly buried dead also had power to take vengeance on those who injured their property or violated their tombs (H. Sottas, La Préservation de la propriété funéraire, Paris, 1913). Evidently in Egypt, as in other lands, there was a danger that the dead should act as evil spirits, perhaps in the blood, the symbol of death; in a papyrus it is lamented that ‘plague is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking’ (Gynaec. Suv. p. 64, Am. Sect., Leipzig, 1909, p. 23); and, perhaps because of its association with blood, red colour is in many papyri avoided for writing the names of the gods, except in the titles of evil gods, or those evil gods.

11. Origin and nature of life and death.—The Pyramid Texts (1460) recall a time ‘when heaven was not, when earth was not, when mankind was not, before the gods were born, before death had come into existence.’ Many cosmogonic legends were told by the Egyptians (see Erman, Ägyptische Religion, Berlin, 1909, pp. 32-36, for best summary); most of them referred the origin of life to some god, but there was a superstition which attributed self-generative powers to various small forms of animal life, such as mice, snakes, or flies. The frog was particularly prominent in this connection, doubtless owing to the numbers in which tadpoles appear, just as though they had come into existence by themselves out of the wet mud. Hence not only did the frog become a symbol of the resurrected creatures of the Nile, but also it was intimately associated with the beginning of things; in the Hermopolitan myth the eight primitive creatures had the heads of frogs or snakes, and in the Abidene tale the frog-headed goddess Heket was associated with Khnum in the creation (see W. Spiegelberg and A. Jacoby, in Späth, vii. [1905] 215-228).

Life, once being started, was continued by the physical methods of reproduction (see esp. Song of Harper, 1. 1; Admonitions, 12. 2-4), but the gods, especially the sun-god, Re, were none the less the cause and mainspring of life (the birth-scenes in the temples of Luxor and Deir el Bahri are very instructive in this connexion).

A daringly speculative attempt to follow up this train of thought is found in an inscription from Memphis, a late copy of a text of early date. J. H. Breasted, in the Philosophy of Memphite Priests, in ZA XXXIX. (1901) 30, which seeks to explain how Pha, having primitively divided himself into ‘heart’ (the seat of the imaginative, judging faculty), as impersonated by Horus, and ‘tongue’ (the organ of command, i.e., the executive, will-function) was personified by Thoth, said that he transferred part of his soul to the vital functions of the body, in consequence his impressions press upon the functions of ‘heart’ and ‘tongue’: when the eyes see, or the ear hears, or the nose smells, they convey this sensation to the brain and in the heart that causes every recognition (judgment) to go forth; it is in the tongue that is the heart of the world and that makes what the heart desires. In this way Pha necessarily appears to be the cause of all things done by living creatures; he is, in other words, the vital principle itself. This psychological analysis of human, or rather animal, activity is singularly unique, and perhaps represents the thought of some unusually individual rather than that of the priests and learned men generally.

The medical papyri show that a serious attempt was early made to understand the workings of the body, but in the papyri as opposed to the scientific views with the current mythology has yet come to light.

12. Magico-medical views.—A certain pre-natal existence is assumed by physical and mythical expressions, as ‘he was already (already) in the egg’ (Sinuhe, R 93). The normal view, of course, was that life began with birth; a writer speaks of the ‘children’ who are broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile before they ever lived’ (Lebensmude, 79). The medical papyri contain prognostications for telling whether a child will live or not; ‘if it says (a sound like the word for “yes”); it will live; if it says (a sound like the word for “no”), it will die’ (Pap. Ebers, ed. L. Stern, Leipzig, 1875. 97, 134 f.). Spells were used to prevent women from conceiving, and there is various other ways in which birth is touched upon by the magico-medical literature. Amulets and charms of all sorts were employed to protect life; and, conversely, magic was secretly employed to bring about an early death, by magical incantations (see papyri, e.g., Pop. Lee; see P. E. Newberry, The Amhurst Papyri, London, 1899). A Turin papyrus attempts to cover all contingencies by enumerating all the possible kinds of death that may happen to a man (W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, Pap. de Turin, Leyden, 1869-75, p. 120 f.). Some kinds of death were considered happier than others; death by drowning, e.g., was considered by many as a just punishment because Osriris had perished in this way, and those who died thus were called happy, ‘blessed’ (ZA xlvi. [1909] 132). Curses were considered efficient magical means of affecting life (for a good collection of curses see Sottas, op. cit.). Oaths are conditional curses; it was usual to swear ‘by the life of Re,’ and so common was this style of oath that the verb ‘only, to live,’ was used transitorily in the sense of ‘to swear by,’ and the Coptic word for an oath is anash. Most contracts and judicial depositions within the New Kingdom begin with the words, ‘As Anubis endures, and as the Sovereign lives,’ that is, because Anubis often swore oaths affecting their own life and property (conditional self-curses; see Spiegelberg, Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaozeitreiches, Hanover, 1892, pp. 7-81).

13. Life and the law.—On this subject consult the art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13 (1-3), from which it will be seen that the sanctity of human life was strongly felt, as far at least as Egyptians were concerned. A few details may be added here. Abortion was considered a crime (Pop. Turin, 55. 1), unless the charge made in the passage here quoted was one of b. naturality leading to a miscarriage. Particularly abhorrent was bloodshed between close relatives, as father and son, or a man and his maternal brothers (see Gardiner, Admonitions, p. 9). Capital punishment was less severely considered if the sentence of imprisonment and the bastinado (Pop. Petersburg, 1164, recto 48 f.), and persons condemned to death were allowed to make away with themselves.

14. Life as a thing undesirable.—The Egyptians' intense love of life and appreciation of its value are reflected in many of the passages that have been quoted. There is, however, a limited pessimistic literature (see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 6) in which life is regarded as undesirable. This point of view may have been inspired originally by some such anarchic con
LIFE AND DEATH (Greek and Roman) —

The outlook on life of the average Greek of the 5th cent. B.C. may be illustrated by the language which Herodotus, in his interview with Cimon, King of Lydia.

When Solon visited Sardis, after all the grandeur of the royal palace had been exhibited for his admiration, he was asked by Cimon whom he considered the happiest man (hapax) he had ever seen. To the surprise of Cimon, Solon answered, 'Teilus of Athens,' because, 'On him Death did not come with a troubled existence.' And so it mostly was; the Egyptian remains true to his love of life — not perhaps the life on earth with its mingled joys and sorrows, but the life of his dreams, the land of Eternity, 'The just and fair, where terrors are not,' and where 'none girds himself against his fellow.'

LAMARTINE.—There is no published monograph on the subject; such references as are necessary have been given in the text. For the history of the happiness doctrine in the 18th cent., see H. H. H. ALAN H. GARDINER.

The outlook on life of the average Greek of the 5th cent. B.C. may be illustrated by the language which Herodotus, in his interview with Cimon, King of Lydia.

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on here. If they are, the news that penetrates to them must be supposed to be slight in itself or at any rate of so uncertain a nature that it was necessary that they should not advert to the matter at all. Hence it is a mistake to suppose that the Greek view is that the duty acts in an arbitrary and, so to say, spiritful fashion. It is true that the conception is expressed as to lend colour to such an interpretation.

Thus in Herod. vii. 10 Artabanon, the uncle of Xerxes, tries to dissuade Xerxes from invading Greece: 'Do you see how God strives with his lightning those animals which rise above others, and suffer them not to vaunt themselves, while the lowly do not at all excite his jealousy?' Do you see how He hurls His bolts against the most stately edifices and the most lovely trees? For God is wont to cut down whatever is too highly exalted, but He is a lover of the simple and meek, and of a man of a number of men; when God in His jealousy (διάθεσις) strikes them with fear or with thunder, they often perish in a manner unworthy of themselves, because God suffers none to be proud save His  

But, while this may have been a popular conception, the underlying idea is a much deeper one. It is, in fact, nothing more than the expression of the Greek idea of justice, or Dike. The definition of justice (δικαιοσύνη) which Plato gives in the Republic is nothing new, but is implied in the whole Greek attitude to life, as Plato says: *δις γε τα των προκειμενων δικαιοσύνη και ταυτα των ημων σωματων εντολας* (113 A).

Now, as applied to the relation of God and man, justice lies in the recognition that the divine and the human destinies are utterly unlike. The gods and men are alike the children of earth (mother) and heaven (father): 'from one source spring gods and mortal men' (Hesiod, Works and Days, vii. 107); but the lot of the gods is altogether different from that of mankind. Pindar emphasizes this distinction in a beautiful passage:

'One is the son of gods, the other of gods, and from one mother we both have, breath. But separate altogether is the power (faculty, i.e. capacity, gift) that sendeth us; for one is naught, but the other is heaven's gift, affected by no unshaken for ever. Yet do we resemble somewhat, in mighty mind or in bodily form, the deathless gods, albeit we know not what line sovereign Destiny hath appointed as to run either by day or by night' (Nem. vi. 1 ff.).

Here we have the two characteristic distinctions which the average Greek drew between the gods and mankind: the gods are deathless and ageless, and untouched of evil; the years of man are few and full of sorrow, and the certainty of death; the gods have knowledge of the future; for man 'the river of provision is set afar' (Pind. Nem. xi. 46). Now it is implied in the very nature of mortality that human life is a chance, a gamble; a chance of good and evil. A life of unbroken success, even if not attained by or attended with wickedness, is already a breach of nature, an injustice, an environment on the attributes of divinity, and so excites the jealousy of God, who allows none save Himself to be proud.

A life of unbroken success is no portion for men:

*Happy (δικαιοσύνη) is he to whom God hath given a portion of glory (ευτυχος, especially success in the national games), and to live all his life with enviable fortune and in opulence; for no mortal is happy in all things' (Beecher, v. 50 ff.).

Hence it is a condition of abiding prosperity that a man's happiness should not be uninterrupted; it is only by being interrupted will it conform to the law of nature, the demands of justice: 

*In thy new success I rejoice, but also I grieve that jealousy there (here, i.e. in the city) requires glorious deeds. But only thus, they say, will a man's happiness (ευτυχος) prosper (φυσαραι); if it is not wrecked by such things as base and cowardly, and evil' (Pind. Pyth. vii. 35 ff.).

*Not one is without lot in sorrow nor shall be; yet the ancient prosperity (ευτυχος) of Datis attains them, good and bad alike; they change these and their portion* (144 A).
This is the point of Clytemnestra's words in
Esch. Agam. 904 ff.:

"Let there be no jealousy; for many were the evils that we endured, if our possessions were not in our grip, as fortune should not excite jealousy. It is but the effect to former adversity.

So Nikias in Thucyd. vii. 77. 3:

"Our calamities are likely to abate: for the enemy have had enough of it. As fortune expedite the joyous on any of the gods, we have now been sufficiently punished."

If a man is attended by an unbroken felicity, he must restore the balance by a voluntary sacrifice of his happiness.

This is the point of the famous story of Polykrates of Samos (Herod. iii. 60 ff.). His continued prosperity (συγγενεία) excited the anxiety of his friend Amasis, who wrote to him in these terms: "It is pleasant to hear of the good fortune of a friend and ally. But the excess of this prosperity does not please me, because I know how jealous the deity is. As for me, I would choose that my affairs and those of my friends should sometimes be fortunate and sometimes stumbish, rather than be fortunate in everything. For I cannot remember that I ever heard of a man becoming a saint while his prosperity continued." Polykrates did not listen to his friend's advice.

The philosopher Zeno from the island of Eba is quoted as saying in his Discourses: "The whole life of man is like a race of horses in a stadium. In the middle of life a man is when he begins to be a youth, for then he has the strength to do many things. If he is a bankrupt at this age, it is foolish, for now he is in the prime of his life."

"Not for happiness in everything did Areus beg the gods, Agamemnon: thou must have grief as well as joy. For thou art not mortal," says the old man, Agamemnon (Ib. xxv. 48, 25 ff.). "If thou, Hiero, understandest a path of saying, then hast heard, from those who were of old and knowest that for one good the least distresses gods must avert from two evils. This fault cannot endure with decency, but only the good, turning the fair side out."

"..."Pindar illustrates the doctrine by the story of Asclepius, whom Zeus slew with the thunderbolt because he tried to bring a man (Hippolytus) back from the dead—an attempt to overstep the limits of mortality, and therefore demanding punishment. The same story is referred to by Esch. Agam. 904 ff., in a passage which excellently illustrates the Greek doctrine:"

"Excessive prosperity demands voluntary seclusion, says Pindar. Then it proceeds: 'Abandon this, lord of Zeus, from the very field destroys the plague of famine. But the blood of death that has once fallen on the ground of a man's feet—who shall call that back by any incantation? Did not Apollo for a speedy (that is, repelling in his divine prerogative of immortality) stop him when he was come back? And were it not that one fate is appointed by the gods to check another fate, from going too far, my tongue would have outrun my heart, etc.' All life is based on the principle of justice, compassion, balance, that each should have its own."

Hence, too, it is ग़ा वे ग़ा, the gifts of good-luck, that excite jealousy, not the good things which are worn out."

The doctrine of the jealousy of the gods is re-illustrated as a 'poetic falsehood' by Aristotle, Met. 1. 2, 888:

"The things which make up human happiness are, according to Solon, adequate endowment of worldly goods, health, beauty of person, prosperities of children, and a death in accord with these goods.

This enumeration of the several kinds of happiness is consonant with general Greek feeling. The principal catalogues occur frequently. Thus the distich inscribed in the temple of Leto at Delos (Aristotle, Eth. Eudem. 1214 E 1, Eth. Nic. 1. 8, 1099 b 25):"

"Praiseworthy (εὐσεβής) is justice, best (ἀγαθόν) is health, and sweetest (βολής) of all is to attain what one desires."

The same order is given in Theognis, 255 ff. (cf.}

\[\text{LIFE AND DEATH (Greek and Roman)}\]
Sophocles, frag. 328 f.). A popular section, or drinking-song, says:

"Be he for a mortal man; second, to be fair of body (μηδ' ανθρώπον) to have wealth without guile; fourth, to be good with others."

Philemon, frag. 163, gives (1) health, (2) success (εὐσεβία), (3) joy (χαλκοῦ), and (4) to owe no man. (Pyth. i. 99 f.) says:

"Success (of wealth, practically—prosperity or happiness) is the first of prizes; a fair fame (τὰ δόκομα) is the second; he who both chanpioned on both and taken to be his last received the highest crown."

Cf. Isid. I. v. 12, v. 12, Nom. i. 33, iv. 46, Pyth. i. 104; Aristoph. Av. 618; Soph. Oid. Col. 144; Plutarch, Mor. 10. 185; Bacchylid. i. 27 ff.

Aristotle, happiness is an ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀναργύρως. But he admits, in Eth. Nic. i. 8, that nevertheless it does appear that happiness has need of the other goods as aforesaid. For it is impossible or not easy for a man unprovided with these to do noble things. For many things are performed by friends, wealth, political power, the instruments, as it were, of action. The lack of some things mars happiness—the lack of birth, children, beauty. You could not well apply the term "happy" to a man who was utterly ugly, or low-born, or solitary and childless. Again, still less, if his children or his friends are altogether bad, or if he had good friends or children who are now dead. As we have said, happiness seems to proceed from a manifold of causes. Hence the identity of good fortune (εὐσεβία) with happiness, others identify happiness with virtue (ἀρετή). In the Rhetoric (i. 5), where happiness is defined more popularly, such 'external' goods as the above are termed 'parts of happiness,' and the list is εὐσεβία, γοητεία, χρυσερροια, πλοῦτος, εὐεργεία, πολιτεία, εὐγένεια; the physical excellences, as γένεσις, κάλλος, ἀγάπη, μέγεθος, δόματα γαστρονομίας; and δόμα, τιμή, εὐεργεία, ἀρετή."

He proceeds to explain what he means by the several terms here employed.

(a) εὐσεβία, good birth, may be predicated of a nation or of an individual. As applied to a nation or a State, it means that it is autochthonous or at any rate ancient, and had as its earliest leaders distinguished men, and had many distinguished members in the course of its history. As applied to an individual, it refers to descent on either the male or the female side; it implies legitimacy, i.e. both father and mother must be citizens (ἄρσα, ἀρσή) in lawful wedlock (Arist. Pol. iii. 14; Dem. v. Nob. Aristoph. Av. 1660 ff.); it implies further, that the earliest ancestors of the family were famous for virtue or wealth or some such distinction, and that many members of the family, both men and women, have in the course of its history distinguished themselves.

The high importance attached to heredity is evident on every page of Greek literature (see art. PINNAR).

(b) γοητεία, the possession of many and good friends, a friend being defined as 'one who, if he consider anything to be good for another, is ready to do it for the other's sake' (Arist. Rhet., loc. cit.). Friendship is a prominent place in the Greek ideal of life.

"Of all kinds of love the love of friends; also am I in trouble, but joy also seeks to behold its own assurance" (Pindar, Nem. viii. 42 ff.). "To cause a good friend I count even as that a man should cast away the life in his own bosom, which he loves most" (Soph. Oid. Rest. 611 ff.).

We hear of many celebrated friendships—Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pythias, Castor and Pollux. The last is the theme of one of the most beautiful of Pindar's poems, Nem. x.

"The mortal one of the two, Pollux, asks to be allowed to die with him: 'Grant me O Lord, to die with him!' A man's honour is departed when he is left of his friends, and few things that are faithful in the day of trouble to share the travel!' (76 ff.).

The false friend is the object of bitter scorn (Proc. Isth. ii. 11; Ezech. Agam. 798, etc.). We hear, of course, of a more cynical view, that one should always look upon a friend as a possible enemy (Soph. Aj. 677 ff.; Eurip. Hippol. 253 ff.).

(c) δόματα, wealth.

(d) εὐεργεία, the possession of many friends: these may be predicated either of the community or of the individual. In the case of the community, they mean the possession of a numerous body of splendid youth, splendid in stature, beauty, strength, and athletic prowess and splendid morally, the moral qualities desirable in a young man being self-restraint and courage. In the case of the individual, they imply that his children, male and female, are many and good. In a woman, the physical excellences are beauty and stature; the moral excellences are 'self-control and industry without illiteracy' (μελέτη ἄρσης ἀκαλλατημένης).

"The high standard of female excellences in the ideal woman, against the bitterest thought of the childless man when dying is that his wealth will go to an outsider:"

"Even as a child by his wife is longed for by his father who has reached the end of youth, and that he had in his heart, since wealth that falls to an outside alien's keeping is most hateful for a dying man (Pind. O. x. 41 ff.);

partly in that there will be no one to pay the memorial offerings to the dead god (prothesis). These motives find their consequence in the frequency of adoption (εὐεργείας)."

(e) εὐγένεια, a good old age. This denotes an old age which approaches physically in "without pain," if it comes rapidly, or slowly but accompanied with pain, it is not a good old age. This requires both physical excellences and good fortune. It is incompatible with weakness or disease, and a man must have good fortune to live long and remain οὐρατος. "It is indeed true that some attain long life without physical excellences." (f) The physical excellences: (1) ἄγαγς, health, i.e. freedom from disease, full possession of bodily faculties. Such valetudinarianism as that of Herodicus (Plato, Rep. iii. 406) is not desirable, as it means the denial of all, or nearly all, human pleasures. (2) Euph. beauty. The possession of beauty is appropriate to different periods of life: the young man must be adapted to exercises of speed and strength, and pleasant and delightful to look upon. Hence pantheistics are most beautiful. The man in the prime of life must be fit for military exercises, combining grace with sternness in his appearance. The old man must be equal to such exertions as are inevitable, and his appearance must not be repulsive, i.e. must be free from the disfigurements of age. (3) ἀγάπη, strength. (4) μέγεθος, stature—but not so as to be unwieldy. (5) δόματα, athletic excellence—more is very important, speed; good running, wrestling, and boxing.

1 Cf. Isaeus, ii. 45 ff. "I have shown you that the laws give power to childless men to adopt sons. It is clear, moreover, that I paid attention to their life while he lived and how he was to die. My opponent wishes to turn me out of my father's estate, to be great or small; wishes to make the dead man childless and nameless, so that there shall be none to honour in his behalf the ancestral holies, none to make annual offerings to him (κοινάς αὐτῷ εἰμένων), but to rob him of his honours. Providing for this, Menades, being master of his property, adopted a son that he might not die. Do not, then, be persuaded by these men to rob me of the title of heirship, which is all that is left, and make my adoption by them invalid. But, since the master has come to the house to give power to dispose of it, help us and help him who is now in the house of Hades and do not, in the name of gods and divinities, allow him to be insulted by them ('see, further art. Anomos (Greek))."
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(9) δέ, or ἔσοδα, i.e. to be regarded as a good man (εὐδαιμονιάς), or as 'the possessor of something which all men or most men or good or wise men desire.'

(10) τιμή, or honour, i.e. honours paid for benefactions either great in themselves or great in their public charges, barbacan compliments, prostrations and giving place—local compliments.

(11) εὐσεβία, or good fortune. It is the gifts of fortune that especially excite envy.

(12) ἀρετή, virtue. This is discussed in Ἐθε. ch. ix.

(13) Virtue is not merely desirable—as gifts of τέχνη—but also ἐπισκόπητος. It is 'a faculty of providing and preserving good things and a faculty of conferring benefits,' and its elements are justice, bravery, self-control, 'magnificence' (μεγαλοπρέπεια), high-mindedness, liberality, gentleness, wisdom practical (φρονημένος) and speculative (σοφός).

The virtues which go to make up virtue, the μέγας ἀρετής, are given by Aristotle in the Ἐθε. i. 1—9, and are: wisdom, prudentia, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοφυσία, εὐθευθυνία, προσφιλία, and what Aristotle calls 'πολιτική ἀρετή,' which Plato, Rep. 402 C, gives σωφροσύνη, ἀρετή, μεγαλοπρέπεια, εὐθευθυνία, and καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλών, Περ., 73 E—74 A, δικαιοσύνη, ἀρετή, σωφροσύνη, σοφία, μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ δόλος πάμελαῖος.

The four cardinal virtues, according to Plato, are courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom (Rep. 427 B); but the sovereign virtue, which involves all these, is justice, which, as we have seen, Plato defines as τὰ τῶν ἄνδρων πράξεων καὶ μᾶλλον πράξεως. In the famous passage of Pindar (Nem. iii. 74 f.), the first three virtues are that of youth, that of men, and that of the old, while the fourth seems to be nothing else than justice, which is the sovereign and governing principle of all the rest: Οἶο νόμιμα τὰ ἄνθρωπον τὸ θανάτῳ αὐτὸν, τοῖς ἄνθρωποι τοῖς παράκηρτοις τὰ ἀνόητο πράξεως.

However this may be, justice includes all the other virtues. And the moral conscience of all demands the name of justice that the just man shall have his reward. So Hesiod, Works and Days, 570 f. " Now may neither I nor son of mine be just among men! For it is an ill thing to be just, if the unjust shall have the greater weight with men! For Zeus doth bring to pass. 'Injustice may prevail for a time, but justice is better in the end.' (ib. 217 f.) 'On that which is pleasant but corrupt, see justice as a most bitter end awaits!' (Pind. 11th, vi. 47 f.) 'Too swift are the minds of men to accept a guileful gage, and of men to withstand a hasty reckoning!' (τριπλαί διδόμενοι [Pind. Pyth. iv. 159 f.]). On the other hand, end and beginning are alike pleasant if God speed;"

How, then, and where shall it be better for the just man? The typical answer of the Greek moralist is 'Here and in this life.' Hesiod expresses the prevailing view of the Greek as of the Hebrew wisdom when he says:

"But whores to stranger and to townman deal straight judgments, and not with depart from justice, their city flourishing, and the people prosper therein. And in their land is peace, the nurs of children, and Zeus doth never debar for them. Neither doth Semele ever consort with men who deal straight judgments, nor Doon; but with mirth they send the works that are their own. For them earth beneath much livelihood, and in the hills that their tops touch each other, the oaks middle born: their roeky sheep are heavy with wool; their wolves bear children like unto their parents; they flourish with good things continually, neither go they on ships, but bounteous earth beneath fruit for them (Works and Days, 524 f.)."

Even so was the thought of the wealth of the world in this

1 πᾶν ξένος τὴν ἡπείρον παραλλαγήν, ὡς ἕγγεισθαι, καὶ ἔγγεισθαι ὡς συνάρτος παρέχεται, ἐσώρον ἐν ἴππῳ (Rep. 433 B).
2 ἐν ἴππῳ, Ἐθ. i, 172, ἐν ἴππῳ ἔμαθεν μὲν ἄρετα δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς εὐτυχεῖς ἐνόμον. (Rep. 433 B).
3 Ἐθ. i, 172; cf. Aristot. Ἐθ. i, 9, ζητεῖ δὲ καθιστών μὲν ἄρετα δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς εὐτυχεῖς ἐνόμον. (Rep. 433 B).
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which are among the most striking in the range of Greek literature:

"Wretched were the deeds of proverbs . . . is a conspicuous star, a most true light for a man, if he hath it knowed that which is to come; that the helpfulness of the dead pass, straight here to the nonce, while the sins done in this kingdom of Zeus one judges under earth, pronouncing doom by abode of night and day. But in the night and day the good enjoy the sun, receiving a life free from toil, vexing not the earth with might of hand, neither the waters of the sea in that ghostly life, but with the honoured of the gods they that rejoiced in keeping their oaths live a terrestris life, while they who do no good are cursed. And that from which on either side have endured to refrain their souls utterly from misfortunes, travel by the Way of Zeus unto the tower of Croesus, where round the islands of the Blest the Ocean breezes blow, and flowers of gold are glowing, some on the land from glorious trees, while others the water feedeth, with strawberries and garlands whereas they extenuate their hands by the true covenants of this present life, that the good may hereafter thrice crown. Croesus, husband of Reia, throned highest of all, Pelops and Gausus are numbered among these, and thither his mother brought Achilles, when she laid with her prayers the heart of Zeus." (O. ii. 845.)

Fidler's teaching here appears to be that the soul passes through three successive incarnations, alternating with a disembodied state, and that only after passing through all these blasphemously is it finally redeemed. Such souls, according to ancient opinion, of which Fidler (frag. 157), receive a final embodiment as kings and wise men and athletes, and after death become, not indeed gods, but heroes:

"From whom Persephone in the ninth year accepts the estate of ancient woe, the souls of them she sends back into the upper sunlight. From them spring glorious kingdoms and men swing and strong might in wisdom, and for the future they are called by men holy heroes." Again, in frag. 157 Fidler says, in reference to the mysteries:

"Happy is he who beholds these things before he goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life, he knows its god-given beginning, its endings.

According to this view, the soul lives after death, it alone being of divine origin:

"By happy judgment (Ganymede) she leadeth to an end which sets free from woe. And the body, indeed, of all gods with magnificent Deity, but there remains alive a phantom of life; for that alone cometh from the gods. It sleepeth when the limbs are active, but to men asleep in many a dream it reveals the coming judgment of pleasant things and hard." For the souls of the good there awaits a paradise which is imagined in terms of human bliss:

"For there shines the strength of the sun below while here it is night. And in meadows of red roses their suburb is shadly with frankincense and lavender golden thorns. And some in houses going in rooms, some in the lyre take their delight, and by themFloorished all the fair flower of blessedness and in every measure of advancement spreadeth a mais of the lovely places while they evermore attain all manner of Inns in far-lighting fire on the altars of the gods." (frag. 159.)

J. R. S. 1894."

Strange, indeed, would this have sounded to the Homeric hero, and hardly strangely, it would seem, to the orthodox Greek of the 5th century. It is not easy to estimate how far the ideas to which Fidler here gives expression had affected the general body of his countrymen, but it would not appear that they had done so very deeply. The general attitude to death continues much as in Homer. A state of bliss after death is not held out as an incentive to righteousness in this world. Nor is the hope of a blessed immortality offered to comfort the dying or mitigate the grief of the bereaved. Where this is so desirable, it is merely as a κακὸν καταφρογή, a refuge from evil, a dreamless sleep:

"Would that some fate might come, speedy, not over-painful, nor with lingering bane, bringing to us the everlasting, endless sleep?" (Oisko. A. 145 ff.)

It is probable, indeed, that the conception of the state after death exercised any determining influence on the average man's conduct of his life.

When one attempts to discuss Roman views of life and death, there occurs at the outset the comparative paucity of genuinely Roman evidence. The general attitude of the Roman towards life and death presupposes the same general framework as we have outlined in the case of Greece; the same conception of the goods which make up the content of human happiness; the same conception of death as the end and not the beginning; the same belief in the duty of paying solemn offers (parrhesia) to the dead. When we advance beyond orthodoxy and beyond the world of poetical fancy or philosophical speculation, we find that we are merely encountering Greek ideas in a Roman dress.

Greek and Roman alike believed in gods who had a very real regard for the sins and the virtues of mankind, rewarding the good and punishing the evil, but in this life, in their own persons or in those of their immediate descendants. Greek and Roman alike believed that the dead in some sense survive and that it was the duty of the living to make offerings to the dead. But for Roman as for Greek, the after-world was but a dim shadow of the present. There was no lively conviction that it would fare worse in the after-world with the bad than with the good; there was no lively conviction that there was any true after-life at all, certainly no such conviction of an immortal felicity as could prompt to martyrdom or self-sacrifice, or alleviate the hour of bereavement with the hope of a blessed reunion hereafter. When Cicero lost by death his beloved daughter Tullia, the same consolation written to him by his friend Servius Sulpicius (ad Fam. iv. 5) the topics of consolation are drawn from practical and secular considerations: that she has been taken away from the evil to come, and that she has but shared the common lot, not of individuals only, but of cities:

"Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Elda Megaram versus navigarem, cepi regiones circumcincta prospicientes: postea me est Elda, antea me Megara, Latina Piraenae, sidero Icere opus quota quidem tempore florentissima fuerint, nunt quam prostrata et mirae et ecclesiae laudabiles. Cons. elongato omnino sic cogitaveram: 'Iam nunc homoniulus indigamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occiderit us, quorum vita brevius esse debetur, cum uno loco tot oppidum endam, propter hanc resurrectionem, et ut in te, Sertii, cohors et inominis hominem esse nausam?'

Nor in Cicero's most touching reply is there any hint of other consolation.

Nothing, perhaps, in the consideration of the conception of life and death is more significant than the attitude adopted in the question of suicide. The general feeling both in Greece and in Rome seems to have been that suicide was suicide rather than condemnation. Thus, e.g., Fidler, who three times refers to the suicide of Ajax, in no case hints at any moral wrong in the act, nor does he reproach the hero.

"By happy judgment (Ganymede) she leadeth to a Hence, the suicide was condemned by the Thebans points clearly to a different attitude on the part of the Greeks in general. Naturally the Orphic Pythagorean school, insisting on the reality of a true existence conditioned for weal or woe by the account of the present life, condemned suicide. In the Phaedo, 61 C.E., Plato says that the good man will desire to be dead in order to free his soul from the crumbling influence of the body, which binds him in the pursuit of truth: 'only, perhaps, he will not do violence to himself, for the spirit, if it is not lawful to think of oneself as being in a sort of prison' (Φυσικά ψυχή), from which he has no hope of escape, but rather to pass away' (cf. Cicero, Cat. Mai. 20; Plato, Phdr. 250 C, Cratyl. 400 C, Gorgias, 493 A). Macrobius (Com. in Somm. Sop. i. 13) tells us that Plotinus objected to suicide on two grounds: (1) it is a perturbed soul, the beginning of a movement of dissolution; (2) it is a step which, once taken, is irrevocable. On the other hand, in the Laws, 854 D, Plato recognizes that in certain circum-
LIFE AND DEATH (Hebrew)

There are two words which in the English OT are very often translated 'life': nephesh and hayyim. Nephesh denotes the inner occult cause of life's activities. A nephesh is a concrete entity, resident in the body, which, if scarcely coming within the range of man's senses, is at any rate thinkable. It is a psychical something, endowed with many attributes, of which life is the chief, though it may also have others, physical and psychical. Hayyim represents life abstractly, as a state or condition—vitality, mental and moral activity.

1. Nephesh.—OT psychology has always been a crux for Biblical scholars, because they have too often desired (as Franz Delitzsch) to form a 'system' of Biblical psychology. They have too often expected to find everywhere the same grade of civilization and the same type of approach and outgrowth, which, however, are more or less formed of that of thought than is actually present, and have not (until recently) allowed for primitive, ethnic modes of conception. The word nephesh is found in all Semitic languages, in much the same sense as in Hebrew; and therefore we must not be surprised if some extremely primitive beliefs, not taught—perhaps even discouraged—as doctrines by the men who were organs of revelation, have arrived in occasional metatheses or modes of speech.

There were three ways in which the phenomena of life were regarded by early man: (1) objectively, through the external or material, in the most elementary life of other men and in himself; (2) subjectively, by self-consciousness, through which man became aware of many different emotions and appetites, thoughts, and activities which were taking place within him; and (3) by the consciousness that he was being acted on by forces or beings extraneous to himself. We can scarcely point to a time when man did not fancy himself an object of interest, often of assault, to spirits good or evil, by whom he was surrounded. When the external influence came gently, the Hebrew called it n'shamah, 'breath'; when violently, he called it lik'ah, 'wind'; and that part of his nature which was accessible to these gentle or violent invasions, by God or by spirits, he called respectively his n'shamah and his lik'ah.

(1) The objective view is the antithesis of death; and from the beginning the thoughts of man were directed to the phenomena of life by their startling contrast with death. There were two ways in which death must have impressed primeval man, the cessation of all breathing, and as being caused by the shedding of blood.

(a) The universal and inevitable accompaniment of death is cessation of breathing; and this, by the force of contrast, would certainly direct the close attention of early man to the phenomena of breathing; the rising and falling of the chest, the varying rapidity of the inhalations, in rest and exercise, and the vapor visible from the mouth and nostrils at every exhalation. How did he account for this? Beyond all doubt, on principles of animism, which ascribed all internal movement, energy, and activity to an indwelling, living entity. Nephesh is often defined as 'the inner principle of life.' The vague term 'principle,' however, is much too modern. Early man personalized all our abstractions. The cause of breathing to them was—indeed, was the living spirit or soul, dwelling in man's chest, the breath-soul, which Senites called the nephesh, i.e. a semi-physical, semi-spiritual something, a potent reality, not to be identified with the breath, but the occult cause of the breathing; and, when it left the body for a considerable time, death was the result. To die, or 'yield up the ghost,' is to 'breathe out the nephesh' (Jer 15, 11). When Rachel was dying and gave a name to her infant son, 'her nephesh was departing' (Gen 35, 18). When Elijah prayed for the recovery of the Shunammite's son, he stretched himself on the child and the child's nephesh came into him again (1 K 17, 20). When the Psalmist is sinking in a morass and in danger of drowning, he cries, 'Save me, for the waters are come in even unto my soul' (Ps 69). (b) The second startling phenomenon of life was the pulse, and the beat of the heart, which ceased when the blood was shed, in battle or in any other way. The occult cause of the heart-beat was conceived to be another nephesh—the blood-soul, resident in the blood; and, when the blood was shed, the nephesh was released. The shedding of blood received much scrutiny and thought in connexion with the thought of the more or less assigned the efficacy of sacrifice to the blood-soul. This is most accurately expressed in Lv 17, 14. 'The nephesh of the flesh is in the blood. . . . The blood
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The noun nephesh, more laxly in Dt 12:5, 'the blood is the nephesh.' This is elucidated in Lk 17:14, who read, 'The nephesh is all flesh its life, by reason of one,' nephesh (so Kt., Kal.), i.e. we may say that the blood is the nephesh of the flesh, if we bear in mind that there is a nephesh resident in the blood, which is the cause of the vitality of the blood, and therefore also of the flesh. Hence the repellent feature in eating the flesh of animals whose blood had not been shed before death was that, in eating such flesh nephesh, we had not been allowed to escape, one would eat the nephesh, and this is strongly forbidden in the words: 'But flesh with the nephesh . . . shall ye not eat' (Gen 9:9; cf. Dt 12:2).

Human nature was not at first considered as a unity, but attention was directed to the centres of activity, where a mysterious energy was at work; and, long before man used the word nephesh as we use the word 'soul,' the several organs were considered separately, as so many independent centres of vitality. The heart, the liver, the kidneys, and the eye were regarded as distinct potencies endowed with life, not intcrrelated or unified one with another. The word nephesh is not used in the OT of the cause of the vitality resident in each of these organs, but it would be quite analogous to the Latin concept of the mighty peoples if they did ascribe to each a nephesh.

It was a very general belief in old times that a nephesh might go out from its abode without causing death for a considerable time. What is to us poetry and metaphor was in the hoary past often accepted as solid fact, as, e.g., when we read of Jacob in Gn 44:24, 'His life (nephesh) is bound up with that of his sons.' And of Jesus than in 1 S 18:9, 'his nephesh was knit to the nephesh of David.' In the statement that the soul of Shechem clave to Dinah (Gen 34:3) we have reference to the primitive belief that in love the (or a) nephesh leaves the body and enters into union with the soul of its beloved; and a similar belief underlies the phrase which compares peril to being out of one's own 'hand' (Job 10:12, 15:21, Ps 110:8).

The consequences of the temporary departure of a soul were believed to be giddiness, mental de- rangeinent, sickness, or death (Targum, P.Ci. 435 L). The OT text of the death of Saul in 2 S 1, 1f., if, with Graetz, we may alter the difficult, if not impossible, words טו יכ into טו יכ. Saul has been wounded and is bleeding to death, and his words would then be: 'Giddiness hath taken hold of me, for my nephesh is no longer in me.' We have a similar underlying belief in the phrase which we use metaphorically: 'I have poured out my soul,' as Hannah said to Eli (1 S 19:2); as Job also says: 'My soul is poured out upon me' (30:26); and as is said of the righteous servant: 'He poured out his soul unto death' (Is 53:12). In the first two cases the result is extreme prostration of mind and body, and in the third case death. It is the voluntary surrender of life.

The blood-soul may be 'smitten' when a wound inflicted causes bleeding (Gn 37:25, Dt 19:10); or this nephesh may be 'slain' in unintentional homicide (Nu 31:47-50), or in murder (2 S 4:5); while in Dt 27:21 a curse is pronounced on one who should accept a bribe to slay a nephesh of his blood. The Hebrews were forbidden to make 'an incision to the nephesh,' i.e. to incur the loss of the nephesh by the loss of blood (Lv 18:12).

(2) The subjective method.—It is quite certain that men practised observation long before they practised introspection. When man habituated himself to turn his thoughts within, he became conscious of himself as a unity; the various organs were his organs. He was no longer an assemblage of vital organs, but a unity, and he was a unity, an organism; and the mysterious cause of his internal activities was his nephesh, his soul, the cause of his energies and emotions. Thus the nephesh in the OT, when it was not the soul as such, as aor (La 1:11) and thirst (Is 29:9), and also of the outgoings of life in desires, longings, and wishes (1 S 20:25, 2 S 3:9). It is also the centre of the passing of all sensuality. The meditations of Job are compared with appetites such as hunger (La 1:11) and thirst (Is 29:9), and also of the outgoings of life in desires, longings, and wishes (1 S 20:25, 2 S 3:9). It is also the centre of the passing of all sensuality. The meditations of Job are compared with appetites.

Most ancient peoples believed that the souls of the departed lingered some days near the corpse; and, while some peoples had no dread of the departing spirit, others, including the Hebrews, had a great terror as to the mischief it might effect; and their holier funeral practices were designed to scare the spirit away. We have indications of this belief in the lingering of a soul in the fact that a Nazirite is forbidden during his vow to come near the nephesh of a dead man (Nu 6:5); a man rendered unclean through a nephesh was not allowed to eat the Passover (Ex 13:4); the Nazirite took a hair of the dead body one month later (9th). Indeed, any one, male or female, who was unclean by a nephesh must go and remain outside the camp until purified (7), and a high priest on no account (9), any time to enter a room where the nephesh of a dead person was at large (Lv 21:11).

Eventually, after or before the funeral, the soul was believed to return to the origin or the source of its existence, either to the creator, as is said of the soul of Noah (Gen 9:16), or of Adam (Job 14:2, 15:18, Ps 110:8).

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(3) The objective-subjective method.—Man believed himself to be the object of attack or of benign influences from other spirits, or from the one great Spirit, God. It was conceived of as in the woman being concupiscible, as conceived of it as 'breath' (רעהות), and when it was violent he spoke of it as a 'wind' (רוח), partly, no doubt, because it caused him to pant with excitement. The stronger emotions of man were traced to the רעהות, or spirit of man, while the gentler emotions and the inspirations from the Divine were due to the action of the Divine רעהות or the human רעהות. See Spirit.

2. Hayyim.—Hayyim is a plural form, for which no singular is extant (the root is י or י, 'to live'). It is an intensive plural, denoting diversity in unity. As the plural form בּלֵיתוֹנָם seems to express the conception of one God with many manifestations, so hayyim expresses life in its many manifestations and modes. G. H. A. Ewald truly says that the word 'life' is 'most expressive and crowded with meaning.' Its various meanings it is now our purpose to deploy.

(1) Physical life.—Hayyim is used of physical existence (a) in relation to time only, representing the continuance of the existence of God or man, in possession of their varied activities; thus we read of 'the days of one's life' (Dt 4:1, 1 S 7:12), 'the years of one's life' (Gn 23:1b, Ex 3:6), and 'the days of the years of one's life' (Gn 53:47); (b) in relation to its antithesis, physical death (Jos 2:10, Jer 20:1, Ps 89:45); and (c) in relation to the events
which occur in one’s lifetime, or are the outcome of one’s energies or activities, as marriage (Lv 18:9, 10); death (Ps 94:2), and misfortune (Job 1:21). In God’s promises (Ps 104:23), sensual enjoyments (Ec 3:9), ‘They were lovely and beautiful in their lives’ (2 S 13:2); ‘My soul is weary of my life’ (Job 10:21). ‘Preserve me, O Lord, for my life’s sake.’

The remarkable thing as to the Hebrew usage of *hayyim* is the clear conviction that ‘life’ is something more than a continuation of physical existence. There is a clear recognition of the dignity of man that it was meant to live the life of an animal or a life of sensuous gratification. Such a life is unworthy of so dignified a creature as man is. As man’s sense of dignity developed, the word ‘life’ became filled with deeper connotation. Roughly speaking, man’s view of ‘life’ passed through the same three stages as we have found in regard to the word *nephesh;* (a) man’s life consists in what he has, ‘the abundance of the good things that he possesses’—the objective regard; (b) man’s life consists in what he is, his character—the subjective regard; and (c) man’s life consists in his relation to God, the influences which come to him from communion with the Divine—the objective-subjective regard. In passing through this development, Israel was subconsciously discussing the problem of life in his time: what is man’s highest good? Wherein does man’s true life consist? And his three answers were: (a) happiness, (b) goodness of character, and (c) fellowship with God.

(2) Joyous life.—Life, to be worthy of the name, must not be existence merely, but exuberant, joyous life. Life is not the humdrum of physical existence, but it is the possession of goods, family and wealth, which can contribute to man’s enjoyment. It is the exhilaration of the red-letter days, when life is sublimely worth living. ‘A life of joy and felicity is alone worthy to be called life.’ This was always implied in the Oriental salutation: ‘Let the king live’ (1 K 1:4, 2 S 16:1). It is associated with largesses of the gold of Sheba (Ps 72:16), with riches and honour (Pr 22:17), with prosperity and large possessions (Dt 31:9; Heb. v. 20). In Ec 9 the Hebrew reads: ‘See life with the wife whom thou lovest;’ but AV and RV both correctly interpret: ‘Live joyfully with the wife;’ and, when a man is in his prime, to enjoy a day that is a day of days: ‘In the light of the king’s countenance is life’ (Pr 16:14).

(3) Ethical life.—True life consists in what a man is and not in what he has. The ideal life is a good life, a life of righteousness. ‘In the way of righteousness is life’ (Pr 12:18); ‘Wisdom and discretion are life to the soul’ (3:22); ‘Keep her [wisdom]; for she is thy life’ (4:9); ‘The words of wisdom are life to those that find them’ (4:20); ‘Whoso findeth wisdom findeth life’ (8:35). There are three things which ‘tend to life’: righteousness (110:2), the labour of the righteous (103), and the fear of the Lord (19:23). In the conscious part of the word ‘life’ we read of ‘the way of life.’ ‘Torah is light;’ the reproofs of instruction are the way of life (6:35); ‘He that heareth instruction is in the way of life’ (15:32). Similarly, the sense speaks of a ‘fountain of life.’

The Torah of the wise is a fountain of life (134:9); so is the ‘fear of the Lord’ (14:27) and ‘understanding’ disciplined by correction (10:26). In Lv 18 in the Code of Holiness there is a statement, repeated in Neh 9:26 and developed at length by Ezk 18:3: ‘Ye shall keep my statutes, and my judgments; which if a man do, he shall live by them.’ The statutes and judgments are the rule and guide of life merely, but as providing the pabulum of the moral life. This appears more strikingly in Dt 8: ‘Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.’ Surely the practice of the covenant of life consists in the attainment of character—of that moral life which is acceptable to God.

Similarly, Heczekiah in his Psalm, speaking of the promises of God, says: ‘By these things do they that do God’s will live’ (Is 58:17); and this life of the spirit, which is the life of my spirit’ (Is 38:5), and in 55:9 the Lord calls men through His prophet, saying: ‘Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live.’

(4) Religious life.—The passages hitherto considered refer to the moral life nurtured by the instruction of the wise and by obedience to the revealed will of God; but the OT saints rose to a higher conception of life than even this—the life which is nourished by fellowship with God, the life concerning which the Psalmist could say: ‘The Lord is the strength of my life’ (27:2); ‘I love thee, O Lord, my strength’ (18:1); ‘The Lord is my strength and my shield’ (29:1); ‘My prayer shall be unto the God of my life’ (42:9). ‘In God’s favour is life’ (30:9); the only life fully worthy of the name is that spent in the consciousness of His favour. Deuteronomy promised repeatedly a long and prosperous life on earth as the token of God’s approbation, but the mysteries soar above and beyond this present sphere. ‘The righteous hath hope in his death’ (Pr 14:3). They rejoiced that God was their portion’ (Ps 119:49), ‘in the land of the living’ (Ps 142:2), that God was their ‘guest-friend’ (Ps 18), and therefore there is an eternal covenant between Him and them.

The high-water mark of a sense of unending friendship with God is found in Ps 73: ‘Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee;’ and from this the inference is drawn: ‘I am continually with thee. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterward receive me to glory’ (v. 26). God’s friendship is the only true abiding good. This enables a man to triumph over death. Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore (16:11); I shall behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness’ (17:13).

1 "In all these Psalms," says Dillmann, "there is a full sense of a joy always already begun in this life, which to their authors gives the value of an assurance regard to the consummation of such a life, but only necessarily with God. But it is always expressed as a self-establishment, not as the rule and standard of all life; or, we need not wonder that such deep experiences are somewhat rare."

In conclusion, we turn to the significance of the word ‘life’ in Ezekiel. The prophet looks forward with great expectancy to the return from exile, but it is under the glamour of vastly improved religious conditions. The Kingdom of God is to be with men. The Lord’s servant David shall be the benign prince and ruler (37:44, 49). Jehovah will take people from among the nations and sprinkle clean water upon them, give them a new heart and put a new spirit within them, and cause them to walk in His statutes and keep His judgments (36:24). Ezekiel contemplates a new age—a Kingdom of God on earth. But, before that is established, the people are to experience the conflict with the powers of evil, in which the wicked who are unfit to form part of the new Kingdom shall perish. Those who do wickedly shall not live, they shall surely die (18:31-32). Those who ‘do that which is lawful and right,’ being endued with the new heart and the new spirit, ‘shall surely live’ (18:34). The Kingdom of God with its great moral and religious privileges is ever before the prophet’s eyes. ‘Life’ is to pass safely through the impending conflict with evil
and to enter on the new Kingdom, in which God's presence will lie much more real and evident (48); to 'die' is to perish in the crisis and to be excluded from the Kingdom. LITERATURE.—H. Wheeler Robinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man, Edinburgh, 1911, ch. 1, Religious Ideas of the OT, London, 1907, chs. 1-2; E. B. Taylor, The Hindu Gods, 1911, chs. xvii.

Rigveda, among the earliest Aryans to enter India worshipped a vast number of petty spirits, but they learned, rather later, to revere a number of the greater phenomena of nature, and also laid much stress on the worship of their ancestors. This ritual formed the foundation on which all the institutions of the Aryan family were built, though it may well be that the religious belief had its own ultimate origin in the natural organization of the family. At all events, the belief in the power of ancestors profoundly marked the entire organization of society. The priest—family priest and controlled the worship of the ancestors of the family in all details. Centuries after their entry into India, when the Aryans were engaged in the imperial work of bringing all the tribes under their sway and in their political and intellectual domination, the great doctrine of karama and re-birth took shape. With Farquhar we may conjecture that 'among the many religious tribes the invaders met on the broad plains of the North, there must have been seen who held the common primitive belief that the souls of men might become incarnate in animals. There were probably telestatic clans who believed that at death a man became, like his totem, a tiger, an ox, a frog, or a snake'. Whether the transmigration idea came from this source or not it is impossible to say, and, indeed, it is more probable that it was at first a deduction from the physical transcendences which were observed among kindred. But, even if the idea that human souls might undergo animal births comes from the arboreous, that is but one element to the complex doctrine. That which gave the belief its power over the minds of its adherents was the connexion of this fairy-tale idea with the powerful ethical conception of retribution; and we may be certain that that was the work of the Aryans. The doctrine first appears in the earliest Upanisads. Thus, while transmigration has been believed in by the latest Hindu doctrine, the karama (q. v.) is, as far as we can yet say, unique.

Inextriably, though by no means consistently, intertwined with this moral theory of retribution is the more primitive and far more widespread belief that souls are something almost material, although they may not be always palpable or tangible.

1. Vedas and Brahmans. — In the Rigveda the conceptions of death are not entirely consistent, but the principal belief relating to the aja bhaga, or 'unborn part,' was as follows. When the remains of the deceased had been placed on the funeral pile and the process of cremation had begun, Agni, the god of fire, was prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or limbs, but, after the flames had done their work, to convey to the fathers or ancestors the mortal who had been presented to him as an offering. His eye was hidden to go to the sun, his breath to the wind, and so on. As for his unborn part, Agni was supposed to kindle it with his heat and flame, and, assuming his most auspicious form, to convey to the world of the righteous. Before this unborn part can come to its curse from the third heaven, however, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness. Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and proceeding by the paths which the fathers laid down, the soul passes from Agni, Enchanted in the flames of the Fiery Gold Fire, like that of the gods, soars to the realms of eternal light in a car or on wings, on the undying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Raksasa, wafted upward by the wind, and to the voice of the Daitya, who in a complete and glorified form, meets with the ancestors who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized as one of his own, a delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life.

In the Vedâs death was held to be the going-forth from the living of his breath, or of the thinking part, the mind, which was held to reside in the heart... Heaven, a happy hereafter, was all that was looked forward to by these Vedic Aryans, throughout the hymns there is no weariness of life, no pensive longing.

From death there is no awakening; the shade, the breath, soul, or spirit has gone forth and returns not.

In the 'Tattvottvam Brahmana' the souls of the deceased are said to dwelt the first day in the houses of the stars, the stars are the lights of those righteous men who go to the celestial world. In the 'Taittirîya Brahmana' the 'souls' attach to mortals their life breath, yet, as the 'Katha Upanishad' declares: 'No mortal lives by the breath that he receives up the nostril; that which goes down into another is in whom these two reposè.' There was something which went out of man in sleep and death; something underlying the eye, the heart, the breath, the vital breath, broader than life. In the 'Rig Veda,' the sun, though it holds the life breath of mortals, is something more. It is held by the Soul of the Self, or the Atman, the Atman of the stars that move not, and moves not, of all that fills the heavens and the earth. Of man there is also the Atman, 'the self smaller than small, greater than great, hidden in the heart of that creature.' A man who is free from desires and free from grief sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator. It is this Atman, Self, or more abstract in its conception than soul, Psycho, or 'animus,' that becomes also the Universal Self, the Self of the World, 'bhîmîvân Atman,' of which the Vedas speak: 'When that which had no bones bore him who has bones, when that which was formless took shape and form... This Indian sage... had first to sweep away all that which had been produced, even the gods themselves, and to his grace there remained but the inner essence, Brahman, from which all things issued forth, and into which all things resolve themselves. There remained also the Self, the Soul, the Atman of man. There was but one step further to be reached by the Indian mind, and that was the inner essence was not that by which was the Creator, but was the Brahman, became the Great Self, the 'Paramatman,' the Universal Self, into which was merged the Atman, or Self, of man. Soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep, and certain diseases were supposed to be due to the withdrawal of the soul, 'Aam.'

2. Upanisads. — In the pre-Buddhist Upanisads the soul is supposed to exist inside each human body and to be the one sufficient explanation of life and motion. In the living body it dwells ordinarily in a cavity in the heart, and is of the size of a grain of rice or barley. In later speculation it grows to the size of a thumb and, is therefore, called the 'dwarf.' In shape it is like a man. Beliefs varied as to its appearance and as to its composition. Our passage says that it consists of consciousness, mind, breath; eye and ears; earth, water, fire, and ether; heat and no heat; desire and no desire; anger and no anger; law and no law—in a word, of all things. Thus the soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep, and certain diseases were supposed to be due to the withdrawal of the soul, 'Aam.'

Also, in this life, the soul of the departed is said to go to the sun and to Upas, the dawn.
to be due to its having escaped from the body, so that charms had to be employed to bring it back. In the same way, the seeds that have existed before birth in some other body, and opinions varied as to how it got into its first body. We also find a curious speculation, with three views on the subject: that, of the gods, as a consequence of their good deeds, when the body on which they rested was haunted, they took from the gods to the other, from the ether into the air, from that into the rain, thence on to the earth, and from it into plants which become food to males, whence they pass into females. At an ordinary man's death the top part of the heart is lighted up, and the soul, guided by that light, departs from the heart into the eye, and through it into some other body, exalted or not according to deeds done in the body which it is leaving. The soul of the man whose cravings have ceased goes to Brahman. The Upanisads are almost unanimous that the soul will not obtain release from re-birth either by sacrifice or by penance.

"It must be by a sort of theosophic or adorant insight, by the perception, the knowledge, that one's own soul is identical with the Great Soul, the only permanent reality, the ultimate basis and cause of all phenomena." 5

In the Kaučikā Brahmanādhaman, the belief in transmigration is combined with a notion that souls go first to the moon. All who depart from this world go to the moon. In the bright fortnight it is gladdened by their spirits, but in the dark one it sends them forth into new births. It is the door of heaven. Him who rejects it it sends on beyond, but whose rejects it not, him it rains down upon this world; and here he is born as a worm, a grasshopper, dog, boar, serpent, tiger, or a man or some other creature, according to his deeds or his knowledge. 6

3. Jainism.—The philosophy of Jainism, probably the oldest living Indian creed, defines the universe as not created and not controlled by any individual god. As substance it is without beginning and without end, but it is not homogenous, since it consists of substance (dravya), which is either jiva, 'alive', or ajīva, which may be translated 'inorganic'. There are five kinds of substance not alive, viz. matter, space, the two others, and (figuratively) time; but living beings are composed of signs and substances of substance, body, and the Jain belief is that nearly everything, even plants, particles of earth, fire, and wind, is possessed of life. In other words, the Jain philosophy is pure animism. Jiva is sometimes translated 'living being' and sometimes 'soul', yet it is not one individual universal world-soul, but a mass of mutually exclusive, individual souls, and every soul having attained its highest state (mokṣa) is styled paramamān, or 'great soul', a term only very roughly translatable by the word 'god'. Jainism thus fails to draw any definable distinction between 'life' and the soul. Dravya may be defined from several points of view. From the standpoint of its own unchanging nature it is that which ever exists. For example, the soul now embodied as a cat may in its next life be incarnated as a dog, man, insect, or what not, yet remain, in spite of all these changes, the same individual soul all the time; and thus, while the body is merely a vast multitude of cells which come and go, the soul is. But in this substance whose qualities (guna) do not come and go, and which is always itself, never becoming or merging into another, though in their modifications (parādya) the gunas are ceaselessly changing. This view of its permanent state is invisible, but, when compounded in a subtle way with visible, tangible matter, it is rendered visible, and men, angels, etc., are examples of this change. The Jains did not know when these conceptions were formed by Jainism, and we cannot say that Jain philosophy evolved them unaided. They were apparently borrowed from the Hinduism current at that time in India and were modified by the Jains in their own way. The earliest Indo-Aryan conception of life as a series of re-births was far more primitive, and was developed not on metaphysical lines but for ethical purposes.

4. Buddhism.—Buddhism, as an organized creed, has disappeared from India, but the ideas which it adopted or promulgated are still living and form one of the sources from which the Indian beliefs as to the origin of life are drawn. For instance, the Buddhist teaching that all life is due to a common source appears to find expression in the doctrine that the Buddha himself is a rebirth of Buddha his horse, as well as his wife, his companions, and even the Mahabodhi tree and the four treasure-vases. These are the seven that were born simultaneously, but which make up seventy-two when the four vases are as one. Another legend declares that with the Buddha itself were born 500 Sākyas, princess, 500 maidens, 500 servants, 500 horses, 500 elephants, and as many treasurers came to light. A very similar conception has survived in modern India.

Thus in the legend of Oēga, his mother is destined never to bear a son, but his parents rule some of the devas, and she is given to her. She divides it among a Brahman woman, another of the lowest caste, a grey mare, and herself; and all four females, hitherto barren, become fruitful. In another cult-legend a Brahman gives a Rāja three grains of rice, and each of his three queens swallows one and bears a son. A stock incident in folk-tales is the gift by a Jātaka of a barleycorn to a barren widow whereby she conceives. For the Buddhist doctrines see Art. Death and Resurrection of the Dead (Buddhism).

5. Mediæval.—Three or four centuries before the Christian era a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure and a school of his followers known as Bhagavata was founded in India. According to the Mahābhārata, the sun is the gate, and after entrance those who are free from sin, all their material impurities being burnt, remain as atoms in him (it); then, released from him, they enter the individual souls of the Anguish, viz. soul and body, and the coming, they enter the Pradyunna (mind) form. Leaving this, they enter that of Saṅkīrṣaṇa, i.e. the form of the individual soul (jīva), and after this, the form of the Supreme Soul, who is everywhere and who is Vāsudēva, 'he who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (ādhvāsa) of all beings.' Vāsudēva next became identified with Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, and finally with Nārāyaṇa; and the Bhakti system or Ekāntika Dharma (monothelism) was attached to the Vaiṣṇava creeds. Its earliest exposition in the Bhagavatādīta teaches that they who know the incarnations and the deeds of Bhagavat are released from the body and not born again. The discipline prescribed, however, for the attainment of the Brahmān condition is religious, not merely moral, and this determines the Bhakti doctrine from that of the Katha and Bhadrāranyaka Upaniṣads. Mention is made of two paths, and those who die while the sun is in its northern course (Uttarayana) go to Brahmā, while those who die while he is in his southern course go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns. Again, the whole
creation (Saṅsāra) is compared to a pipal-tree, which is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or detachment. When a soul departs from a body it takes away the karmas (senses), of which mānas (mind) is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. By becoming sūnya (emptiness) it knows all. By becoming fire he aids digestion. There are two souls in the world, one, changeable, the other not, and besides these there is another, the highest or Paramātmā, with an unchangeable lord, supports all three worlds after entering them. Thus it appears that it is the animal soul that goes out of the body along with the six senses and enters new ones in that condition.

6. Modern Aryan.—The multiplicity and, it must be confessed, inconsistencies of the older doctrines current in India regarding life and death are reflected in the countless beliefs now existing, but through all the bewildering variations which prevail a few dominant conceptions can generally be traced, and a remote and savage tribe will be found professing a creed which is based on the fundamentals of orthodox Hindooism. Even the regular terminology will reappear in forms more or less mutilated. So numerous are these beliefs that only a few of them can be given.

The life of India is that it is indestructible. This leads to a readiness to take life—which to the European appears callous and brutal indifference to it. Thus in 1841 S. C. Macpherson was deputed to Ganjūn in Madras to suppress female infanticide and human sacrifices among the Khonds, a tribe which believed that souls return to human form in the same family, but that they do not so if the naming ceremony on the 7th day after birth has not been performed. As the Khonds ardently desire sons, they saw in this belief a perfect justification for female infanticide as a means of reducing the number of female souls to be re-born in the family.1 A very similar belief prevails in the Panjab, where a girl child is or was killed with rites and an incantation bidding her ‘send a brother instead.’ Exchange is not murder.

How far this and similar beliefs account for the reluctance to cremate young children does not appear. But the souls of those dying after infancy or childhood are very widely believed to pass into another world, at least for a time. Thus in the Panjab the Kanets of the Kull valley sometimes after a cremation make a small foot-bridge over running water in the neighbourhood to help the passing of the soul of the deceased.2 Yet the same people practise a form of divination, which is very widely spread, to ascertain, immediately after death, what animal the soul will enter or has entered.

This belief is perfectly consistent with a belief in metempsychosis and yet compatible with the worship or propitiation of the dead, who may be benevolent or the reverse. Among the kindly dead may be numbered the spirits of ancestors, of parvā or sīttās, and saints, of dutiful widows who have committed sāti, and so on. But the propitiation of the malevolent dead is much more necessary, and therefore prevalent. For example, in the Kumon division of the United Provinces the lowest class, the Dons, and even the lower classes of Brahmans, the Kins Brahmans and Rajputas— in fact, the bulk of the population—believe in the powers of the malevolent or vindictive dead. Thus, if a man has two wives and drives one to suicide, any disease afflicting the other wife’s children is ascribed to her ghost, which must be propitiated, and gradually comes to be treated as a god. If a man is killed in a quarrel, every misfortune befalling his son or her children is ascribed to the ghost.

‘There is reason to believe that the emotion caused by the dread of the effects of karma is much stronger in the hills than in the plains. It is said that if a man is killed in a quarrel, the debtor will, it is believed, be re-born as the ox or pony of his creditor. If a man’s son dies it is believed that he was his father’s creditor in a former life, and the debt being now extinguished there is no necessity of his further birth.’ The latter belief is said to lead to the great consolations of the death of an ordinary son is a much more serious matter.

The certainty of the operation of karma is not without considerable effect on practical morality.1 It is automatic, so that specific or occasional, as by Parmeswar (God) of any sin is hardly required. Similarly, the idea of forgiveness is absolutely wanting; evil done may be outweighed by meritorious deeds only so far as to ensure a better existence in the future, but it is not effaced, and must be atoned for. As to the objection raised to the theory of transmigration—that it does not follow from it that the soul remembers previous existences—such a consciousness is recognized in the case of great ascetics; and even a person born in a degraded position knows that the reason for this is his wrong-doing in a previous existence. The nature of the soul, according to the reincarnation creed, is such that when a man has died, by placing ashes from a potter’s kiln in a shallow vessel and smoothing them. Next morning they will be found marked with human foot-prints, claws, and the like, simply because the soul is to be re-born as a man, a bird, a tree, etc. To ensure that they shall be married to each other in a future existence, a man and his wife may bathe together in the Ganges with their clothes tied together. The important difference in the teachings of theoretical Hindooism and popular religion in regard to heaven and hell is that the former declares that there are only five stages of existence in the chain of transmigration, while in the latter there is generally an idea that the soul, when sufficiently purified, may go to dwell for ever in heaven, which is regarded as a place where the soul will enjoy material comforts. In popular Hindooism there is no idea of absorption in the deity or of recurring cycles of existence and non-existence.

The conception of life as something impalpable, yet apparently material and certainly transferable, is extremely common in India, and may, indeed, be described as the most popular. Thus a woman who has lost her child will bathe in a river, and pour wavy water over herself through a sieve, in order to ensure a fresh conception. For the same reason very young children are sometimes buried under the threshold, so that the life may come back again. This idea leads to the popular belief that life may be stolen, and so on the night of the Divāli, or feast of lamps, male children are occasionally stolen, and killed so that a barren woman may bathe over the body and conceive a son of her own. As in other ritual murders, it is desirable to kill the child as much in pain as possible. And during the śrādhdas, the ancestral fortnight when the sun is in Virgo (Kanyā), occurs the Kanatātara, or ‘fighting in Kanyāgat,’ also termed śākta pāvan (‘sharing with others’), in which women of good Hindu caste, even Khatris and Brahmans, of a childless Panjâb, take its grave. On the first day of the śrādhdas, the goddess Lakṣum’s image in the house or lane is painted with cow-dung, and the women belonging to it go out early in the day to a holy bathing-place, revenging on the way

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1 Census Rep. India, 1913, p. 216.
2 C. A. L. Evans, Glossary of Panjâb Tribes and Castes, Lahore, 1911, ii. 483.
women who are known to have sons. This leads to the large, wordy passages, but men must not interfere. The belief is that by cursing the sons of others the female attracts the male souls to herself through the intervention of the male sex, and the mana is worshipped daily and thrown into the river at the end of the fortnight which is held sacred to the spouse of Siva the destroyer as well as to the dead. Married women are also obliged to become widows, in order to propitiate the good God.

On the other hand, regular fights take place between large gangs of women on their way to the river, and the affair is treated as a festival.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the footnotes.

H. A. ROSE.

LIFE AND DEATH (Iranian).—With their marked tendency towards optimism, the Iranians loved life (anghas, gaya, jyeda, jì, ùldàna) and abhorred death (máhrās, meredýu); the one is the creation of Ahura Mazda, the other of Angra Mainyu (Ys. xxx. 4), who have been at variance since "the beginning of life" (Ys. xiv. 2). Not only was life first created by Ahura Mazda (Ys. xili. 5, xlv. 6, xlviii. 6), and not only did he give life to the body (Ys. xxxi. 11), so that Zarathushtra asks (as he has the "only" life) to be (Ys. xxvii. 11; cf. xxxii. 1), but he is the "lord of the deeds of life" (Ys. xxxi. 8), and from him come the joys of life (Ys. xxxii. 10; cf. xxxiv. 14). The Amesha Spentas (q.v.) give aid to the life of man. Zarathushtra fittingly presents the "life of his own body" as a "blessed offering" (rátà) to Ahura Mazda and Asha (Ys. xxxiii. 14). On the other hand, the demon Wrath (Aisht) is the life of man, and the wicked and unbelievers mar it (Ys. xxx. 6, xxxii. 9, 11).

Life in this world is not all; indeed, though Zoroastrianism teaches that all good things are to be enjoyed in full measure, life here below is but a preparation for the richer life beyond. For this reason Zarathushtra asks from Von manah and Asha the "wors of life" (uxdd anghèh), while the "right ways of well" (ærzès savangóh patà) are to be learned from the religious teacher in the present life (Ys. xlv. 8, xliii. 3).

If life on earth is the "first life," the "second life" is that of the dead, and the "third life" (the man of the Life,) "the perpetual term for those who take the devil's side in human life" (J. H. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, pp. 146, 131) seeks a further development (Ys. xili. 11, liii. 8). Heaven is the place of "long life" (Ys. xili. 12, 13). Most significant of all is the presence, among the Amesha Spentas, of the goddess immortality, Améretâ (Ys. xlv. 17, xlv. 5, 10, xliii. 1, ii. 7), for in heaven life is to be for eternity (Ys. xiv. 7). When we turn to the Younger Avesta, we find the outlook upon life unchanged. Long life in this world is a blessing and an object of prayer (Ys. lxvii. 11; Afrúnánán, i. 18), while both Ahura Mazda and the Gáthás are honoured with life and body (Ys. v. 3, lv. 1; cf. lii. 3). Life is twofold: "this" or the corporeal (lit. oséos), and the spiritual (ahmádas, ahúah manangziat). This is stated in the gyané (Ys. xiii. 6; 3aúkhâ ... ahúah ... ahúah yó astavót ŋsac aií manangyáh, Ys. liii. 25), so that prayer is made to Ahura Mazda to be "life and a corporeal" for both lives (gyané asten-tóscés ... ukgúth ángwân, Ys. xili. 3). The "best life" (wakitta ahu, Ys. ix. 19, and often) is actually a synonym for "heaven," as the "worst life" (acsita ahu, e.g. Vend. iii. 30) is for "hell," and this conception is still in the Persian form, donat, to "heaven," bikhát. The "best of the best life" is the "righteousness of Asha" (Vend. xvii. 6); and in the time of the final saesbâyan, Asta-vérita, men will live for ever, for there shall be no more death (Ys. xiii. 89), even in the final count of Zoroastrianism, when "the seed of Yima" reigns (Ys. ix. 5; Vend. xiii. 5).

In the Gáthás death is seldom mentioned. The whole stress of Zarathushtra is on life, to be devoted to overcoming the powers of evil and gaining the eternal joys of heaven. Even the wicked do not die; they are damned to the everlasting torments of hell (Ys. xlv. 7, xlvii. 11). In the Younger Avesta, on the contrary, death is an important feature. We need not detail the corruption wrought by the "corpse demon" (Nasu; cf. Gr. rékn, 'corpse'), which forms the main theme of Vend. vi.-xii. (see also art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Parsi]), and we need only mention that a standing epitaph of Haoma (q.v.) is dírtrát ("from whom destruction [especially death] remains far"); Ys. ix. 2, 19, x. 21, xi. 8, 30, xxxii. 14 (on the latter passage see Moulton, 71 f., 338). Death is one of the worst of evils (Ys. iii. 7-12; cf. iv. 19), and the first to stay it was Thrita (Vend. xx. 2), while it is the Druj (the Lie, the negation of the truth of Ahura Mazda) [?] who destroys life (Ys. lvii. 15), 'life' here probably being meant in the eschatological sense. As we have seen, in the blessed future there will be no death, and in this present world only the wicked forget" the man of piety prepare for it (Aogemodásecta, 32 ff.), for it is inevitable (i. s., 53 ff.).

According to the Pahlavi Dinás-Mainiy-i Xrat (vii. 20), which seems to be a summary of the Zoroastrian belief, the seven planets "pervert every creature and creation, and deliver them up to death and every evil." According to the Bundahish (l. 7; cf. xxx. 20 ff.), the creatures of Ahiran will perish on the Last Day, when the heavens and the earth shall be created anew and when the creation of Ahura Mazda shall reign supreme, after wicked men shall have been purified by the flood of molten metal which at that time will cover the world.

Of mythological concepts of life and death there is scant trace in Zoroastrianism, the sole allusion, evidently borrowed from a Semitic source, being to the tree Gókar (the Gaokeru of Ys. i. 30, Vend. xx. 4, etc.), or white Hóum, which is "the counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the mediator for gaining the salvation of Zá-Sparràxas, viii. 5), and from which, at the áwrókàsthwás, is obtained one of the components of the food which will give undying life to all (Ys. Bundahish, xxx. 25; cf. ix. 6, xviii. 1, and see F. Wendorfmann, Zör. Studien, Berlin, 1889, pp. 219, 253; F. Spiegel, Erák. Alterthumskunde, Leipzig, 1871-78, i. 464 f.).

LITERATURE.—The principal references are given by C. Bartholomae, Atirên. Wörterbuch, Strassburg, 1900, xxx. "Anghâv, Gaya, Jiyâv, Jiyáv, Ubân, Ubân, Mâhrâs, ..."[Gyamdâs, etc.], no special study of the subject has yet been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LIFE AND DEATH (Japanese).—As might be expected, the early Japanese conceived of life and death as being entirely dependent on breathing. The word for 'to live,' iku, is associated with iku, 'breathe;' and iku, 'the expression for life and vitality, is believed to mean iku-no-michi, 'during breathing,' or iku-no-michi, 'the way of respiration.' Similarly, the word for 'to die,' shi, seems to mean shi-ins, 'the wind goes' (a derivation of the word from shi-ins, 'to pass away,' is disputable). These very ancient words are still in common use, though the people think little of their etymology.

The mythology opens with the primal power of production. Three deities are said to have sprung out of the primordial chaos. One of these is the Eternal-Ruling (Ame-no-miinaka-nushi), and the
Life is soevial with breathing, but vitality endures longer and acts beyond bodily limitations. Soul, the source of vitality, is considered to be a thing precious and mysterious like a jewel or ball. It is called tama or tama-shii, 'subtle aerial ball.' But it is not always a unity or a homogeneous whole, for double mentions of sols or double entities are spoken of. They are either mii-tama and ara-tama or aiki-mitama and kushi-mitama. The mii, 'nill,' 'quiet,' 'refined,' is contrasted with the ara, which tamae are constantly involved in the ritual or prayers, some of which are of remote origin. It is undeniable that in the pristine faith of the Japanese the generative powers played a great part, but these divinities themselves were thought to have been generated spontaneously, and the first pair are followed by a series of similar deities. They were all generated independently from one another and in turn displaced or hid themselves.

The last of these pairs are the Male-Who-Invites (Izana-gi) and the Female-Who-Invites (Izana-mi), who are doubtless counterparts of the first pair. They are united in marriage, by order of the celestial deities, and brought forth the islands which make up the Japanese archipelago, and nearly all sorts of elements and objects (see, further, art. Cosmology etc., ed. by a Japanese). The stories of these births show that many objects of nature were believed to be animated, as was, in fact, whatever manifested any power, good or evil, on men. The female deity became all them bearer, and consisted and consorted dies. This death, however, is not to be taken as a natural death in our modern sense of the word. After her death the goddess is found in Yomotsu-kuni, i.e. 'the dark country,' which is thought to be in a subterranean region. The male deity visits her there and, against her will, looks on her body by torch-light. Enraged at his importunity, she, accompanied by her attendants of the heavens, pursues him, in order to catch him and to make him a member of the realm of life and darkness. Their dialogue on the boundary of the world and the dark region tells of the life and death of human beings. The female deity, now the genie of death, threatens the male that she will take the lives of one thousand men every day, while he exclaims that he will give birth to one thousand and five hundred men every day. Thus we see how this pair of generative powers were divided and metamorphosed into the powers of life and death. A similar antithesis is attributed to the Heaven-Shining (Ama-terasu), the goddess of light and culture, and the Swift-Impetuous (Susa-no-wo), the god of darkness and outrage. These two are said to have been born of the Male-Who-Invites, either alone or in union with his consort. These divisions, however, are not thoroughgoing. Usually, in popular belief, life is ascribed to the power of the Producing deity or deities, and death to the power of evil spirits, who are indefinite in their personalities.

The stories told of the deities, of their generation and death, and of life and death in general, show nothing but the descendants of the idea of conception. They are coloured by ethnological incidents and are also possibly mingled with foreign elements. Still it is certain that the pristine beliefs contained the ideas of spontaneous generation and generative reproduction, on the one side, and the belief in unnatural death, caused by evil forces, on the other. This idea of death as the violent cessation of life survived the belief in spontaneous generation, and is still so in some parts of Japan, which are intended as a means of avoiding the contagion of pollution or to prevent evil influences of all kinds.
Shinto. *Karma* and fate are still believed to be the same, but *karma* is not strictly subject in the details of its teaching. The majority, in fact, think little of life and of its origin; but evils and diseases are, in many cases and by many people, seen as *karmic* retribution. Among the educated classes and educational circles agnosticism, so common to the Japanese mind and to Confucianists in this connexion, is a recognized principle. Young Buddhists, who are now eagerly engaged in reconstructing their faith in Buddha, are not strict in the doctrines of karma and transmigration.


**M. ANESAKU.**

**LIFE AND DEATH (Jewish).—** Optimism is the keynote of post-Biblical Judaism. Everything that God does is for the best (Berakoth, 60b), and this life is essentially good, to be contemplated with joy and gratitude. ‘For every breath that a man draws,’ says the Rabbis, ‘let him praise God’ (Midr. Rab. to Qoq 2). Yet life is not an end in itself, for it must be lived under a sense of responsibility to the Giver, and all its worth resides in this aspect of it. At death a man loses the opportunity of obeying the Torah and of adopting its teachings (Shab. 30a). ‘Morality,’ says M. Lazarus, summing up the teaching of Judaism on this subject, ‘is man’s vocation’ (Ethics of Judaism, § 116), and the Rabbinical legend tells us that the angel Sinai: ‘If Israel accept not the Commandments, it is better that the earth revert to chaos’ (Shab. 83a). ‘The world,’ say the Rabbis elsewhere, ‘stands upon three pillars: the Torah, Worship, and Benevolence’ (Abot, i. 2); or, according to another maxim, ‘upon Justice, Truth, and Peace’ (ib. l. 18). ‘The Torah is the medicine of life’ (Yoma, 72b); in other words, life is made sane and efficient by religion. God, according to the Talmudic doctors, says to Israel: ‘My light, the Torah, is in thy hands; thy light, the soul, is in Mine. Tend My light, and I will tend thine’ (Midr. Rab. to Le 29). The supreme hope of the Jew is to behold the Kingdom of God established on earth, and thus, in a notable passage of the Liturgy for the New Year Festival, he prays:

‘Put Thy fear, O Lord God, we beseech Thee, upon all Thy works, so that all mankind may bow before Thee, and become one bond united to do Thy will with a perfect heart; for we know, O Lord God, that Thy will is Thy right hand. And so give glory, O Lord, to Thy people, to those that fear Thee, and the opening of the mouth to those that trust in Thee. For then the righteous shall see and be gladdened, and iniquity shall shut its mouth, and all wickedness shall be wholly ashamed and confounded, for the proud road of sin shall pass away from off the earth. Then every creature shall own Thee as its Creator, and everything that hath breath shall cry, O Lord, the God of Israel, reigneth, and His dominion roeth over all’ (cf. Sir 30:6).

But, though the true life of the life service, it must be glad service, for the view of life taught by Judaism is serious, but cheerful’ (Lazarus, § 253). The Shekinah (the Divine Presence), says the Talmud, does not come in response either to grief or to pain, but only to glad tempering, to gladness (Shab. 106b). This is the essence of Jewish doctrine on the subject; neither asceticism nor hedonism, but joy springing from and tempered by the religious ideas, is the central doctrine of Judaism. ‘There should be no unrestrained laughter in this world’ (Ber. 31a). The history of Israel, with all its tragedy, is sufficient to forbid such mirth; and the pious Jew denies himself many pleasures in memory of the solomonic Jerusalem. Moreover, unlimited enjoyment is incompatible with a religious outlook on life; the good man will conceive of himself as living under a Divine law, with which
his pleasures must be made conformable. On the other hand, the ascetic idea is alien to the true Jew; for the pleasures of his life are no evil thing, and its indulgence, under right conditions, is commendable. Even the impulses that make for physical pleasure are the Divine handiwork, and the life of the righteous man who renounces them must have as its motive, not the satisfaction which it yields, but the desire to promote the Divine purpose for which they were created. That indulgence is a duty, a religious duty.

Thus the Rabbinical law, following the general rule laid down in Ber. 38a, prescribes a number of prayers to be recited by the Jew on indulging in various pleasures—some whimsical character—on partaking, e.g., of various kinds of food, on inhaling the scented flower, on looking upon the sea, on beholding new clothes for the first time. By such means physical gratification, when sanctioned, is also sanctioned. Furthermore, the tendency to self-indulgence is not repressed, but restrained; natural desire is tempered, not extinguished or suppressed. Material comfort and aesthetic pleasures are regarded as integral parts of an ethically sound life (Leviticus, 11:21). It is a Jewish boast that the Hebrew language is rich in words connoting joy. The Rabbis count ten such synonyms (Alot de Rab Yehudah, i. 255). The Feast of Tabernacles is called the “season of our gladness” par excellence (see Authorized Prayer Book, ed. S. Singer, p. 255); it would seem extraordinary that this festival was instituted for the specific purpose of gladness, as though the religiousness of joy was to be justified by the joy itself. The day is set apart by a special celebration in its honour (M. Joseph, Judaism as Creed and Life, p. 195). Joy is itself service; but it must be transmuted into service by being purified. Pleasure must be dignified by being used for self-restraint. At meals, the Rabbi teaches, words of Torah must be spoken, otherwise he will cease to be a symbol of the assembled company at the sacrifice of the dead (Alot, iii. 3). A man should eat only when he is hungry, not when he is hungry to the point of illness; when he is in anxiety, and always in moderation (Hullin, 84a, 6). The Talmud inveighs against gluttony and luxury (Pessachim, 114a). In fine, Judaism commands the golden mean between unlimited gratification and extreme self-denial. Indulgence and renunciation must be regulated; something of both must go to the making of the daily life; and each must find its justification in the higher utility. "Here," says Moses Luzzato (18th cent.), "is the true rule on this subject;—the worldly pleasures which a man needs not it is his duty to eschew; but those which for one reason or another, he does need he cannot renounce without sin. This is the safe rule. But its application to the various circumstances of life must be left to the individual; the law is but an indication (Shabbat, ch. 13)."

A far older teacher, Judah Halevi (12th cent.), aptly says: "One should not go beyond the bounds of nature (if there are any) in the object of a devout heart" (Kiddah al-Khassuri, tr. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1900, p. 46).

It is due partly to the difficulty of defining the via media of moderation, and partly to the sorrowful experiences of the Jewish people, that occasionally temperance has overstepped the safe line, and lost itself in austerity. The Talmud tells of a Rabbi (Ze'era) who fasted a hundred days (Baba me'zia, 55c), and of another (Mar ben Rabina) who fasted practically all the year round (Pes. 69b). There have been Jewish sects, like the Essenes and the Karaites (qq.v.), which have been marked more or less strongly by austere practices. In Judaism, as in other religions, mysticism has had its influence for the world and its joys as its corollary. The ancient teachers of Hillel and Shammai, even formally discussed the question whether life is worth living (Erubin, 156). This uncertainty is often visible. The devotee who gives himself to fasting is called a sinner (Talmuth, 11a, 22b); a man must die for the Torah, and yet he must not (Baba Kamma, 61a; Erubin, 6b); to sleep on the earth is commanded in one place (Baba Kamma, 62b); but in another the converse is enjoined (Ber. 26b). But these contradictions are either passing or incidental phases of Jewish thought; a firmer note is the rule, and the ascetic and the pessimist are only by-products of Judaism. It is a bad sign, say the Rabbis, to despise life (Tana. 98). Talmud Hillel, "In the sin-offering brought by the Nazirite (Nu 6:4) by contending that his very abstinence from strong drink was a sin (Talmuth, 11a).

According to a Talmudic utterance, in the next world men will be called to account for the lawful pleasures which they have refused in this life (Jer. Kiddushin, ch. 4). And the real Jew speaks in these maxims. Judaism finds the thought of his curses upon his life, but not to the exclusion of this world. "It has revealed heaven to men, but earth as well" (M. Giddemann, Das Judentum, Vienna, 1902, p. 56). It has no doubt for its own sake, no commendation for the temper that voluntarily courts pain and abridges life for the greater glory of God. Suffering has to be patiently endured when it comes; it has even to be welcomed as the seed of moral regeneration. "With thy very wounds will I heal thee," God, according to the Rabbis, cries to man (Midr. Rab. to Lv 18:18) "the fundamental meaning of this reference is to that which afflicts bear his name (Midr. Thalhim to Ps 94); 'if thou desirest life, hope for affliction' (ib. to Ps 16)." Such utterances betoken not a worship of sorrow, but a recognition of its disciplinary power, of its value for the character, its significance for the life. Judaism sees no merit in suffering, but only in the right bearing of it; and between its teachings and the ideas of the self-mortifying Hindu there is an impassable gulf. Suicide is a crime, and its perpetrator is not to be mourned (Midr. Rab. to Gn 9:16; Maimonides, Hilk. Raze go, xi. 4); but the slow suicide that comes of self-mutilation or of the use upon of health is also reprehensible. 'Ye shall keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live by them' (Lv 18:5) 'live by them,' says the Rabbinical gloss, 'not die by them' (Yoma, 82b).

Scattered among the motley contents of the Talmud are the materials for an entire treatise on medicine and hygiene; and the fact is itself significant (Shabbat, ch. 13), that the ascetic life is only the external form of physical life by the old Jewish sages. Personal cleanliness is exalted into a religious duty, and joy, love, and gratitude, to which each of which one can approach God. Thy contrition on a fast day does nothing to bring thee nearer to God than thy joy on the Sabbath and on festivals (Kiddah al-Khassuri, ch. 13)." A far older teacher, Judah Halevi (12th cent.), aptly says: "One should not go beyond the bounds of nature (if there are any) in the object of a devout heart" (Kiddah al-Khassuri, tr. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1900, p. 46). Thus it is evident that the physical life is also religious life. If the ethical terrors of the sacred law frighten away from the bath-house, tell his disciples that he is about to perform a sacred rite; it is a religious duty, he explains, to tend the body, upon which God has bestowed the life and beauty of a "living soul" (Lv 25:23). Personal cleanliness, the Talmud teaches, is the avenue to spiritual beauty. "(Aquila Sarutin) which defends him in serving life, it further declares, overrides the religious law (Yoma, 85c). It is not only allowable, but a duty, to extinguish a dangerous fire on the Sabbath day, and so to secure the public safety. The religious authorities are inured to delay and to be on the quiet of sufferers. The heads of the community are to be foremost in the humane task (ib. 84b). For the dead, even though he be the King David himself, the Sabbath must not be broken; but it may be broken for the living, even for a child a day old. "Put out," says the Talmud, "the light of a lamp on the Sabbath day rather than extinguish God's light of life" (Shabb. 30b). In a wiser passage in I Mac 5:23-24), the Jewish patriots are described as resolving to defend themselves on the Sabbath instead of passively sacrificing their lives for the tree, as their brethren had done before. Self-preservation is a duty. To slay a fellow-countryman in the command of another, he is a criminal (Ps 20s, 257). Personal sacrifice for oneself, self-defense is justifiable. If we are called upon to choose between saving our own life and that of another, we must save our own (Shab. me'zia, 63b). Self-torment is forbidden (Shab. kamma, 91a), as is the courting of needless danger to life—by sleeping, e.g., on the ground, or remaining in a dilapidated house (Talmuth, 50b; Ber. 26b). In certain animals 'unclean' meats, usually forbidden to Jews, may be given to the patient (Yoma, 50c).

There are limits, however, to this regard for the physical life. A man may break every law to save his life except those which forbid the three cardinal sins, idolatry, incest, and murder (Sanh. 74a). Those who sin are in another word "murderers" (Ps 57:6). But, with these reservations, the duty of preserving life is paramount. Nothing must be done to abridge
life and death (Jewish) 41

The duration of life even in the case of the dying (Shab. 151b).

Death, says the story of a sage who, suffering martyrdom at the stake, is adjured by his disciples to end his agony by giving them a command. They follow, 'God,' says, 'alone can take my life; I may not' (Aboda Zara, 18b).

Regard for life is exalted to reverence. The gift of God, life must be treated with the utmost care. The Talmudic law proscribing kindness to the lower animals is in part actuated by this motive. God has created the various types of animal life, and desires their perpetuation. It is his design that men may hommage to the Divine will this as in every other respect, and to make himself the instrument for its fulfillment (see Aaron of Barcelona, Sepher Hayyim, 15th cent., §§ 284, 254).

Life, then, according to the Jewish idea, is not evil, but supremely good; it is not a burden to be shufled off with a sigh of relief.

'This world is not a vale of tears. It is a beautiful world, and men must keep it beautiful by the inborn graces of their own lives and by the joy they weave into the lives of others. On the other hand, the true Israelite does not think of this world as his home. It is but a halting-place on the journey from one world, eternity to the next. A non-climactic to the palaces (Shab. iv. 16), 'a wayside inn' (Me'irah katan, 9b), the port where we must equip our lack if we would fare safely on our faithful journey (G ethical, 6).

Life is not to be longed to unduly, or to be yielded up grudgingly. When the Master's call comes, it must be obeyed cheerfully; for, since He does everything well, the decree that removes us is as wise and good as is the ordinance that places us here.

'Fear not,' says Ben Sira, 'the sentence of death. . . . Why dost thou refuse, when it is the good pleasure of the Most High? (Sir. 41:12).

This acceptance of death as the dispensation of Divine justice is the keynote of the ancient Jewish burial service, which takes the form of a tholosy, and, indeed, is so styled. Its distinctive name is idud haddin, 'justification of the Divine sentence,' and its essence is expressed in the following quotation:

'Righteous art thou, O Lord, both when thou artillest and when thou maketh light. . . . It is not for us to murmur at Thy method of judging. . . . Blessed, then, be the righteous Judge, all whose judgments are righteous and true. . . The Lord says, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord' (Authorised Prayer Book, p. 311).

On hearing of the death of one dear to him, the devout Jew uttereth the benediction: 'Blessed be the righteous Judge' (Oe, p. 292).

The Israelite, then, is taught not to desire death, but to despise it. If in life he has the opportunity for service, in death he discerns the signal for ceasing his labours. He is so to live as to be ready for that signal whenever it is given; his 'garments' are to be white, 'as one knows when the King may come' (Shab. 153a). And, so prepared, he can await the unknown hour calmly.

G. H. Dalman is not warranted in charging the Jew, as does Max Miller also in his Ghetto Lectures, 'parochial, one-sided, and narrow-minded' (Anthropological Studies, London, 1929, p. 369), with an undue dread of death.

'The celebration of the New Year and the Day of Atonement,' says Dalman, 'according to the notions attached to it by orthodox Judaism, instead of mitigating or banishing the fear of death, strengthens it' (Christianity and Judaism, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1901, p. 40). He is doubtless thinking of the passionate prayers for life which fill so large a place in the liturgy for those solemn days. But those days are essentially days of penitence; and, if the Jew supplicates for life, it is in order that by repentance and amendment of life he may increase his chances of entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Death itself has no greater terrors for him than it has for any other mortal on earth, as any reader of the Talmud will see. He does not encourage such fears, but exhorts the Jew to contemplate death with a tranquil mind as the end and the climax of the well-spent life. Such, for example, is 'the season of the year when the Angel of Death, armed with the sword of a flaming flame, is likened to the gathering of fully-ripened fruit or the quenching of the flame of a burnt-out lamp. The death to be dreaded is the morally premature one, which is brought into the half-ripened fruit or the untimely extinction of the lamp (Midr. Rab. to Gn 25).

Death is a natural ordinance; his work finished, the worker must go and receive his reward. Hence Issae, Moses for Joshua, David for Solomon (Midr. Thallim to Ps 116).

And God saw all that He had made, and beheld it was very good—'it is death', that is meant, says a Rabbi (Midr. Rab. to Gen 1).

The origin of the richly-dressed angel of one who gently draws a hair from the surface of milk (Ber. Sa); this called 'death by a kiss' (Baba bathra, 17a).

The death of the wicked, on the other hand, is like the painful impaling of a thorn from wool (Ber. Sa).

Death is the liberator (Shab. 30a); it is like the being entered into port of a well-laden vessel (Midr. Rab. to Ec 7:18).

Hence it is that the Wise Man says, 'the day of death is better than the day of one's birth' (ib.).

It is fulfilment as compared with mere promise. Far from being the primeval curse, death is a blessing. The day that Adam died was made a holiday (Tana d'be Elyahu, ch. 16).

'The death of the righteous,' God says, 'is a grief to Me, and never should they die if they did not themselves ask for death; for did not Abraham say, 'I would be dust and ashes,' and Jacob, 'Let me die now!' (Midr. Thallim to Ps 116).

The idea, however, that life is desirable as the opportunity for obedience persistently recurs in the Rabbinical literature. The thought of its cessation, therefore, is not welcome.

Even Abraham, who, as already indicated, prays for death, is represented to us, in his great prayer, as being averse to it. He refuses to surrender his soul when the archangel Michael claims it; and to win his compliance the angel, at the dividing of bread, puts on the garb of a poor man, and appears to the patriarch clothed in light. In this manner the Angel of Death, first in the temple, then in the palace, and finally, invincible, has to divert his attention by a strategem before he can perform his mission (Shab. 30b).

The Angel of Death is a familiar figure in the Rabbinical literature, and, as in the later Biblical writings (e.g., I Ch 21), he is armed with a sword. Its point is tipped with gall, and it is this bitter drop that slays (Aboda Zara, 20b).

Sometimes the weapon is described as a knife (Ketuboth, 77b); sometimes Death is pictured as strangling his victim with a cord. His presence in a town is betokened by the howling of dogs (Baba bathra, 60b).

According to some ideas, Death is a fallen angel (Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 13), and identical with the Serpent in Eden (Wis 2:9).

His name, which often occurs in Rabbinical literature, is Sammael, i.e., 'the drug of God,' a reference to the gall on his sword. Legal opinion, however, denied the existence of an Angel of Death, just as it scoffed the idea of a personal Devil. 'Satan, the Angel of Death, and Evil Desire are one and the same' (Baba bathra, 15a).

In other ideas it is the impulse alone that tempts and destroys. Death, however, is the friend of men, especially of the righteous. Benevolence disarms him (Derekh zequte, ch. 8); he also instructs those who are weary of life (Ber. 51c).

He respects the wishes of the just as to when and where he will perform his summons (Mo'ed katan, 22a).

A Talmudic legend tells how a famous sage, Joshua ben Levi, appointed to die, and permitted beforehand to see his place in paradise, seized the knife of the destroying angel, whereupon a heavenly voice rings out the command, 'Give back the knife; the children of men have need of it' (Ketuboth, 77b).

Long fellowship has made good the use of the story in his Legend of Rabbi ben Levi.

The necessity of death, however, applies only to the existing worldly order. In the Golden Age there will be no death; Messiah Himself will slay 'a death without sorrow' (Pesikta Rabbati, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1860, 161b [the Scripture proof cited is Is 25]).

As to the origin of death, various opinions are expressed. The familiar idea that death was brought into the world by the pains inflicted by the Serpent in Rabbinical literature (see Shab. 55b; Erubin, 15b; Tana d'be Elyahu, ch. 5); but we find it much earlier in Sir 23:2. Closely connected with this idea is that of Abraham four hundred years before the death of Isaac, Moses for Joshua, David for Solomon (Midr. Thallim to Ps 116).

'And God saw all that He had made, and beheld it was very good'—it is death that is meant, says a Rabbi (Midr. Rab. to Gen 1).
LIFE AND DEATH (Teutonic).—Our knowledge of the conceptions of life and death among primitive Teutonic peoples can be gleaned from three fields: (1) the fragmentary information on Teutonic beliefs and practices given by classical and early Christian writers; (2) the organized religious belief of the Norse peoples, particularly the cult of the chief gods, which embodies beliefs common to the general Teutonic stock, and reveals traces of their far-remote ideas and beliefs as well as of Teutonic tradition, folklore, superstition, and custom, both in early times and in modern survivals. From a study of this material it would appear that the processes of thought on these topics among the early Teutons were very similar to those now formulated for all primitive peoples. The early Teuton, in dividing all that affected him into animate and inanimate, probably took for his criterion the power of motion; from the confusion of this power with the faculty of volition animistic ideas would arise in connexion with active natural phenomena, and, later, even with inanimate objects, while a still further development would appear in personification, with inevitable sex-distinction, and in symbolic beliefs. The criteria for the attribution of death would be the loss of the power of motion and the phenomena arising from it; from the observation of sleep, dreams, trances, etc., would spring animistic beliefs. A further stage would appear in the identification of the principle of life with those intangible or tangible manifestations, such as breath, warmth, colour, pulsation, or blood, with whose innuance in the body life is obviously connected; hence the belief in a material form of the soul, leading to the idea of the 'eternal soul.' Of the later forms of belief Teutonic folklore and myth give ample evidence, allowing one to presuppose the earlier stages.

1. The principle of life in nature.—The four elements are constantly represented as imbued with life, and as capable of transmitting or producing life. The strength of the belief in running water is shown by the wide-spread Teutonic worship of streams and springs (cf. Grimm, Teut. Mythol., p. 101), and the practice of bathing in magic springs testifies to the Teutonic belief in the supernatural power of water for health (cf. Frazer, G.B. IV, pt. vii., Balder the Beautiful, ii. 29). The personification of the living element in water is generally feminine. The belief in life inherent in fire is shown by the general Teutonic myth of Wieland, originally without a fire demon, and by the Norse personification of fire as Logi, later confused with, and superseded by, Loki. The life-transmitting powers of fire appear in the customs still practised throughout Teutonic Europe, at the ceremonial bonfires, especially at Easter and Midsummer (ib. ch. iv.; note that Frazer admits the existence and significance of these customs, although he deviates [ch. v.] from Mannhardt's explanation of fire-festivals). Akin to fire-beliefs is the belief in the quickening power of the sun, shown in the connexion between the summer solstice and the Midsummer fires, and in the custom of rolling fiery wheels or other sun-symbols. A curious example of belief in the generative power of lightning occurs in the superstition that the sun's rays are produced by a lightning-stroke. The connexion between fire and human life appears in the representation of souls as flames or will-o'-the-wisps.

Air has a particular connexion with the principle of life under two chief aspects: first, breath, the symbol of life (cf. Voluspa, 18); secondly, wind or whirlwind. Wind made known the presence of spirits, and was credited with the power of restoring life to the dead and to trees and plants; and, as in the story of Balder, and the early idea of the conscious power of weapons (cf. 'the sword that fights of itself' [Skirnisund, § 1]), was long retained in poetry and folk-tales.

The close connexion of trees with the principle of life is proved by the well-attested Teutonic worship of trees, and by the idea of the World-Tree, with its parallel occurrence in the identification of trees with the guardian-spirits of peoples, tribes, families, or individuals. (See Hamadryads [Teutonic].) The use of plants and fruits to convey life is frequent even in modern superstition, and an early instance occurs in the Yule Sacrifice (ch. i.), where the queen becomes pregnant after eating one of Freyja's apples. The ashes of the Yule and Midsummer logs were touched and kept for the same purpose (Branches and Twigs, § 5).

Certain animals, particularly the boar, had a special connexion with the power of life and its transmission; others had an intimate connexion with life and as able to transmit or to produce life, as to arise the power of transference or of shape-
changing. Another form of this sympathetic connexion appears in the "external soul"; but to the Teutons this was the logical conclusion of depositing the external soul in animals, as seems never to have developed among the Teutons (K. Helm, *Allgym. Religiongesch.*, i. 23 ff.). In heroic song the human life-history is shadowed by that of the animal, as were Woldidrich and Sigardr Sven. The serpent, in other cults so important a symbol of life, because of the renewal of its skin, has little efficiency in Teutonic mythology. The tenacity of the belief in individual life in the natural world appears in frequent personification, though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between nature-personifications and those local deities which abound in Teutonic belief, but which may be a later development.

It is a moot point whether the primitive Teuton believed in a universal life-giving spirit; without going so far as to assume a monothelistic origin for Teutonic mythology, we can yet believe that the principle of life was early personified, though whether as earth-spirit or as sky-spirit it is impossible to decide. Animistic thought generally tends to the latter, but the Northman evidence, the North-Swedish combination, and the Swedish worship of Freyr as a fertility deity all point to the former.

And while that life-conception with its productivity, and traces of phallic worship are not lacking (ib. i. 214-225). The origin of world-life has already been treated (see COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY [Teutonic]); the revival of world-life and its different phases were celebrated at the Easter, Midsummer, and Yule festivals.

2. The origin of individual life. — The Teutonic conception was prevented from becoming metaphysical by that material view of the world which is illustrated by the ceremonies followed at birth (see BIRTH [Teutonic]); and the lack of individualism in the life-conception is shown by the importance assigned to blood-ship, heredity, and rebirth. Blood-ship was the closest of ties, and the mingling of blood was the symbolic ceremonial for sworn brotherhood (cf. art. BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], i. 7). The power of heredity consists in the transmission of racial qualities, especially courage and hardihood, as in the case of Sinffóti (Fosunga Saga, 8). The idea of rebirth, which still persists, was deeply rooted in Norse belief, and accompanied its characteristic proneness towards the idea of naming children after dead ancestors; the name was of great efficacy in the attraction of ancestral qualities, and even implied the transmission of a personality. The impossibility of re-birth was considered a misfortune (cf. F. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 35 ff.). Similarly, the *hjálingja*, or genius in female form, could transfer itself from the dead to a beloved kinman (Fæga Gláma Saga, 9). The different stages of human life were little regarded; we know of no initiatory ceremonies at adolescence, although Karl Pearson (Chances of Death, London, 1897, vol. ii. ch. ix.) considers that the licentious character of medieval Walpurgisnacht revelry may have derived their origin as sexual festivities; otherwise we hear only of military ceremonies (Tac. Germ. 13) or of heathen feasts (Ynglinga Saga, 40).

The material representation of the soul was probably induced by the observation of dreams and similar phenomena, where the soul appears to have an independent existence, or by the location of the soul in the heart, liver, or head. An extension of this material representation appears in the doctrine, common to all Teutonic peoples, of the "external soul"; the chief evidence is the story told of the becoming immortal (ib. i. 23) of King Gunderbam, whose soul was once observed to issue "in modum reptilis" from his mouth during sleep. Survivals of this idea in fairy-tales show the control exercised by the individual over his external soul by depositing the soul in a place of apparent safety, in an object or plant, and thereby prolonging indefinitely the body's existence (cf. Frazer, ii. 116 ff.; Cf., ch. v.). A case of control exercised by an external soul was told of the bard Nornagatr, whose life was identified with a burning candle (Saga of Nornagatr, 11). The soul's power to assume animal form and to go on journeys (hamfarir), later connected in Teutonic mythology with personification, and connexion of such ideas with the observation of states of super-normal activity appears in accounts of berserk-gang and shape-changing (see TRANSMIGRATION [Teutonic] and Lycanthropy, § 1).

An extensive power over the principle of life was acquired by magic, chiefly sympathetic, prophylactic, or coercive, and it was possible to induce animal and vegetable fecundity, as by the sympathetic magic of the Midsummer fires. Instances of the sacrifice of human life to ensure vegetable fecundity occur in the immolation of the kings Donnald and Olfr (Ynglinga Saga, 18, 47); a slightly different case is that of Aunn, who gained an added ten years of life for each son sacrificed (ib. 29). Magic use of plants, etc, of charms could induce both the connexion with the animal and vegetable world, its soul's coming (Sigdrfjumbl, 9). Life could be protected or prolonged by various practices, such as passing the individual through a cleft tree or hollow stone, with a charm (Grimm, p. 1167; Frazer, ii. 168 ff.); the story of Balder exemplifies prophylactic magic to secure invulnerability. By spells poison could be rendered innocuous (Englite Saga, 44, 75, 79), and sickness prevented or cured, while the perpetual battle of the Jötnings exemplifies the power to renew life indefinitely (Skaldskaparmali, 47). Charms also had power to suspend life (cf. the sleepthorn), and to harm or destroy it; metamorphoses were often compulsory, the result of external magic.

3. The conception of death in nature. — The elements have all a death-dealing as well as a life-giving power; especially fire and water; water can induce a malignant power on Midsummer Day, and demands a human victim; similarly, many vegetable and animal objects had death-dealing powers, inherent or temporarily acquired.

4. The conception of death in nature. — This arose from the phenomena attending sleep, which foreshadowed the soul's departure; the soul is still materially represented as issuing from the mouth in the form of a bird or mouse, and its exit is facilitated in every way. In Norse mythology the dead made an actual journey, and needed shoes to travel the Hel road. The idea of cessation of activity after death, if it ever existed, was soon superseded, as is proved by the universal custom of providing the dead with material implements; the earliest tombs contain copper and vessels, not armour and weapons—a sign that at first feasting, not fighting, was to be the chief occupation. Activity after death could be exercised still on earth, but it was then frequently malignant, and could be prevented only by burning the corpse (Laxdela Saga, 17, 24). Spirits could return in animal or in human form (Eggjeygr Saga, 51, 55), and hauntings show the power of ghosts to affect the living; fear was probably as great an incentive to ancestor-worship as reverence. Activity in another world was materially conceived as a close parallel to mortal life, as is proved by the nature of the implements provided, and such activity was often localized, as in the Gallic *Diaconus* (ed. K. Lehndorff, Berlin, iii. 23) of King Gunderbam, whose soul was once observed to issue "in modum reptilis" from his mouth during sleep. Survival of the Valhalla belief is the final poetical development of the conception of Oðinn as god of the slain; in a less warlike age a more peaceful prefigurement
aries, the Rosengarten of the later German poets; Saxo Grammaticus’s account (Gesta Danorum, i. 31) of Hadding’s voyage to the under world represents an intermediate stage (cf. art. ELIEST, ABDON of THE Teutonic). The power of death was in- 
exorable and inevitable, even the gods being doomed to perish at the world-death. Death was personified in many forms as a messenger, or as an embodiment of the Teuton, Hel, or of H. In Saxo’s Prose 
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ted, exorable, of the personification of life death prevailed, and gave rise to the idea of weakening death’s power by insulting or beating a tangible representation (Grimm, p. 767).

In spite of the undoubted fatalism of Teutonic peoples (see art. DOOM, DOOM MYTHS [Teutonic]), the belief, born of instinct and desire, prevailed that magic enabled man to exercise a twofold power over death; first, in retarding or hastening death; secondly, in controlling and summoning spirits (Erbyggja Saga, 55). Preventive magic against death might include the wide range of charms to preserve health, great barrenness, bald sickness, or stanch blood. Coercive magic to compel death was apparently as frequent as preventive, though naturally more secret. It was possible to foresee the doom of death upon another; to control the premonition of it in oneself—
to be fey. The summoning of spirits (hátrina), performed by means of the valgaldr, became in Norse mythology an important branch of magic art (cf. MORT, Teutonic).

5. The ethical aspect of life and death.—It is difficult to deduce the ethical outlook of the average Teuton on life and death because of the extremely objective character of the literature, but the notion of a moral aspect of world-life and world-death is proved by the fact that the end of the world comes “automati- 

cally,” involving the gods also. Respect for the principle of life is presupposed by the importance attached to fertility and all that promotes it; but this was instinctive, and originally entirely non-moral. Respect for individual life rarely appears, except in kinship; the slaughtering of the last of the kind as a vicarious expiation for the blood-tie (Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum, ii. 1; Beowulf, 2436 ff.); but even this was probably due more to tribal than to moral instinct. Custom rather than respect governed the sacrifice of the person as of the lento- 

tion of life, as in the case of the Gothic widows (Procopius, de Bello Goth. ii. 14). Chivalrous sparing of life was little known, for Saxo Gram- 

maticus’s assertion to the contrary can hardly be substantiated from earlier literature (Gesta Danorum, v. 190). The fatalism so deeply ingrained in the Teutons coloured their whole outlook, but it was unfeigned by remorse for an ill-spent life or by fear of coming punishment; and the lack of a moral division after death is so general that it is tempting to explain apparent inconsistencies by the theory of Christian influence. Suicide was allowable when due to grief for a friend or kinsman, and was more honourable than an ignoble death (cf. Saxo Grammaticus, tr. O. Elton, London, 1894, p. xxxvi). The practice of human sacrifices pointed to little respect for human life in the abstract (see art. HUMAN SACRIFICE [Teutonic]); the fact that such sacri- 

fices were prophylactic or propitiatory was held sufficient justification. If indeed any were necessary. There certainly seems to have been a strong idea of sacrificing the life and welfare of the one to that of the many. It would add greatly to our knowledge of the intermedi- 

ty, the subject if, in the account of prophylactic sacrifices, the least clue were given to the mood and temper of the victim—whether he were merely passive under compulsion or a willing and exalted sufferer.

LITERATURE.—Sir James Frazer, C.B., plaus- 


Stallybrass, 2 vols., 1838-85, chs. xix—xxix, xxxiv—xxxvii; P. 

Hermann, Nord. Mythol., Leipzig, 1875-77; K. Helm, Altertum. Religionswissch., Heidelberg, 1918, 1, sec- 

tion vii-xii; W. W. Jahn, Teut., der mythol. Mythos, 

1890, pp. 72-116; F. D. Chantepie de la Sauveyse, Ed. of the 

Teutona, Boston, 1902, chs. iii, xi, xvii, xx, xxii; E. 

Rothenstein (Mythology) in H. Paul, Grundriss der germ. Philo-

sophie; iii., Strassburg, 1909, chs. v, x; E. H. Meyer, Germ. 

Mythol., Berlin, 1901, ch. iv. M. E. SEATON.

LIFE, FUTURE.—See STATE of the DEAD.

LIFE-TOKEN.—‘Life-token’ or ‘life-index’ is the technical name given to an object the condition of which is in popular belief bound up with that of some person, and indicates his state of health or safety. The object may be an artifact, such as a tool, a weapon, or an ornament; or it may be a tree or plant, an animal, or even a well, or a vessel of water or some other liquid. The most familiar examples are found in the Arabian Nights. In the story of ‘The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette,’ with which Galland con- 

cluded his version (cf. R. F. Burton, Supplemental Nights, London, 1886-88, iv. 491 ff.), Prince Bahman, on departing on a search of the island of the golden water, and the singing tree, leaves with his sister a hunting-knife, the blade of which will remain clean and bright so long as he continues safe and sound, but will be stained with blood if he be slain. His brother, following him, leaves a string of pearls, which will run loose upon the string while he is alive, but after his death will be found fixed and adhering together.

The incidents, in fact, common in folk-tales all over the world where the hero goes on a perilous adventure, and his friends require early infor- 

mation, that they may in case of need sail forth to rescue or avenge him. It is necessary here to draw atten- 

tion only to one wide-spread cycle—that of the modern variants of the ancient Greek story of Perseus. In these tales Perseus is often represented as one of the mother’s having partaken of a magical fish. Some portion of the offal of the fish is buried in the garden; a tree grows on the spot and becomes the life-token of the children. Sometimes a portion of the blood is preserved, by its direction, in phials, one for each of the children, to boil or become turbid in case of misfortune. In a story from Pisa the fish-bone is fastened to a beam in the kitchen, and sweats blood when anything untoward happens to any of the boys.

There is thus an original organic connexion be- 

between the life-token and the person whose condition it exhibits. This connexion supplies the interpre- 

tation. The life-token is derived from the doctrine of sympathetic magic, according to which any portion of a living being, though severed, remains in mystical union with the bulk, and is affected by whatever may affect the bulk. Sympathetic magic, however, is not confined to folk-tales; it has a practical bearing. It is applied in witchcraft and folk-medicine to the injury of human beings and every object that comes into relation with them. Accordingly, we find the life- 

token not only in folk-tales, but also in everyday custom and superstition.

A striking and pathetic example of a severed portion of a human being employed as his life-token is recorded in the United States. Early in the last century a boy in Granton County, New Hampshire, was badly scalced that a plug of flesh, half an inch in diameter, sloughed off, and was carefully treasured by his mother. When he grew up, he left home and was never heard of after; but his mother, from time to time, examined the fragment of skin, persuaded that, so long as it was sound, her son was all right and well, and that it would not begin to die until his death. For thirty years, until her death about the
Turning now to artificial objects—an illustration may be given of a somewhat unaccustomed life-cycle.

Father George Eich, reporting in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (1895) a recent visit to Easter Island, relates that the native converts persistently inquired after another Roman Catholic missionary, Father Albert, who had previously visited them. They said that he had caused the great stone cages which, as usual, they had lived in, and told them: ‘When you see this cross tall, you will say, Father Albert has just died; let us pray for him.’ Father Eich went to see the cross, and found that it was the cage which had been set up again, and bore traces of its fall. On questioning them as to the precise date of its falling, and how it coincided exactly with that of Father Albert’s death in Spain, he thus replies: 1894 (VII, xl [1900] 326, quoting the Annales at length).

This kind of life-token easily lends itself to divination concerning the health or prosperity of absent friends, or even the prospects of life of actual members of the family.

In Thuringia, when it is desired to know whether absent children or other kinsmen are still living, all that is necessary is to stick a loaf of bread with ears of corn before putting it into the oven. The bread is then placed about the home of the absent persons concerning whom inquiry is made; and, if any of them is searched in the process of baking, the person symbolized is speedily dead (A. Witzschen, Sagen, Sitten und Glaubensaus Friesingen, Vienna, 1878, p. 251). Zulu women, when their husbands were away, hung the crossed Sleeping-mat on their wall. So long as it hung, that was a sign of hope; and when it fell, the husband was considered to be dead. To do so, he is believed to be dead (T. Arbouset and F. Daumas, Exploratory Tour, Cape Town, 1846, p. 14; cf. H. Callaway, Rel. Systems of the South Indians, Natal, 1913, p. 571). The candle is often offered in Brittany. A sailor’s wife who has been long separated from her husband, considers that it is her duty to light a candle, and to some shrines and lights a taper before the saint. If her husband is yet alive, of course, it burns well; otherwise the flames are weak and intermittent, and will not last.

The cauld with which some children are born also becomes an index of their health and prosperity. For this purpose great care is taken of it.


But, as in the stories, the life-token is not always determined at the birth of the person whose fate it is to indicate. When a child has been placed through a young ash-tree split for the purpose, in order to cure infantile hernia, the tree is bound up and plastered, in the hope that it may grow together again; and according to the success of the treatment the child is expected to recover or not. More than this, so intimate has the connexion between the tree and the child become by the operation that if the tree afterwards fells, the child will die. Thus the tree is not merely dependent upon the fate of the child; the child is also dependent on the fate of the tree. This mutual dependence is sometimes expressly mentioned in the stories. Thus, in the following from the close connexion established between the human being and the object constituted as the life-token, in the stories it is often forgotten; generally in practice it is at least implicit.

On the Eastern peninsula of Maryland, opposite Baltimore, when a member of a family leaves home, a bit of live-for-ever is stuck in the ground to indicate the fortunes of the absent one. It will flourish if he prospers; otherwise it will wither and die (J. F. Eich, 1893 [1901] 1932). At Rome every Emperor solemnly planted on the Capitol a laurel, which was said to wither when he was about to die. A successful general to whom a triumph was accorded, after the occasion of the cereus set by Livia, a laurel, similarly believed to wither when he was about to die. In the southern United States the temple of Qurbanus, one called the Patriarch tree, the other the Fleece. So long as these trees flourished, it was said that the temporal authority of the State, the Patriarch, lived. But it began to fall at the time of the Social War, when the Flens suppressed the Patriarch’s Monarchy. Monarchical trees, neither sickly nor shrivelled, gained the superiority (Pliny, HN xiv. 36). This superstition, which on certain occasions, as at marriage or change of dwelling, or at a funeral, to cage and retain the soul, and in sickness to recall it from wandering and rest it to the patient’s body, is also found in the practices and superstitions, the object in mystic relation with a man is by no means always called his soul, or said to contain his soul. It seems, therefore, to the writer, that in many instances it is applicable to a word expressing a definite conception when it is not applied by the people holding the superstitution or exercising the custom. Ideas
are often vague, and, where they are so, to affix terms to which.connot to us something definite.

In Nigeria a great tree frequently stands in a village, and is lived with medicine and vedoe offerings. It is described by the local people as a man who lived as a sapling, a boy, a man, a father, and a god (C. Partridge, Cross River Native, London, 1906, pp. 194, 256). The wood is sacred and is taken independently viewed the gift of the gods, the father, the man, the boy, the child, and the tree itself has the power of protecting the village against enemy attacks.

The Montols of Northern Nigeria believe that the tree is a, gift of the gods to the community. It is considered to be the home of the gods, and hence the tree is a sacred place. The tree is believed to have the power to protect the community from harm and to bring good fortune. The tree is also believed to have the power to cure diseases.

Further, if life is a unique object, whether physically (so to speak), as in the case of an ailting child passed through a split sapling, or by the arbitrary appointments of myself or another, if it is owed up to God that injuries intentionally inflicted on the object in question will react upon me. The felling of the sapling causes the death of the child. In the classic story of Melasger the hero's life came to an end with the burning and extinction of the fateful brand. This belief is the foundation of that department of magic which is used for injuring others by damaging or destroying things which have been closely attached to them, or to which identity with them is imputed. Fragments of the hair, nails, food, or clothing, portions of the blood or saliva, and earth from the footprint of the enemy in the house of the victim, are taken by the witch as a means to injure the life, which are still a portion of himself, though detached; and he may be injured or even done to death by the appropriate treatment of any of these objects. So also to stick pins or daggers into, or to burn, the effigy of a man is to wound or kill the person represented. These are all well-known magical rites. Parallel with them is the treatment of such objects for the purpose of benumbing the person to whom they belong.
The navel-string of an infant, taken by a mother to church at her churching, and laid down beside the altar or in some other suitable place, is deemed in Mecklenburg and Thuringia to be efficacious in inducing the child to live. Among the worshipers of the devil, the veneration and care of objects which are considered to be life-tokens, or life-tokens, independent of the animals that haunt or inhabit them.

On a mount in Franconia a fountain issue near the ancestral home of an ancient noble family. The clear stream rushes forth inclusively the whole year round; and it was believed to fail only when one of the family was about to die (J. Griswold, Deutsche Sagen, Berlin, 1859, ii. 186, 189; Flinte, JV xix. 22). Tiberius Graccius once caught a pair of snakes upon his bed, and was advised by the soothsayers to kill one of them, but warned that his life would be bound up with that of the one, and his wife with that of the other. Rather than put an end to his wife's life, he had his own self killed in a short time (Ptolemeus, Tiberius Graccius). At the death of a family, the body was washed three times, and the remembrance of it was a sapling stocked with as many fish as they had kids. When say of the monks fell sick, one of them received the whole content of the world; and the monk was going to die, the fish would die three days before him (W. Crook, Leben, Leipzig, 1845, p. 286; cit. Leonhard Vare, Treue Liess der charmne, Paris, 1855, p. 307).

On the island of Buru, one of the Moluccas, the same belief is extended to the caimans. No Burunees, we are told, dares kill a caiman, lest he should unwittingly cut off the head of his nearest kinsman (Wilken, iii. 13). In fact, the belief that the lives of human beings are bound up with those of certain of the lower animals was as extensive and far-reaching as it is very precarious, and the idea is considered not to be viewed as the guardians or incarnations of the souls of the forefathers.

Lakes and streams also serve as life-tokens, independent of the animals that haunt or inhabit them.

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The present writer has elsewhere (LP ii. 1855, 13) pointed out that the custom of secreting or crystal-gazing (q. v.) is intimately related to those of looking into the depths of a well or a pool of water or ink, and into a magical mirror, for the purpose of gaining tidings of absent friends or distant events. It will suffice to say here that the hallucination on which it is founded is equally created by being produced by gazing intently on any dark and polished surface like that of standing water, a mirror, or a piece of stone, and that the superstition is practically world-wide.

The march between the life-token and the belief in the life-token is especially connected with any individual is ill-defined. It is by no means necessary to appoint one's own life-token; the health or prosperity of the absent may be divided among several, and thus the arbitrary appointment by anxious relatives or friends at home. There is but a step between this and the drawing of auguries from events and objects not appointed at all. This step is often taken both in tales and in real life.

In an Indian tale three drops of blood appearing on the knife while eating are considered an omen of another's evil or success, and a divination. In a Bushman tale the gods are reported to speak through the blood. In another tale, the blood is considered to be the sign of the gods, and hence the tree is a sacred place. The tree is believed to have the power to protect the community from harm and to bring good fortune. The tree is also believed to have the power to cure diseases.

Further, if life is a unique object, whether physically (so to speak), as in the case of an ailting child passed through a split sapling, or by the arbitrary appointments of myself or another, if it is owed up to God that injuries intentionally inflicted on the object in question will react upon me. The felling of the sapling causes the death of the child. In the classic story of Melasger the hero's life came to an end with the burning and extinction of the fateful brand. This belief is the foundation of that department of magic which is used for injuring others by damaging or destroying things which have been closely attached to them, or to which identity with them is imputed. Fragments of the hair, nails, food, or clothing, portions of the blood or saliva, and earth from the footprint of the enemy in the house of the victim, are taken by the witch as a means to injure the life, which are still a portion of himself, though detached; and he may be injured or even done to death by the appropriate treatment of any of these objects. So also to stick pins or daggers into, or to burn, the effigy of a man is to wound or kill the person represented. These are all well-known magical rites. Parallel with them is the treatment of such objects for the purpose of benumbing the person to whom they belong.

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LIG HT AND DARKNESS

Primitive (J. A. MacCulloch), p. 47.

Chinese (J. Dyck Ball), p. 51.


Greek and Roman (J. S. Reid), p. 56.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Primitive).—Among the lower races the nature and origin of light and darkness gave rise to many questions, and the answers to these are found in a great variety of myths. Frequently light and darkness are associated with the hard darkness, as in an Australian myth—

*The word became fruitful; it dwelt with the face glimmering; it brought forth night. The grey night, the long night, the lowest night, the hottest night, the black night, to be felt; the night to be touched, the night unseen, the night following on, the night ending in death.*

The Caro mythology relates that the Ata o te po, gods of Hades or darkness, existed before heaven was lifted up, and were more ancient than the Ata o te ra, gods of light, because darkness precedes light. Their chief was Hine nui te po, the great mother of Light, or Hades. Light and life are represented by Tana mir te ra, the great son of day. A creation epic describes the cosmogonic periods, the first of which is that of thought, the second that of darkness:

1. **Emorial darkness.**—A wide-spread idea seems to be that night precedes or gives rise to day, darkness precedes or gives rise to light. Light, the light of day, appears to come gradually out of the darkness of night, whereas darkness falls over the light of day and extinguishes it, but does not come from it. Man also, asleep and inert during darkness, rises to fresh activity with the light. A pre-existing state of darkness, out of which light and darkness are separated, is thus generally presupposed. Many Australian tribes believe that long ago darkness or semi-darkness prevailed, until the sun was made or released. An emu’s egg was thought to have brought light or set fire to a wood-pile belonging to a sky-being. The latter sees how beautiful earth now is, and therefore he makes a fire every day. There is little warmth in the morning, because it is not fully kindled, and it is cold at night when the fire dies out. The jackass roases men to the light. If he did not, or if children imitated him, there would be nothing but darkness. Or the sun is created as the result of certain obscure rites performed by men who complained of having no heat or light; or there is darkness until the magpie propels the sky and sets free the sun. The last-mentioned myth, that heaven and earth are close together and that, until they are separated, their offsprings are in perpetual and universal night, prevails over Oceania. The children, or gods, or a serpent, or the hump from apart and so let in light and air.


5. [Paris, 1906] 252. In all such cases the faith-token exactly corresponds with the life-token.

6. Reine Bassett, Nouveau Conte berbère, Paris, 1897, given in a note on p. 400–401, an extensive list of stories in which the incident occurs. Many of these are abstracted and discussed by F. J. Child, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, v. vol. 1, Boston, 1880–89, in the introductions to the ballads of Hind Horn (i. 157), and Bonny Ben Horn (ii. 317), and by W. A. Cussen, Popular Tales, v. and xii., Edinburgh, 1877–1880, and in his dissertation appended to John Lane’s Continuation of Chatterton’s Tales published by the Chaucer Society, London, 1880–89, 1896, 1934. Discussions will be found on the incident and its relation to custom and superstition by R. G. A. Wilson, in the Transactions of the Royal Antiquary Society of Ireland. The following are Storiken van den Indischen Archipel, ‘De betrekking tuschen menschen, dieren en planten, of het volksgeloof’, and De Simonsmycke, collected in his Verschiedene Geschichten, 4 vols., The Hague, 1891. 3 vols., and E. S. Hartland, The Legend of Perseus, 3 vols., London, 1884–86, ii, ch. viii. See also Art. Life and Death (Primitive), § 6.

E. Sidney Hartland.

Hindu (A. Hillebrandt), p. 60.

Iranian (J. H. Gray), p. 62.

Semitic and Egyptian (W. Cruikshank), p. 62.

The myth of Heaven and Earth as a divine pair is common in W. Africa, but its most significant expression is found among the Yorubas, who say that Obutala and Oduoda, their chief god and goddess, were shut up in darkness in a calabash in the beginning. She blamed him for this, whereupon he blinded her.

Among the Eskimos, a people dwelling for a great part of the year in darkness, many myths deal with this subject. According to one of these, men came out of the earth, lived in perpetual darkness, and knew no death. There came a flood which destroyed all but two old women, of whom desired both light and death. Death came,
and with its sun, moon, and stars. Another widespread myth is that of the brother who, in the time when darkness covered the earth, ravished his sister. In her anger at his brutal conduct, she purposed to him to the sky with a brand. He became the moon and she the earth, ever pursuing the moon, except in winter, when she remains in her house and there is darkness. The stars are sparks from the brand.

A well-known Chinese myth relates that in the beginning all was darkness. From a great mound egg, which divided in two, came Poon-Koo Wong, who made the sky out of the upper and earth out of the lower half. He also made sun and moon. Chinese philosophy speaks of T’ai-Khi, the Most Ultimate, which produced the cosmic souls Yang and Yin, male and female, heaven and earth, warmth and cold, light and darkness. In Japan an old myth in the Kojiki speaks of a time when Heaven and Earth were not separated and the In and Yo (= Yin and Yang) not yet divided. All was chaos and presumably darkness.

A Finnish cosmogonic myth in the Kalevala relates that from the upper and lower parts of an egg which fell into the primeval waters were formed heaven and earth, from the yolk the sun, from the white the moon, and from the darkness in the egg the clouds.

Scandinavian mythology contains an elaborate myth of beginnings. There was first a void world of primeval darkness whose extremities were mysteili, fire, on its northern, níll, fog; from the one proceeded light and warmth, from the other darkness and cold. According to Grimm, giwangu-geo is the equivalent of the Gr. ξαός, meaning both ‘abyss’ and ‘darkness.’ In the Edda, Day personified is the son of Night, each of them having a horse and car, in which they journey round the earth. The primitive method of counting time with Scandinavians, Tentsons, and Celts was on the principle that night preceded day, the moon, which ‘governs the night,’ being the measurer of time. Túctus says of the Teutons that they count the number of nights, not of days, for the night seems to precede the day. Caesar writes of the Celts that they define the divisions of seasons not by days but by nights, and observe time from the moon on order that day follows night. A Celtic myth embodying these ideas has not come down to us.

2. Origin of light.—In some of the myths just cited the origin of light from darkness, or from the creation of sun and moon, is already found. As in the Maori myth, light is sometimes prior to the sun (cf. Gn 1:14). Some other examples of such myths may be cited. In Bushman belief the sun was a mortal on earth from whose body light radiated for a short distance round his house. Some children were sent to throw him up to the sky as he slept, and now he lightens the earth.

The Baronga think that the reflection of light on the sea after the sun’s rising is a kind of Ja-Lae-en light, whence the sun is renewed daily. It is ‘cut out from the provision of fire,’ and dies in the West nightly. Light is also called ‘that which makes to go.’ According to the E. African myth, how two men came to a cave, looked in, and saw the sun. One of them removed a stone, and was burned up. Then the sun ascended on high to light the world. 3. Succession of light and darkness, day and night.—In some instances light, not darkness, is primordial; or after creation, when day exists, a night is still unknown. Numerous myths relate how darkness is produced and the regular alternation of day and night follows. The Wumbel, an Australian tribe, say that at one time the sun never moved. Nurel, tired of eternal day, bade it go down by the west. In Banks Island, Qat, after making all things, did not know how to make night, and there was always day. Therefore he decreed that there was night at Yava, and went there to get it from I Gong, Night. Returning with it, he bade his brothers prepare for night. The sun now moved westward, and the other night-brothers returned. After a time he cut it with a knife, and daylight again shone out. In Lepers Island this is told of Tegaro. The Meitheis say that at first there were two suns which rose and set alternately. A slave, tired of getting up twice a day, caused them to be divided. There was now always darkness. The other sun refused to come forth, but at last did so as a result of certain ceremonies. The savage Malays of Malacca have a myth of three suns, one of which was always left in the sky. The female sun was induced to swallow her husband and child, and now there was night. A native Brazilian myth tells that at first there was no night. Night, or a cobra who owned night, slept at the bottom of the waters. His daughter would not sleep with her husband till he procured darkness from her father. Servants were sent in turn to bring a darkness from him. In spite of all warnings, they opened it, and all grew dark. The daughter now separated day from night. In Santa Cruz sun and moon are said to have travelled together, but by a trick the sun caused the moon to fall into a marvellous cave, where he fell on her. Night is the result of a part of the moon becoming black through this trick. A Finnish myth says that in the beginning there was nothing but water and light—an unusual version of the cosmogonic idea. In some instances night is formed as the result of a dualism. The Yezidis say that God made the world beautiful. Then Malik Tatts appeared before Him and said that there could be no light without darkness, no day without night, and accordingly He caused night to follow day. In a Wallowah Mären God sends a bee to inquire of the devil, the master of night,
whether there should be one sun or more. The
tree rests on the devil's head and bears his cog-
itation that, if there are several suns,
men will get so accustomed to heat that there will
be no fear of hell; night will be as clear as day;
and the works of darkness will be brought to an
illuminating point. In some cases the sun created
day, and the devil made night as an offset to it. 2
The same dualism is found in a Melanesian story
in which all that Tagaro makes is good. 3 Supe,
which is used for tying a female, is bound in a
night dance. The sun had to be tied to his wife.
But the lion said that several suns would be born and all would be burned
up. All agreed that it was better for the sun not to
marry. In disgust he hid himself in the sea,
and all became dark, to the consternation of the
animals. But the hcn, persuading him that mar-
riage was a disgrace, caused him to rise from the
sea every morning. 4 This myth obviously origi-
nates from the apparent disappearance of the sun
into the sea at night, and his apparent rising from
it in the morning. An Eskimo myth relates that
sun and moon were once removed, causing dark-
ness. The moon would void in a boat liberated
by his aunt to go south, where he will find
the light. He arrives at a hut where light like a
ball of fire is lying, but it is hidden by a man
shovelling snow, which causes obscenity. He
steals the light and is pursued. He breaks off pieces,
each of which produces day, which is then followed
by night. They are of unequal lengths because
sometimes he travels a longer time without
throwing light, sometimes for a short time. 5 This
myth exactly reproduces the phenomena of
the Arctic dark winter, and the phenomena of days
and nights of varying lengths.

—Gods of light and darkness; sun and moon.

—Day and night or their rulers or representatives,
sun and moon, are often personified as male
or female, or as husband and wife, as in the Eskimo
myths already cited (§ 1). This is found in Ameri-
Indian mythology; and in Australian belief, e.g. among the Arunta, the sun is female, the
moon male. 6 It is also found among the Andaman
Islanders (the sun is the wife of the moon), the
Indians of the South Pacific, and the Toda,
Cumana, among the Ewe and Yoruba, in Tahiti,
among the Fugates, among the Ainus, and among
the peasants of Oberpfalz. 7 In another American
myth, a sun and night are two wives who produce
light and darkness by sitting alternately at the
doors of their tent. 8

In New Britain sun and moon, to whom belong
respectively day and night, are children of Iiu
and Mamoo, and, having gone up to the sky, have
stayed there ever since. 9

In a Tongan myth Yates and Tonga-iti quarrel
about the parentage of the first-born of Papa, each
claiming it as his own. The child is cut in two.
Yates throws one part up to the sky, where it
becomes the sun; Tonga-iti throws the other
to the dark sky, whence the moon. This is explained
as Day and Night alternately embracing Earth, their joint offspring being sun and moon.

In Norse mythology Night and Day are mother
and son, set in the sky by All-Father, who gives
each a horse and chariot to drive round the earth.
The sun also has a chariot. 10

In many of the Toda, just cited sun and moon
are not always regarded as causing light and dark-
ness, or rather day and night. These exist apart
from them, though the two are associated together.
A clear connection is the six nights of what is
brought down, but, however, is seen in
another group of myths—those of the
sun-catcher. In some of these the sun is tied down,
as in a Toda instance, by a demi-god. There
is at once darkness on the earth and in the under
world, whether the sun goes at night. The people
of both imply the demi-god for the sun's release. 11
More usually the sun is captured because his course
is far too rapid and darkness comes too soon—found
in many Polynesian myths—or too erratic, as in a
Ute myth. 12 Sometimes, however, he is captured
in order to lengthen the ordinary day, and this
group is then connected with magical rites which
have also this for their purpose. 13 Again, he is
captured by some persons who wish to amuse
themselves, but it becomes so hot that the cap-
tors run away. 14 The second group of myths is
obviously suggested by the question as was raised by the Inca prince: Why cannot the
sun wander freely about? Clearly because he
obeys the will of a superior being. This is an
idea found also in the mythologies of the higher
culture.

For further examples see Melville, U. (1881-85) 550; Lang,
Myth, Folk and Rel., 2, 124 f.; R. B. Taylor, Early Hist. of Man-

Light and darkness, day and night, sun, moon,
and stars are often personified or worshipped as
gods, or the sun, moon, and stars, as sources of
light, are the dwellings of gods. Thus the Ainus
believe in a spirit of light who lives in the sun or
animates it (ERE i. 242). Many African tribes
have a high god, often the sky personified, and
many gods worship the heavenly bodies as
sources of light. Lobo, the high god of the Bak-
wiri, has a name signifying originally Heaven or
Sun, and so in many other instances. 16 Shango of
the Yoruba is the sun, dwelling in a flowering
house of brass; one of his trains is Biri, the darkness. 17
The Kavirondo myth, as telling the sun, the
latter regarded as apathetic, occasionally benefi-
cient, but usually malignant. 18 Among the ancient
Teutons and Celts sun and moon were also divini-
ties to whom a cult was paid. 19 Among the Poly-
nesians Ka-ne is the sunlight and Tangaloa
is the lord of light, his brother being Rongo, god of
dark and night. 20 The Andaman Islanders connect
Pulaga, their high god, with the sky, where he set
the sun and moon, who give light by his command. 21
Among the Hottentots Tuani-Goani, the red dawn, is opposed to the dark sky personified as Gaunah. 22

With the
1 W. W. Gill, Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific, London,
4 G. Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, London, 1861,
p. 236; Taylor, Te hu a Manu, p. 150 (in this instance Manu beats
the sun and makes it lowly); Gill, op. cit., p. 790, Grey, Polynesian
Myth, p. 34; J. R. E. W., p. 54.
5 Walf-Gerhardt, Mel. 553; cf. G. E. p. l., The Magic Art, Lon-
don, 1911, p. 311 ff.
6 E. Nordenskiöld, Indigenousen, Leipzig, 1912, p. 294 (Chamoi
Indians).
7 W. Schneider, Die Rite der aëtr. Natürw. Müller, Münster,
1901, pp. 45, 62; Gill, op. cit., p. 346.
8 Gill, op. cit., p. 246; Ellis, Yoruba-speaking Peoples, p. 46 f.; Frobenius, pp. 228 f.

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5. Regions of light and darkness.—As in the higher religions the benignant or beneficent gods are associated with light or dwell in the sky (cf. 1 Th. 5:18; dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto), so it also is in savage belief. The Australian high gods, Bunji, Mungun-ngaur, and Baiame, dwell in the sky or in Kulidi, "eternal brightness," but the rival god, the Murray River deity, is an embodiment of light. The higher Polynesian gods, Tangaroa, Tangaloa, Titi, etc., dwell in the night heavens, seven or ten in number. The Khoms reverence Bura Penu, god of light, or Bella Poona, the sun-god, whose dwelling is the sun and the place where it rises. Puluga, the Andaman high god, lives in the sky. This is true also of many African gods; e.g., the Zulus hold that their sun-god, Mpungu the Fiord dwellings behind the firmament. Similarly one of the names of the supreme being of the Indians of Guiana signifies "the Abode One in Skyland." Many of the Teutonic gods, some of them gods of light, dwell in the sky, where Valhallita was situated.

From the sky the gods descend to earth, along the sky they make their way up and through the sky they survey unseen the doings of men.1

So also Elysium, the abode of the blest, whether it is in the heavens over or below the earth, is always a region of light and brightness. In contradistinction to this, the abode of unhappy spirits in all mythologies is dark and gloomy, in this resembling the abode of the shades in religions where no distinction has been made between good and bad spirits—the Bab. Arallu, the Heb. Shôel, the Greek Hades (see the series of artt. on BLEST, ABODE OF THE).

The subterranean Pueblo or Tartar of the Carolina Indians is cold and dark. In Polynesia, Pa, or darkness, was the primal source of light and of the gods of light, so it is also conceived as the subterranean place of night without departed spirits to. In Nanumena the wicked go to a place of hatred and darkness. The Japanese Yami or Hades, means 'darkness,' and it is preceded by Yasa-wo-no, a personification of the evil Campbell, and a moon-god, ruling also the darkness of night.2 In the Teutonic Nithed is a place of darkness surrounded by fogs and gloom (see BLEST, ABODE OF THE).

6. Evil powers and darkness.—Evil gods, gods of death, etc., are often associated with darkness, or divinities who are not evil have often acquired a sinister aspect in so far as they are associated with the night or even with the moon, the ruler of the night. The Sakni believe that the lord of hell, a cavern in the interior of the earth, is a friend of darkness, and cannot bear the light.3 In Polynesia, Rongo, brother of Tangaroa, is god of darkness and night; Hine-nui-te-po, the great mother night, into which all must fall, is a personification of night and death.4 Some Australian divinities to whom evil powers are ascribed are connected with darkness and night. The Japanese Suna-wo-no, already referred to, is another instance. Much more generally all evil spirits, demons, ghosts, and the like are associated with darkness, which men's fears have populated with them.14

7. Dualism of light and darkness.—The contrary nature of light and darkness, the qualities instinctively associated with each—life with light, death and terror with darkness—might easily suggest to primitive minds a species of natural dualism. The day seems to be allowed up by night, again to appear and drive it away; at an eclipse sun or moon is wholly or partially concealed by darkness, figured as a beast or demon, but again emerges victorious. There are in some instances on the lower levels of culture light, or day, and darkness, or night, may be personified and regarded as in conflict. That this was the case is obvious from such a dualistic system as the Parsee, which is fundamentally concerned with an older natural dualism of light and darkness, giving rise to a moral dualism of good and evil. The same dualism is found sporadically in other higher religions, and in faiths in which the influence of Parseism was felt,15 also perhaps in such a dualism as exists in the religion of the Burias (q. v.). On the other hand, since light, day, sun, seem to rise out of night, they are perhaps more often regarded as produced by darkness, rather than hostile to it, as in Polynesian mythology and elsewhere (§ 1). It is also probable that modern inquirers into savage myths have too resolutely assumed that mythical personages represented, on the one hand, light, sun, or dawn, and, on the other, darkness and night, and that myths of a contest between a hero and a demoniac being necessarily meant a contest between light and darkness.1

In S.E. Guinea evil spirits called terréna inhabit dark places and wander about at night; and it is certain that in many cases, especially in primitive races, a spirit causing disease, earthquakes, etc., lives in caves and dark places. The Polynesians thought that lower spirits concealed themselves in dark caverns by day and came out in the night. The Australians also peopled the darkness with a variety of horrors. Living beings ready to generate every conceivable other example from savage belief might be cited. Similarly, among the Teutons scenes on the demonic and supernatural beings were associated with the darkness, and in folk-superstition generally fairies, witches, demons, werewolves, vampires, and the like, were the objects of fear. In the hours of darkness, especially 'at the four midnight hour when bad spirits have power,' Goths, Demons and Spirits, FAIRY, VAMPIRE.

Among savages, as also among higher races, there is a wide-spread fear of the darkness. Many savages will not travel or even leave their huts or camp at night; or, if they do so, they must be armed with firebrands and the like to keep evil spirits at a distance, since these fear the light. Thus we find magical rites to overcome the terror of darkness: e.g., in New Caledonia the priest, when cutting the umbilical cord of a boy, had a vessel of water before him, dyed black as ink, in order that when the child grew up he might not fear to go anywhere on a dark night. For similar reasons an eclipse of the sun or the moon is universally feared. Generally a monster is supposed to be destroying these bodies, and, since they are so often regarded as the sources of darkness, it is feared that their destruction would mean a return to the primordial darkness. Every precaution is therefore taken to scare off the destroying monster or to bring to an end whatever other mythical cause is attributed to an eclipse.6 In connexion with the belief that evil spirits have power in the dark must be noted the wide-spread idea that their power causes a dawn and if they are surprised by daylight, they are destroyed. This applies to all evil beings, demons, witches, fairies, etc. See art. FAIRY.

2. Z. H. Lewis, (1853) 335, iii. 486-88; R. Broough Smyth, Abol. of Victoria, Melbourne, 1875, i. 423.
10. Aster, pp. 53, 137 f.
11. Streit, Blagden, i. 452.
12. Gill, pp. 10-14; Taylor, p. 100; Ellis, i. 325 f.
13. Waite-Gerlaid, vi. 800 f.
17. Waite-Gerlaid, vi. 801; Broogh Smyth, l. 457; Spencer-Gillispie, 496.
20. Lasch, J.R.U. ill. 97-102; also art. PARASITES AND PESTS.
22. See Dukinham, pp. 37 f., 45.
Light and Darkness (Chinese).—The Chinese outlook on life and attitude toward religion give more prominence to light than to darkness.

The two principles which pervade all nature and to which everything is assigned—the sun and yin, the dualistic elements of Chinese philosophy—are also the two headings into which light and darkness are differentiated. Yin, it may be said, is darkness, and yang light. The latter stands for the upper world of light, the former for the lower world of gloom and semi-darkness.

It is difficult to classify as gods of darkness any of the gods of the Chinese, unless Yama (Yen-ma, Ye-ho), the ruler of Hades, with his entourage of officials and demons, be considered as such. The light of the sun is wanting in the Chinese nether world; it is a land of shades and of the shadow of death, for a two-fold ground. The idea of hells in Taoism was derived from Buddhism; but the conception was developed on different lines. Utter darkness reigns in eight hells out of the thirty-six millions of various hells and horrors in the future world of Chinese Buddhism.

In the primitive religion of the ancient Chinese nature-worship was prominently apparent, and remnants of this are still found in the Oriental religion of divinities or opposed to divinities or spirits of light—e.g., gods residing in the heavens. In primitive religion decisive examples of a conflict between light and darkness are few in number, but the mythic method is seen in the words of a Basuto who described nature as given up to perpetual strife—the wind chasing the clouds, darkness pursuing night, winter summer, etc. If, as has been supposed, the Polynesian sun is the light of the sun, as has been seen, Mani captures the sun, then the story of how he intended to pass through the body of Hine-mai-te-po, but was unsuccessful and died, and so brought death into the world, might be a myth of the sun or light being swallowed up by darkness.

In Khond belief the supreme creator, Bura Pemmu, the light- or sun-god, is opposed, not by a male god, Tahtu, as in the Egyptian mythology, but by the bringer of disease, death, and other evils. Japanese mythology preserves a story of the retirement of the sun-god to the rock cave of heaven, leaving his father to direct the work of the misconduct of his brother Sassu-wo, the storm-god and later ruler of Yomi (the dark Hades). The gods dance in front of the cave, and she comes out to see them and is prevented from re-entering. Light is thus restored to the world. This suggests a myth of the strife between light and darkness. Later Shinto theologians allegorize the goddess's retirement as emblematic of the darkness of sin, and the renewal of light as signifying repentance.

Grimm has suggested that many phrases in Tenth century language used of light and darkness, day and night, show the one as a hostile, evil power in contrast to the kindly character of the other, and that there is perennial strife between the two.

Literature.—O. Dukhard, Naturrenm, i. 'Sagen zum Altten Test,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1897; L. Frobenius, Die Wendem, that is to say these Chinese theodists, ed. (Bibliotheca orientalis, ser. ii, p. 299 ff. For some arguments against these views see A. Lang, NeonEENTENT ZIB, x. [1888] 50-65, and Custom and Myth, London, 1893, p. 197. (For a restatement of the latter's theory of a sun and light and darkness in Mohenjo-daro mythology).

3 Grey, Polyneis, Myth, p. 331.; Waitz-Gerdrun, vi. 201, 207.

4 C. O. MacPherson, Memorial of Service in India, London, 1892, p. 84.

5 Aston, p. 100 f.

6 Grimm, p. 792.

7 The god of thunder, as symbol of lightning, was the protector of the heavens and earth, and his making a mistake, for one occasion, finding the white rind of a melon flung away, in the darkness of a smoke-beagned Chinese kitchen, he mistook it for rice and killed with his chisel and hammer the supposed waster of good food. To prevent the recurrence of such an event the goddess carries a mirror in each hand, or one in her two hands, and flashes light on objects before the god strikes. This is the explanation of the lightning's fiery wing.

The god of fire is another of the gods connected with light. His name, Hwa Kwang, may be rendered 'Beautiful Light.' Unlike the majority of the popular gods, he was not originally a human
being, but a lamp, of which the snuffers of the wick were turned into a man by the recital of a charm. He set the lamp and its flame on fire. Both Buddhists and Taoists claim him.

The Buddhists deify light by personification in the bodhisattas Marichi Deva. The Chinese represent him with all the attributes of the Sun Northern very. In two of her hands she holds up emblems of the sun and moon. She is the goddess of light, and protects nations from war. Among her other titles is that of Quantum. The Taoists also claim her as one of their deities, and fix her residence in a star in the constellation of Sagittarius.2

Buddha after Buddha, commencing with Śākyamuni Buddha, has light as one of his attributes, or some manifestation of light appears in the course of his life in connection with him. Five-coloured lights flashed at his birth, and flame burst from his dead body. Every Buddha has, among his characteristics, a circle of light between his eyebrows by which he can illuminate the universes.4 'Light' and 'Brightness' often appear in the names given to different Buddhas, as well as occasion-ally to others, and to different objects. Among these names of Buddhas, present or to come, supposed to be real or fictitious, are such as ‘Brightness of the Law,’ ‘One whose feet display myriads of Lights’ (The Bhagavad Gita); ‘The Buddha of Fixed Light,’ ‘Light and Bright,’ ‘The Buddha Effulgent of Sun and Moon,’ ‘The Clear and Bright Efficiency of Sun and Moon.’ The 539th Buddha of the present Kalpa is called 'The Buddha of Wonderful Light.' Some twenty billions of Buddhas have the title of 'Cloud Sovereign Illuminating King.' Five hundred arhats will reappear as Buddhas with the same name as of 'Radiant-Wisdom and Brightness.' Some of the demons in which Buddhism believes shed a glare of light.8 A realm mentioned in Buddhism is 'The Realm of Great Light.'9 One of the sixteen (or eighteen in Northern Buddhism) celestial worlds is that of 'Light and Sound,' and another is that of 'Unlimited Light.'9 Buddhist five 'Luminous Treatises.'10 A fictitious degree of sannādhi is also called 'Pure Light and Brightness,' and another 'Prosperous Light.'11

In Northern Buddhism the 'Buddha of Boundless Light,' diffusing great light, Amitā (Amitābha), originated in the ideal of boundless light, and was thought to exist as a real person. He is the most popular of all the Buddhas among the Chinese people. In his heaven, the wonderful and glorious Paradise of the West, two Buddhas 'radiate light over heaven and earth and great worlds.' Amitā Buddha himself, in the words of the Chinese poem singing his praises, has a

1. . . halo of light that encircles his head,
2. The sun of to-morrow is less glorious than he,12
3. As to those who enter that heaven,
4. The material body of men while on earth is exchanged for another eternal and bright,
5. That is seen from afar to be glowing with light.14

This new mystical school makes use of the simbolism of light in its description of religious states of its devotees. In some cases light plays an important part in the advent to earth of a god on his incarnation, and even one of the mythical emperors of China, the Yellow Emperor (2698 B.C.), owed his origin to this.

With the Taoist gods, a ray of light shoots down arrow-like from heaven to the future mother shortly to be delivered of a child, and thus the divine is blended with the human in the infant, who has some of his deities expel some sin from which his godlike nature has not saved him, or to cure or to eradicate some infirmity still inherent in his moral nature.

We find a brilliant light in connexion with the preparations for the birth of the Taoist Gemmous Sovereign, the Supreme Ruler, and in his later incarnations a golden light or a glistening light2 descends. Some one at similar experiences occurred when the Taoist Aged Sire united with lights, and became dust, and was born on earth.2 A Taoist writer of the Yuan dynasty says that light broke forth spontaneously in the primordial void, springing from itself in the heart of the void, and his idea would appear to be that to attain illumination one must empty oneself as the primordial void of which he speaks was empty.

The word 'Buddha' is one of the Chinese clan-names or surnames, as it is in English, but it also appears sometimes as an individual name bestowed on an infant, and occasionally in union with some other character in a name selected later in life.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited in the footnot.-

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LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Christian).—The symboolical use of the words 'light' and 'darkness' is very common in early Christian literature, and in the main was derived from the OT, as will be seen by the references given below. As time went on, the metaphor of light served as one method of expressing the theological conception of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

1. The symbolism in the NT.—We may pass by the obvious metaphor by which to speak or act 'in the light' is to do so 'openly,' and to speak or act 'in the darkness' is to do so 'secretly,' as in Mt 1027, Lk 12 (cf. Jn 183, and Eph 510, I Co 4). More to our purpose are the numerous passages where 'light' stands for spiritual, moral, and religious
2. The word 'Buddha' is one of the Chinese clan-names or surnames, as it is in English, but it also appears sometimes as an individual name bestowed on an infant, and occasionally in union with some other character in a name selected later in life.

The opposition between light and darkness is expressed in Jn 323; men had the opportunity, for light is come into the world, but they loved the darkness rather than the light, for their works were evil—every one that doeth ill hateth the light. 'Darkness' expresses the state of the world before the Incarnation (Jn 114, Lk 1); the idea is taken from Is 99, where it is said that 'the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light.' To be in a state of sin and ignorance is to walk, or sit, or be in darkness (Jn 114, 22, Jn 83, 1 Th 54, Ro 29, Lk 19). In Jn 89 the 'light of life is the light,' which both springs from life and issues in life (B. P. Westcott, Gospel according to St. John, London, 1905, in loc.). The metaphor is very common in the Johannine writings, but only fully developed in Jn 89.

In Mt 623 the body full of light (φωτεινός) denotes purity and holiness, and the 'body full of darkness' (ομοιομονωτικός) denotes evil; so Lk 1924 (cf. Pr 14).2


1 See Dyer Ball, 'Scraps from Chinese Mythology,' in China Review, xl. 72, 207, 218, 257.
2 See L. Winger, Le Canon taoïste, Paris, 1911, 1. 65, no. 246.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Christian)

In Ac 26:18 the preaching of the gospel is to turn the power of Satan unto God. St. Paul uses the metaphor freely. The 'works of darkness' are the evil deeds of the present 'night,' and the 'armour of light' is to be put on in view of the approach of the day (Ro 13:12; cf. Eph 4:12, 13). We are partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, and have been delivered out of the power of darkness to the glory of God in Christ Jesus (Eph 5:13). Light has no communion with darkness, and therefore Christians are not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers (2 Co 6:14, quoted in A. J. Guppy, viii. 34, to forbid Christians to pray with heretics. So St. Paul uses the verb 'to darken' (οὐξώνεω or οὐξώζω) in Ro 1:21 and Eph 4:18, metaphorically of the hardening of the heart or the blinding of the eyes by ignorance, just as he uses 'to enlighten' (φωτίζω) in a metaphorical sense in Eph 1:18 (cf. Jn 1:2; see below, § 4). St. Peter speaks of our being called out of darkness into God's marvellous light (1 P 219). The curious passage 2 P 1:19 where prophecy is as 'a lamp shining in a squallid (αὐξανόμενος) place,' may be compared with Mic 3, where 'darkness' is used of want of spiritual perception in a people.

The name 'Light' is given to God. Not only is light a gift of God, but God is by nature 'light.' (1 Jn 1:5 ὡς ἄθανατος); therefore He can be held to be the Light in different senses. In all, we have 'the light of men, shining in darkness'; He was 'the true light which enlighteth every man, coming into the world,' i.e. by His Incarnation (see Westcott's note), in contrast to the Baptist, who was but a witness of the light (Jn 1:18). Because He is the light, He will shine (ἐκφαίνεται) on the awakened sleeper (Eph 5:14). He is to be a light to all men (Ac 15:11, quoting Is 35:9 (the reference is to Christ, not to St. Paul, though the Apostle identifies himself with the prophet); cf. Is 42, where the Servant of Jehovah is to be a light of the Gentiles—a phrase repeated of the 'Son of Man' in Ephithetic Enoch, xviii. 4 [1st cent. B.C. ?]); the phrase 'dwelling in light unapproachable' (1 Ti 6:16) might be applied to the Son (so Chrysostom, Hom. xviii. in 1 Tim., in loc.) or to the Father, but probably it refers to the Father (cf. Ps 104, Dn 2:25). See also § 3, below.

In an inferior sense the servants of the Incarnate are 'lights.' The Baptist (see above) is 'a lamp that burneth and shineth,' in whose light the disciples were willing to rejoice for a season (Jn 5:35). All Christians are the light of the world (Mt 5:16, cf. Ps 29:5 [φωτισάμενος], and are sons or children of light (Lk 16, Jn 12, 1 Th 5, Eph 5:1 'once darkness . . . now light in the Lord'). The angels are angels of light (Rev 11:14; we may compare the light which shone when the angel released St. Peter, Ac 12). In contrast to this, the devil and his angels are 'world-rulers of this darkness' (Eph 6:12), i.e., as the Peshitta paraphrases, "rulers of the world of this darkness" (meaning 'of this dark realm').

Of the darkness 'mentioned in Mt 6:23 (for Jewish parallels see W. C. Allen's note in loc., ICC [1912]) 229-225; this is the place of punishment of sinners, and we may compare Jude, where the fallen angels are said to be 'kept in everlasting darkness' (τό ἄθανατον τοῦ ἀνέκδοτος) unto the judgement of the great day,' and 2 P 2:4, where the 'blackness of the darkness' (το ἄθανατον τοῦ ἀνέκδοτον) is said to have been kept for evil men. The darkness is 'an abyss of darkness' (Eng. tr., J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, Edinburgh, 1902) the symbolism is very common, both in the apocalyptic and the eucharistic passages of the Old Testament; see 2 Macc. 7, 601-604 and in the Church Order proper. Christians are children of light (i.e., prof., 1, 3, 12, 37). In the liturgy of this work (i. 23) God is called 'the Father of lights' (Ja 1, 'King of the treasures of light,' 'Illuminator of the perfect,' 'Giver of light eternal.' Elsewhere in the book He is called 'Giver or Maker of light' (i. 26, 43, 'God of the lights'). Whose 'vessel' is the light (ii. 7). Our Lord is 'Begetter of light of light eternal,' who has 'shed light on the darkness within us' (i. 26). Jesus is the name of light (ii. 27). The illumination of the heart is frequently referred to (i. 18, 21, 25, 31, 32, 38, ii. 5, 7, 8). Somewhat more sparingly the simile is used in the Apostolic Constitutions. Christians are 'children of light' (i. 2, iii. 32, 46, 54, as in the parallel passages of the Old Testament (see these, arranged on opposite pages, in F. X. Funk, Didasc. at Const. Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1905). The Father inhabits light inaccessible (Apost. Const. vi. 11, viii. 16, from i. 16). Jesus is the true light (v. 16), and the bishop must be a student, and enlighten himself with the light of knowledge (i. 5; cf. vi. 37). These phrases (except v. 16) are not in the Old Didascalia. In Sulpicius's Sacramentary God is called the 'Pater lumen et vita' and is prayed to give us the (or a) Spirit of light (§ 1; JThSt 71 [1899] 105, in Funk [op. cit. ii. 172], numbered § 13). Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xi. 5 f. [A.D. 381]) calls angels and men 'light' in an inferior sense, though in the highest sense God alone is light.

In the Clementine Recognitions, now thought to be of the 4th cent., Simon Magnus, denying that God has a Son (cf. 2 Macc. 10:12), identifies God with a 'light-bearer' and ineffable light (i.e., God), of which power even the Demiurge, Moses, and Jesus are ignorant (i. 49).
3. Light as describing the relation of the Father and the Son.—We may now investigate the use of the phrase 'Light of Light' (φῶς ἐκ φωτός) applied to our Lord. In the NT the Father is Light, and the Son is Light; but the above phrase is not used, though in \( \text{He} 1^1 \) our Lord is the effulgence (ἀφαλάδεια) of the Father's glory and the very image of His substance; the reference seems to be to the 7th, where Eusebius has 'God of God, the effulgence from everlasting light, ... an image of [God's] goodness.' (For various Patristic comments on \( \text{He} 1^1 \) see Westcott's note, \textit{Epistle to the Hebrews}, London, 1889, p. 11.)

An early approximation to the phrase 'Light of Light' is found in Origen (\textit{de Prin.} i. 1), who says that God is light, illuminating man, and interprets 'thy light' in Ps 38 of the Son. In the 2nd cent. Justin had used the illustration of fire kindled from fire with reference to the Son and the Father (\textit{Dial.} 11, 125); and Tatian (c. \textit{Graec.} 5) re-echoes his words. So also Tertullian (\textit{Apol.} 21) says that a ray of the sun is still part of the sun; there is no division of substance, but only an extension; thus Christ is the Spirit of God, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. But Athanasius sees a danger in the similarity of the two. He says (\textit{De Tri.} 23) that the Son is not as light kindled from the heat of the sun, which is commonly put out again, but is 'effulgence' (ἀφαλάδεια), signifying that He is more than one in power and might, 

"Being of this mind the Fathers at Nicaea spoke of the Only-begotten as 'Light of Light,' "Very God of Very God," and so on, and consequently added the Homoeoteleuton, so that any one who entertains the idea of variability of light in relation to light, of truth in relation to truth, or of the essence of the Only-begotten in relation to that of the Father" (\textit{Ep.} i. 3, to Maximum).

Passing to later times, we note the curious fact that the phrase does not occur in the present Nicene Creed. Origen in the \textit{De Prin.} i. 1, 2 took the idea of 'effulgence' from the Hebrew phrase (\textit{Baal Shem}) meaning 'illumination'; but in the Nicene Creed it was used in a slightly different sense. The phrase 'Light of Light' is found in the creed of Nicæa and in the enlarged creed (called the creed 'of Constantinople') which came into general use. It was derived by the formers from the creed of Eusebius of Cesarea which, as Eusebius told the Nicene Fathers, had been handed down from preceding bishops of that see, and used in the baptismal catechism of the Church had 'God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life' (\textit{Socrates, HE} i. 8). On the other hand, the phrase 'Light of Light' is not in the creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. A.D. 260), which has only 'Sole of Sole (\( παπος ἐκ παπος \)) God of God.' In \textit{Anto. Nicae. Chr. Lib. xx.} (1852) 5. In \textit{Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. iv. 7) the Son is called \( \text{hegomen Life of Life, begotten Light of Light;} \) in xi. 4 Cyril repeats the phrase 'Light of Light.' But in the same passage he speaks of Wisdom, and King of King, and God of God, and Power of Power' (cf. xl. 18). The phrase 'Light of Light' occurs in R. H. Connolly's reconstituted creed (4th cent.; \textit{TTHN} ix. (1908) 280), but not in the creeds of the various Church Orders, though those of the \textit{Apost. Const.} (vii. 41) and of the \textit{Eugyptian (Coptic)} and \textit{Ethiopic Church Orders} are of the Eastern type (those of the \textit{Treatise of our Lord, the Canons of Hipponusus, and the \textit{Verona Fragments} are the Western or Roman creed). It is instructive to note the different creeds of the Council of Antioch in Ephesians, A.D. 341. The second creed in \textit{On the Third and Fourth Councils of Nicaea} has 'God of God, Perfect Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, the living Wisdom, [Life], the true Light,' etc. The third creed has merely 'perfect God of perfect God.' The fourth creed, drawn up by a continuation of the Synod of 341, has 'God of God, Light of Light, who is the Word and Wisdom and Power and Life, and the true Light' (these creeds are given in \textit{Athanasius, de Synodal}, 22, 24, 25, and the second and fourth in \textit{Socrates, HE} ii. 10, 18; see them also in \textit{Hefele, Concilia}, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, ii. 77–80). With reference to the phrase in question Basil, when dealing with the relations of the Son to the Father, and speaking of the phrase 'like in substance' (\( \text{εὐγον} \) \text{οις} \text{οὐ} \text{οίδα} \)), says that he will accept the phrase if the word \( \varepsilon \gammaραμαλλάγως \) ('without any difference') be added, as in the \textit{Henotikon Decretum}.

4. Baptism and Light.—In the \textit{early Church} the symbolism of light was closely connected with the sacrament of initiation. Baptism was, especially by the Greeks, called 'illumination,' \( \phiωνεύω \) or \( \phiωτεύω, \) as in Justin (\textit{Apol.} i. 61), in Gregory of Nazianzus (\textit{Orat.} xl. 1; cf. ii. 30), once in the \textit{Apost. Const.} xi. 3 (where it expressly includes the laying on of hands; in vi. 1 and viii. 12 the word is used literally, of the pillar of fire, and in ii. 5, v. 1 metaphorically, of knowledge; cf. 2 Co 45*), and in the \textit{Older Didascalia} (\textit{Verona Latin Fragments}, ed. Haner, p. 87); post-initiation is called \textit{quod dictum Gracius fortiens,} with reference to \textit{He} 6 (not in the corresponding passage of \textit{Apost. Const.}). Similarly the selected candidates for baptism were called \textit{ὁνωματαρῆς,} or 'illuminated' (\( \phiωνατῆρες \)) as in Justin (\textit{Apol.} i. 61, 65, \textit{Dial.} 129). Clement, \textit{Strom.} i. 1, 17, quotes \textit{Eph} 59 of baptism, and wrongly derived φως,
times of persecution, and that, when churches were built above ground in times of peace, the usage was continued and was given a symbolic turn (W. E. Scudamore, in DCA ii. 993 ff.). This custom orale may be partly due to the custom carried on by the opus," light," Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat., Intro. i. xi. xiii. 21), and the Apost. Const. (viii. 38 and 33); Eusebius says that Constantine at his baptism was filled with heavenly light (Vit. Const. iv. 66). The lamps that were used in the baptismary were often called in Greek φωτιστήρας; the Arabic Didascalia (§ 35), which derives its account of the church buildings from the Testament of our Lord, i.e., the apocryphal Church of the Saints, indicates this nuptial lamp into Arabic (Funk, Did., etc. Const., Ap. ii. 124 f.).

This symbolism is found also in the NT. In He 6:12 the noris participle φωτισθεῖσα ('illuminated'); denoting a definite act, clearly refers to the Christian act of initiation, and the Syriac version, both the Peshiṭta and the Ḫabaristic, in translating these passages, explicitly refer them to baptism. The metaphor has been thought to have been derived from the Greek mysteries, though the NT φωτισθεῖσα are quite unlike the heathen ones in that in the former the revelation of the unknown is what is emphasized (cf. Mk 4:1; Co 4:13, 15).

The custom of the candidates for baptism carrying torches probably came from the metaphor, not the metaphor from the custom, which is perhaps alluded to by Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat., introd., and i. 55) and a certain one to that custom in the apocryphal Preaching of Paul, in the Eikonie Gospel, and in the Old Latin codices a "g" (in Mt 28:20), to read 'lumen ingens' or 'magnum'; see H. B. Swete, Holy Spirit in N.T. London, 1910, p. 43 n.), and is a commonplace of Syriac literature.

In the Diatessaron it was related that a light flashed on Jordan, and the river was girdled with white; this reading is attested by Barašibba and Laboshi (see F. C. Burkitt, Evangelion domēpharreska, Cambridge, 1904, p. 115).

From the baptismal metaphor, Epiphany was called 'The Holy Lights' (cf. Greg. Naz. Ora. xxxix. and xi. 1); our Lord's baptism is the event principally commemorated at that festival in the East (see, further, art. EPHANYPH).

5. Liturgical use of lights. There are many traces of the symbolic use of lights in Christian services, from the 4th cent. onwards. Perhaps the earliest is in connexion with funerals. At the Spanish Council of Elvira (c. A.D. 305, can. 34) the custom of carrying candles for one day and a night in a cemetery was forbidden, lest the spirits of the saints should be disturbed—a custom probably borrowed from the heathen (see Hefele, op. cit. 150).

But in some form the custom continued. Lights were carried, especially on Good Friday. In the 5th cent., candlesticks, taperries, and tapers were placed on the altar, and the altar was lighted. In the 6th cent., candlesticks became common in all the principal churches. In the 7th and 8th cent., taperries were used in the liturgy. In the 9th cent., taperries and tapers became common in all the churches of Rome. In the 10th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 11th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 12th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 13th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 14th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 15th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 16th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 17th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 18th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 19th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 20th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 21st cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 22nd cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 23rd cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 24th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome. In the 25th cent., taperries and tapers were used in all the churches of Rome.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Greek and Roman)

—In the fields of the Hellenic and the Italic civilizations we have in historic times a divinity recognized as supreme. Zeus or Jupiter, who is a personification of the sky and the daylight that fills it. He has counterparts in the religious systems of kindred races. Among Greeks and Romans and peoples subjected to their influence, there are two groups of contrasted deities, those of the upper world (Gaia or sky) and those of the underworld (Hades or infernal regions). These deities were identified and worshipped by the Greeks. There was a time when the chief sacred centres had mysterious connexion with the realms of darkness, where the fear of obscurity had more power over men’s imagination than the delight in heavenly radiance. The spot at which there were reputed entrances to the domain of Hades and darkness were numerous in early Greek days. In many instances, subterranean pheno-

mena, earthquakes, sulphurous or mephitic emanations, disappearing rivers, or medicinal waters had much to do with the superstitions that gathered round such places. Even in historic Greece practices of a primitive character were maintained in such localities, for in religions the new never entirely drives out the old; there is always super-
position of strata. At Teanum, a promontory of Laconia, there was a cleft through which Herakles and Orpheus had both passed when they visited the infernal shades. In the Frigas (186), Aristophanes puts an absurd speech in the mouth of Clorion, the ferocious, passionate Diogoras from the island of Lesbos, in which he said, "I am the saviour of the nether darkness. This is illustrated by the story of the visit of Anax to the Cumean Shyl, as told by Virgil, and by the behaviour at Delphi of the Pythian priestess, the mouthpiece of the oracular Apollo. The secrets of the future have been supposed in all ages to be in the keeping of spirits below, while in Greek literature the sun has knowledge of all the secrets of the present. The name ‘ncromancer’ indicates the persistence of the belief about the dwellers in the regions of darkness.

As time went on, many of the places which had been principally associated with the powers of darkness passed into the possession of deities who were mainly of a benevolent character. This was strikingly the case with Delphi, where, as the later Greeks said, the worship of the chthonian deity Earth (Gē or Gaia) was succeeded by that of Apollo, god of brightness. As civilization and culture strength-
ened, the reverence paid to the gods beneath was apt to be left to the uninstructed, and to pass into the backwater of superstition. Some of the figures of the dark domain lost their original validity, and were merged into the general form of the darkness. Thus it was with Demeter and Persephone as they appeared in the historic age in the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis. Hades, the consort of Persephone, underwent a like change, indicated by his later name Plouton (Pluto), i.e., god of wealth or prosperity. The change of view was sometimes sided by epithets used by the poets, and even more so, by divine deeds to be propitiated by well-sounding titles. So the avenging spirits of gloom, the Furies, were venerated as ‘Eumenides,’ benevo-
lent ones (cf. artt. EUMENIDES, ERINYES; EUHEMISM).

A profound alteration was wrought in the religious conceptions of the Greeks by the rein given to their myth-making fancy and to their artistic genius, working on things divine. As human traits were inwrought into the texture of dimly apprehended superhuman existences, and were enraptured by the clouds of poetry and the dreams of art, their original connexion with natural objects became veiled, and in some cases was forgotten. The process had already been carried far when the Homeric poetry arose in its glory. Some figures that did not very readily lend themselves to transformation received little notice in later worship. Eos, the dawn-goddess, is promi-

nent in Homer, but, as she is also obviously the dawn, she was present but little in the Greek mind. Ovid remarked that her temples were the rarest in the world (Metam. xiii. 588). But the divine being who is wrestled in poetry and art does not generally lose all traces of the natural deities that gave him his origin. Zeus remained the actual source of events in the sky. Where we say ‘it rains’ or ‘it snows,’ the Greek said ‘he rains,’ or ‘he snows,’ and over the ancient name of Zeus, Horace speaks of the hunter casting at night ‘under the chilling Jove’ (Od. i. i. 25). Apollo was always connected with the sunlight, and Artemis with the moon and the stars. When the overgrowth of legend became abundant, there was an impulse to return to the veneration of actual heavenly bodies. Thus the worship of Helios, the sun, went on side by side with that of Apollo. Naturally, in historic times the devel-
opment of mythology produced a mixture of attributes, and the interference of many divinities with one and the same function. The appearance and disappearance of the heavenly bodies suggested that the realms of light and darkness had inter-

communication. Hermes, in the main a god of brightness, becomes a conductor of souls to regions below. More peculiarly individualistic, yet beneficent and at other times was thought so. Therefore Apollo, the sun-god, has a mission to destroy life, as well as to preserve it by medicine and to enhance its value by poetry and music. Dionysos, whose connexion with the sun is clear, also has to do with the shades; and so with other divinities. The bad effects of heat led to the idea that Pan, the god of the open country, is most to be dreaded at noon-day, for then he can inflict madness. The mild gleams of the moon and the divinities who guide them were usually beneficent, but sometimes had the contrary activity. The waxing moon brings fertility, and the waning moon brings sickness and death. Hekate, a moon-god-

dess, kindly and supernal in the earlier age of Greece, became later a malignant power of dark-

ness. It may be remarked that the reverence paid, with clear consciousness, to astral bodies as such was never at any time so marked in historic Hellenas as among Babylonians and Semites. As a religious motive it belongs rather to the late Hellenic age, and the age of Greece-Roman civilization, and even then, as we shall see, it affected the outer fringes of Greek civilization, where it was wresting with barbarism, rather than figuring in genuine

Besides the light of heavenly luminaries, great and small, there is the irregular and alarming fire...
from heaven, the lightning. The deities who rule the regular light also send lightning, especially Zeus, one of whose chief emblems is the thunder-bolt, and also Athene and Apollo. It is sometimes a sign of divine anger, as when Semede died by its stroke, sometimes an indication that the god has signified his will and given a presage of the future. To interpret the sign is, of course, a matter for an expert. Lightning was thus connected with divination and prophecy, and spots struck by the sacred bolt were revered.

The fire which is of use to men on earth could not but be regarded as in its origin divine, and as venerable, being a symbol of the eternal. The apparent everlastiness of the fire of which sun, moon, and stars are the manifestations doubtless contributed to the importance of fire in the ritual of worship. A vein of thought which lies deep in the nature of men in the earlier stages of religion, that the gods are envious of human beings and grudge them the things of which they wish to possess themselves, is illustrated by the legends of which Prometheus was the centre. The gift of fire was one which the gods would fain have withheld, and they punished him who outwitted them. A number of Greek divinities have relations with the fire and fire-workers, uses the fierce subterranean flames which find vent in the crests of Ætna and the Lipari Isles. In Homer and the poets generally he is the maker, guardian, and applier of the torches, the emblems of the Olympians, of the sceptre of Zeus, of the arrows of Apollo and Artemis. Hestia, goddess of the family hearth, has an especial connection with earthly fire. She is the only one of the greatest deities without a visible form, the only one who has no temple, no altar, no proper place of worship. The sacrifice of the heifer on the occasion of Hestia's departure from the great halls, which is the least transparent significance in life, equivalent to the hearth of the house, always regarded as in some sense an altar. As every house had this altar, so the great State family had its central hearth-altar for all the burgesses. When a city sent out some of its sons to found a colony afar, the central fire of the new community was lighted from the central fire of the old home. When a city was under a monarch or despot, its common hearth was in his dwelling; in a republican community it was in the town-hall (παράθεσις) [see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS (Cicero)]. The connection of Hestia with the hearth, with the hearths, is the least and simplest in the range of Greek religion. Where the name of a divinity retains an obvious meaning, he does not lend himself to a covering of myth. Another divinity was invested with the functions of the old. Dionysos or Bacchus. The pine-tree and the torches that it provides figure in the Bacchic revels, as depicted, for instance, by Euripides in his Bacchae. What we call the St. Elmo's fire was connected with the great twin-gods, the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. The gods of light and darkness must have a potent influence on life, and especially on the beginnings of life. The hearth-fire was treated as a symbol of the generation of the human being, and a growth of legend and ritual was developed from this idea. The light-bringing divinities are very naturally the ones who drive away the prenatal darkness into the light of life, and many deities were at different times and in different places supposed to exercise this function (cf. art. BIRTH [Greek and Roman]). Zeus himself, at the latest age was a god of birth; but the powers that guide the milder radiance of the moon rather than those that wield the fiercer splendour of the sun had chiefly this duty, and the greatest among them was Artemis.

The mysteries of the darkness beyond the grave, in which departed souls were hidden, gave rise to multifarious practices and beliefs. There were many divine beings who either ruled the dead or guarded souls against the perils of the passage from this world to the next. There is no portion of the field of Greek religion in which the development of ideas from Homer's age to the time of the latest Greek philosophic speculation was more complex. The notion of a possible deliverance from the bonds of death prompted a series of beautiful tales, such as that of the restoration of Alcestis to Admetus, the theme of the funeral games of Euripides, the recovery of Eurypylus by Orpheus, or of Perséphone by Demeter. In this connexion the most interesting evolution, from a religious and social point of view, is to be found in the Greek mysteries. They represent the striving of souls on earth to be assured of safety in the perils passage from the bed of death to a happy abiding-place in the world beyond. Starting from gross forms, in which enchantment had a great part, the mysteries were refined and moralized so as to satisfy the higher yearnings of the spirit, and to instil that better hope in death which, Cicero says, was given by initiation at Eleusis (de Legibus, ii. 36).

During the great age of Greece there was among the Hellenes no wide-spread conception of such a mysterious influence of heavenly bodies on human life as was supposed in the Symboles, the Orphic and Pythagorean scriptures. The expiation of sin by fire, however, of divinity to the heavenly bodies appears comparatively late in the history of Greek philosophy. Plato, in his Timæus (p. 38 f.), describes the fixed stars as divine existences brought into being by the Workman (Demiurgus) of the universe at the bidding of the supreme god. In other passages he assigns divine character to the sun, moon, and planets. He was followed, with variations, by later thinkers—Xenocrates, Heraclides of Pontos, and many others. Aristotle described the celestial bodies as containing a great divine element and pointed out that belief, now explicitly declared by philosophers, was implicit, in an obscure form, in the popular mythology. Like doctrine was taught by the Stoics and particularly by Cleaneiths, who considered that in the sun lay the guiding power in the nocturnal storms. It was common to call the heavenly bodies visible gods as opposed to the unseen divine power. These notions were prevalent among the Neo-Platonists. Apollonius of Tyana (q.v.), the seer and wonder-worker of the late 1st cent. A.D., venerated the sun at dawn, like many an Oriental of to-day. That the practice was popular in Greece is shown by the salute which Sokrates offers to the rising luminary, at the end of his great drinking-bout, in the Symposium of Plato. The Neo-Platonists, who powerfully affected the thought and religion of the Roman imperial period, embraced and developed beliefs of the pre-natal darkness into the light of life, and many deities were at different times and in different places supposed to exercise this function (cf. art. BIRTH). Euripides (Greek and Roman). Zeus himself, to the latest age was a god of birth; but the powers that guide the milder radiance of the moon rather than those that wield the fiercer splendour of the sun had chiefly this duty, and the greatest among them was Artemis.

The mysteries of the darkness beyond the grave, in which departed souls were hidden, gave rise to multifarious practices and beliefs. There were
the departed spirits of mortals, did not receive their
due from the living was much more marked than
in Hellenic communities. In the historic time,
till Christianity prevailed, the bodies of the dead
were cremated, but some of the attendant cere-
monies pointed to a belief in immortal death—
the rule (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF
THE DEAD [Greek]). In primitive days the tomb
must have been regarded as the only place haunted
by the ghosts, and during that age it was as often
treated in many ceremonial practices. But quite
early a conception must have sprung up of a general
habitation for those who were colloquially called
'the majoritv'. The Romans, however, never
imagined for themselves a judgment beyond the
tomb, which should assign one dwelling-place for
the good, another for the bad. The great scheme
pictured by Virgil in Encid vi., which has stimu-
lated the imagination not only of poets but of
many theologians ever since, was drawn after Greek
patterns. The genuine Roman under world was a
trance of gloom, and the spirits were minded to do
harm to the living unless they could secure
immortal life. To avoid sickness, they would
sometimes be induced to come forth. But the
Roman nation as a whole is haunted by the dead.
As a result the tomb became a centre of life, and
the annual festival of the deceased was an
important rite in the Roman calendar. Such
festival was not the only one connected with
deads, and the care for the happy transition of
the spirits of those who had died was shown in the
treatment of the tombs. From the earliest times
the care of the dead and their deified spirits has
been an object of Roman worship. In the earlier
periods of Rome the dead were not regarded as
brought the whole of the Patent Hill supposed to
have been the work of Romulus when he founded
Rome; there was another in the Forum, and others
elsewhere. Festivals at these places were made to
all the deities—a phrase in which dead mortals
are included, as being in some sort divine. Every
Roman tombstone was inscribed 'Dis manibus,' to
the gods pointed to. These Larentes and Lemures,
whose proper offerings were made, are merely
the ghosts regarded collectively, in their unsatisfied
and therefore terrifying aspect.

As to special divinities of the realms beneath,
the country inhabited at Rome seems to have
been Tellus, Mother Earth, 'the parent of all
tings and their common tomb,' as Lucretius calls
her (v. 239). In the later age she was less and less
regarded, in consequence of the attractiveness
of Greek invasions in the sphere of religion.
Names like Genita Maa, Lara, and others invoked in
the indignations (v., v.,) appear to have been epithets
of Earth. So, in Greece, Gaia was in some sense a
goddess of the dead, and the same attribute was,
of course, given to the divinized figure of Earth in
other mythologies (cf. art. EARTH, EARTH-GODS,
§ 4). A curious place of communication with the infer-
nal regions was a spot called 'Terentus' in the Cam-
pus Martius, where probably at one time nuptial
vapours rose. This was a centre for a cult newly imported from Greece—that
of Dis (whose name is a rendering of Pluto or Plout-
on) and Proserpina. The cult was probably grafted
on to more ancient and purely Roman ceremonial.
The festival of the Lemures, one of the typically Roman
'secular games,' celebrated theoretically, but not
always in practice, at intervals of a century, to
ensure the safety of the city. The most famous
celebration is that ordered by Augustus in 1 B.C.,
when Horace acted as laurate and supplied the
Carmen Seculare.
The idea of a communication with the realms of
darkness through an opening in the earth can be
traced in other directions. The devoto, whereby
the citizen could ascend to the infernal regions
and thereby secure a favour for his country,
is an example. Livy (vii. 6) and other ancient
writers have told how, in 392 B.C., Curtius,
rising in full armour, made the ascent at night and
was not discovered at the summit. He was
considered to have entered a chasm in the Forum, which closed up after him.
The spot retained the name of the pool of Curtius.'
Here in the reign of Augustus the populace cast
down coins every year on the emperor's birthday,
to secure his welfare (Suetonius, Aug. 57). The
devoto of the Dicii, whom vouched themselves
to death by the enemy, thereby binding the powers
to favour the safety of the country, was somewhat
different. But, should the devoted man fail
to find his death, the terms of his vow were satisfied
by burying a lay figure in the earth with due cere-
mony—a curious example of the ease with which
the gods might be induced in Roman ritual. The
walking up of the earring Vestal Virgin is an in-
stance of the penal application of the devoto.

It is hard to discover in Roman religion the worshipping of the gods of death.
Through the worship of Lemures, which carried with him the traditions
of the powers of the sun, man would know the gods, as a result of
the worship of the sun and moon into Rome from his own country, and that a temple
of the sun on the Aventine was founded by him.
This was the opinion of Varro (de Ling. Lat. v.
74), and Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 41) attributed a temple
of the moon (Luna) on the Capitol to Servius Tullius.
But the official Roman calendar of fes-
tivals, which is known to every ancient ages,
gives no sign of official reverence paid to
to the sun or moon. At Rome, the cults of the
public priesthood devoted to them either at
rion or elsewhere among Italic peoples, though
Varro assigned such an office in old days to the
Aventine. They were associated in the country of the Sabines, in whose
tongue ansuel denoted the sun. The Aventine, as
is well known, was a home of cults introduced
from Greece. The existence of a deity called
Noctiluce (the 'night-shining one') on the Palatine is
hard to explain. The situation implies high anti-
quity, for no god realized as foreign was allowed to take up an abode within the pomarium of the city
before the age of the Second Punic War. The
name may have been an epithet of Juno, who
was connected with the sky. In a ceremony connected
with the fixing of the calendar she was addressed
as Juno Caelestis. Juno, goddess of the sky, the
name Lucina (closely connected with luz) was
attached to her as the power which brought the
child to light and birth. When the Sicanian Lucina
was transferred to Diana, the function of the Greek
goddess, as superintending human birth, was transferred to Diana.

The veneration of Volcanus as god of fire belongs to an old stock in Roman religion, but unlike
Hephaistos, he was worshipped, it seems exclu-
sively, as protector against danger to men from
fire. He was a popular divinity, and his cult was
one of which longest survived the intro-
duction of Christianity. The forms with which
another divinity, Vesta, was venerated were remarkable. Her religion of the Roman people.
Her ability with fire and her kinship with the Greek Hestia are obvious; but the worship of Vesta among Romans is far more conspicuous than that of Hestia among Greeks, possibly because the Hestia family resisted the assaults of time more stoutly than that of the Greek family.

A great feature of Roman religion is the parallelism in many respects of the religious ceremonial of the family and the State. And the private and public worship of Vesta resemble each other not a little. Every house had a cult of Vesta, and the name was restricted to the divinity; it had no connotation like the name Hestia, which meant 'hearth' as well as goddess. So thoroughly is Vesta a Latin deity that outside Latium hardly any signs of her existence have been found— a surprising fact when the similarity between Hestia and Vesta is remembered. In the home the cult of the goddess belonged to the matron and the virgin daughters, whose duty it was to see that the fire on the hearth was not extinguished.

The centre of worship for the great State family was the ancient shrine of Vesta in the Forum, and no public temple or altar devoted to her service existed before the end of the Republican period. To the primitive and the antiquity the round shape derived from that of the earliest home. Close by dwelt her priestesses, the Vestals, of whose abode important remains have been preserved. The recent publication of their site has contained an image, for Vesta was the one ancient divinity in Rome who never succumbed to the anthropomorphic impulses of her worshipers. The only symbol of the goddess was the other fire, whose extinction signified the imperious change to the land. Lapse of duty or impurity of life on the part of a Vestal was an omen of disaster, only to be averted by the sacrifice of the sinner. The Vestals were the daughters of the community, regarded as one vast family. Augustus, who loved to present himself as the restorer and maintainer of the most ancient Roman rites, connected Vesta with the dwelling-place of the imperial family on the Palatine. The Pontifex Maximus had a public residence close to the house of the Vestals. Augustus made this office an appanage of the emperor, and made over the official house to the Vestals. He set aside a portion of his palace on the Palatine to replace it and established there a second State temple of the goddess (see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-DOES [Roman]).

We turn now to the later age of Rome. The conscious worship of the sun marked distinctively the dying days of Roman paganism. The oldest shrine dedicated to the sun was on the Quirinal, and seems to belong to the time of the Second Punic War, and to be a result of the mighty tide of religious influence which then invaded Rome from Hellas. A desire to venerate the sun was manifest, however, earlier, when he appeared with his attributes on the Roman coinage. Augustus placed in Rome two Egyptian obelisks before the temple of Cesar, and they were supposed to be devoted to the sun. Vespasian transformed the obelisk into a representation of the sun a great colossal figure erected by Nero in his own honour. Several influences contributed to increase Roman reverence for the luminary, to which inscriptions from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. bear increasing evidence. Some of the most powerful divine invaders who came from the East to conquer the West were associated with the epithets mentioned above. Philosophers and mystics had preached the divine nature of the sun and other celestial bodies. Immigrants from the East, and Romans, especially soldiers, who had resided there, brought the veneration of the cult of sun worship, an influence of sentiment towards monothelism aided the movement, for the one god was often, and not unnaturally, identified with the sun. It was not, however, till after Constantine, that the divinity of Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of the cities of the empire, had cut away the ground for fencing off the civil gods of Rome from those of other communities that public and formal recognition was given to the sun. And the confident event in the history of Roman religion was the accession to the throne of Elagabalus, who bore the name of an eastern solar god, whose priest he had been, like his ancestors before him. This was the divinity of the Syrian city of Emesa. The boy-emperor deposed Jupiter from his supremacy among Roman deities, and, placing his own god in the vacant seat, brought to Rome the round black stone which was the symbol (rēro) of the god. In his array of titles the emperor made his office as 'priest of the unconquerable sun Elagabalus' (Sacerdos invicti solei Elagabalit) take precedence of the ancient designation of Pontifex Maximus. This was done in spite of the fact that the divine ruler of Emesa was sometimes correlated with Jupiter, probably because the eagle was an emblem of both. Augustus built the Palatine residence of the emperor, and to it were removed the fire of Vesta and other venerable possessions, the Palladium that came from Troy, the shields of the Vestals, and an altar to the sun and the stone which symbolized the Great Mother (Magna Mater), whose essentially Oriental divinity had been, curiously, recognized four centuries earlier than that of any other immigrant from the East. To give completeness to his innovation, Elagabalus made the foundation-day of the temple the same as the traditional foundation-day of Rome itself, the twenty-first day of April. He also ousted Vesta from the Palatine, where Augustus had planted her, and gave her place to the god Elagabalus. The ritual of the usurping god contained Oriental features revolting to the Roman mind. Among the emperor's pranks was a marriage between his divinity and the goddess of Carthage, sometimes identified with Juno and called 'the heavenly,' sometimes with Venus. It was about this time that 'Juno Colonisa' came to be widely venerated in the West, as connected with the moon. The religious revolution of Elagabalus found some favour in the army, always a nursery of Orientalism. But, when his memory was laid under condemnation, the divinity of Emesa suffered with him and was exiled from Rome.

The sun-god was to be glorified again, but in a saner fashion, in a later part of the same century, by Aurelian. He erected a fine temple in honour of the unconquerable god of the sun. His biographer (Hist. Aug. 25) narrates a miracle which occurred when Aurelian defeated Zenobia and her host under the walls of Emesa. At a critical moment he was encouraged by a divine form, which appeared again to him in the temple of Elagabalus within the city and was identified with that divinity. The writer supposed that the god established at Rome by Aurelian was Elagabalus; but the condemnation that this divinity had undergone makes the idea improbable. Some scholars have thought that Aurelian's god was the god of Palmyra, also connected with the sun. But it is most likely that the emperor did not wish to correlate him with any particular Oriental manifestation. The only indication connected with the East that降雨 made it is that Aurelian is especially associated the god with old Roman practice by denominating the new College of priests as Pontifices. The sun was selected by
the emperor as embodying the monotheistic conception; and, in so far as that is concerned, he may be said to have borrowed from the East. An interesting inscription recently discovered in Messia records how Licinius the elder and Licinius the younger ordered the consecration on an image of the sun and the establishment of a ceremony in his honour just before the great crowning victory of Constantine, won near Adrianople in 323 A.D. So it is that the name had ceased to play any part in his sun on his coins, a practice common since Aurelian's time.

We come now to the most dominant of all the recessional deities in the Roman sphere—Mithra, who is named 'Mithra the unconquerable sun' in many inscriptions. The Mithraic system was complex and many-sided, however, and this is only one aspect of the god. His cult embraced elements derived from many sources, not only from the Persian religion in which his origin is to be found, but from Babylon and elsewhere. Sun, moon, and stars were prominent in the ritual. The extraordinary spread of Mithraism in the Roman empire was mainly the result of tendencies which we have noted in other directions. The vogue of Mithra was especially notable on the frontiers, a part of the empire in which it was least expected to find. Many of his shrines have been found in the inner lands, especially on the sites of seaports. At Rome he was venerated on the Janus festival; the Mithraeum at Constantine had cornered a remarkable shrine. Another lies under the church of San Clemente, and memorials have also been found where the Vatican now stands. The connection of the Mithraic worship was specially due to the provision which it made for satisfying some yearnings which afterwards found a fuller gratification in Christianity. So many were the myths and fables connected with the religion of Christ and that of Mithra that Christians attributed them to the subtle malevolence of evil demons. The religion spread rapidly among the freedmen and soldiers, but also attracted the educated and the officials, and found favour with princes. Its close-knit organization, with its official priests and its ascending grades of illumination, kept believers together in the manner of the Christian rites. It could have been suggested that over this part of the moral element which its mysteries embodied. It instilled into its votaries a higher aim in life and a better hope in death than any other form of pagan creed.

The idea of the sun as the primeval sun, as the father of all, goes back to the very first time. Not only on the Danube (see, further, art. MITRAISM).

In conclusion, we may note that the evil associated with the sun varies with the age. The myths of the sun as the father of life-stirring and love-sapping influence have naturally in all ages taken deep root in the human mind, which welcomed the reappearance of light as the release from the night or the long darkness of winter, and transformed the contrast of light and dark into one of life and death, freedom and bondage, good and evil, virtue and sin. The great representative of light, life, freedom, and goodness was to the mind of ancient India Usha, the goddess of dawn, and her rival Rātri, the night, or, in a sense more averse to human life, tānas, the darkness. The imperishability of light found its expression in the consecration of Aditi, which other scholars explain merely as eternity (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth. iii. 106 ff.*).

Ums is not only a goddess of the dawn of every morning, she also dominated the turn of the year. The first day of the New Year (cf. A. Ludwig, *Der Rīgveda*, Prague, 1876–88, iv. p. xi, 173; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth. ii. 25 ff.*). Ums is partly the Ostara of the Rīgveda poems (F. Künge, Zeit- schrift für deutsche Wortforschung, ii. [1901] 42). She brings back the sun, the fire, the sacrifice which has been discontinued during the decayed period of the year; sometimes she is also called ṣaría or ᵇḷaṭṭahkan, and under the name sarāmā she became the mother of the two heavenly dogs, the strāmayaṇa.

The Indians divide the year into two periods, the Uttarayana, when the sun proceeds towards the north, and the Dakṣināyana, when he goes towards the south, the light half of the year being sacred to the gods, the dark half to the deities. Sometimes (e.g., *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii. i. 3. 1) it is said that spring, summer, and the rains are the god-seasons, while autumn, winter, and the cold season are the pitṛarātrikṣa, or father-season. Sometimes (cf. *Vedic Rom., ed. by W. C. Wright*, i. 796) we may begin the New Year with the winter solstice or with Easter time, according as we lay greater stress upon an astronomical or a practical point of view. Indian writers also oscillated between the two possibilities, and faced the problem in the same manner as their brothers did among Teutonic, Slavic, and Indian tribes (cf., e.g., F. M. Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, London, 1807, ii. 718). The Vedics authors speak of the dark half of the year as tānas, and originally meant thereby the winter, the personification of which was Vṛtra, not the retainer of the heavenly rain, as has generally been believed, but the demon of winter, who was slain by Indra, and who regains the light and sets free the streams bound by the fetters of frost and ice. This idea was inherited from pre-historic times, and formed under the influences of a more northern climate than that of the Indian plains. The farther the Aryan tribes advanced towards the south, and the longer they settled under a milder climate, the less that idea harmonized with their more settled and temperate climate; the notion of tānas was transferred to the really dark season of India—the rains; and the residue of the past and the germ of a new time were thus equally precipitated in the ancient

A. Hillebrandt.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Iranian).—The antithesis between light and darkness among the Iranians was closely connected with the antagonism between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. This feature attracted the attention of Plutarch, who says (de Is, et Oeis, xlv. 1) that Ahura Mazda was born of pure light, and Angra Mainyu of darkness, so that this whole world springs from darkness. Angra Mainyu (Ahura Mazda) was the light and the darkness the darkness, and in the Persian religion the light and the darkness are given the same name as in the Hymns, ‘Evdax-sa納ha 1 (possibly, (Arda-i-Virdi) and (Atar-i-Virdi),’ (cf. Porphyr. Hipp. Pythag., p. 41, ed. A. Nauck, Leipzig, 1860; Hippol. Refut. liv. 2, iv. 49; A. Rapp, ZDMG xlix. (1854) 481). The Persian word abad-dar (indicating the abode of the Attributes) (tr. E. Blochet, HHR xxxvii. (1898) 41) and in al-Shahristani’s Kitâb al-miîlât wa’l-nîzâl (tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850-51, i. 275), but also in the Armenian writers (e.g. Thomas Aztaruni, l. 3), while Dio Chrysostom (Orat. xxxvi.) goes so far as to make the assertion —not thus far substantiated elsewhere—that, in order to create, Ahura Mazda had to ‘behold the darkness’ (Ys. vii. 8; xxiv. 1; Arta-i-Virdi, Bombay, 1827; Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1893-95, ii. 178), the righteous man hopes to attain to ‘the place of light’ (yâstâd), not to ‘the place of darkness’ (târlâd) (Ys. vii. 8; xxiv. 1).

The good view of the light as the ‘Ultragama of Ahura Mazda is clearly seen in the following passage of ‘bright’—Ashta (Ys. v. 4), the Amesha Spenta and their presiding spirit (Ys. xii. 82, 84, xiv. 15, 17; Aši (Ys. vii. 1, 6); Apam Napâ (Ys. xiv. 52; Sihr bâh, ii. 30), the ‘glory’ (Axe mârâkha (Ys. xiv. 52)), and especially Yima, whose conventional epithet (êlâst) is not so completely blended with his name that in modern Persian he is known only as Jamshid.

The sun, moon, and stars are hidden to give light (Ys. xxii. 5, 9, 13), and the light of the moon is hidden (Nyâgâh, iii. 7), while the great mystery of the brightness of the light of the sun, if the sun no longer rose, ‘the demons would destroy everything that is in the seven regions of the world, and the spiritual angels would find no resting place and no abiding place in this corporeal existence’ (Ys. vi. 13), and in general Nyâgâh, i. iii.; Ys. vi.-viii.). Indeed, the fairest of the forms of Ahura Mazda are the earth and the heavenly light, i.e. the fire and the sun (Ys. xxxvi. 6, vii. 8); and in the palace which Ahura Mazda built for Mithra there is neither night nor darkness (Ys. x. 50).

Darkness is a special attribute of hell (Ys. iii. 35; Age miałaevâdâš, xxvii.), for which ‘darkness without beginning’ is a synonym (Ys. xxii. 35; cf. Spiegel, ii. 18 f.). The demons are ‘spawn of darkness’ (or, perhaps, ‘possess the seed of darkness’ (tomasea-vahra) (Ys. vi. 4; Nyâgâh, i. 14; Ys. viii. 80), and seek refuge in darkness (Ys. xvi. 18), or hide in the earth (zemare-grma (Ys. ix. 15; Ys. xii. 81; Westergaard, Freg. iv. 33) or in caverns (Ys. iii. 7, 10)—a phrase which may possibly point to survivals of an old druidic cult (cf. Moulton, pp. 57, 128 f., 132, 399). Properly enough, therefore, divine aid is sought to resist ‘darkness, woe, and suffering’ (Ys. lxii. 17; cf. Nyâgâh, i. 1).

Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that the ‘region of light is the place of Ahuramazd, which they call "endless light" ’ (Bundahïs, i. 2), and that the place of the Amesha Spenta is ‘in that best expanse of heaven’ (Ys. xxxi. 10, xxiv. 2), while Arã-Î-Vîrâf, when in the presence of Ahura Mazda, perceived only brilliant light (Arât-î-Vîrâf Nâmak, &c.), and the radiance of...
Zarathushtra within his mother, during the three days before his birth, was so great as to illuminate his father's whole village (Dinkart, v. ii. 2, vii. ii. 55-58).

According to the same texts, hell is full of darkness (Dvitiyāṃ-Dīnak, xxvi. ii. 2, xxxii. ii. 4, xxxvii. 28, 45), so intense that it 'is fit to grasp with the hand' (Bundahish, xxvii. 37; cf. Dīnā-i-Mainyu-1-Krōt, vii. 31). This is an ordinary dark in the shade of Zarang Mainyu (Bundahish, i. 3), and when, in his fruitless endeavour to destroy the light of Ahura Mazda, he emerged from hell, he made the world at mid-day as dark as midnight, returning from it as from the grave. If he formed many demons (ib. i. 10, iii. 14). In fact, 'the most steadfast quality of the demon himself is darkness, the evil of which is so complete that they shall call the demons also those of a gloomy race' (Dvitiyāṃ-Dīnak, xxxvii. 85). In contrast, although sun, moon, and stars will continue to exist after the renovation of the world, they will no longer be necessary, 'for the world is a dispensary of all lights, and all creatures, too, are brilliant.' (ib. xxxvii. 128). The power of the demons during the darkness has already been noted. Therefore, 'when in the dark it is possible that demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark.' (Sāyast-ā-Śayast, ix. 8; two-thirds are taken if one eats with un washed hands) - and in that event, no light of the last Sātār Nask of the Avesta dealt, among other topics, with 'the husby who spills anything after sunset, or who scatters a morsel of food to the north, at night, without a recital of the Ahuravair' (Dinkart, ix. xix. 2). To the same category of concepts belongs a short Parsi poem contained in the second volume of the collection of Rivayat of Dīnak, after his defeat.1 As J. J. M. de Wyzewa, 207, 19-208, 4; the edition is not yet published, but the writer has a set of the proofs through the courtesy of the editor and J. J. M. de Wyzewa.)

According to this, 'Rivayat on the Lighting of a Lamp, the lamp-light drives away all demons, and it adds:

1 From that light of the Fire the world is bright, since it is hostile to the demons of Ahura Mazda; if there were not always the light of the Fire, there would not be a single man in the world. This little poem is immediately followed, by the account of the lighting of the Sama and the reciting of the verses of the Sūtār Nask for the Avesta dealt, among other topics, with 'the husby who spills anything after sunset, or who scatters a morsel of food to the north, at night, without a recital of the Ahuravair' (Dinkart, ix. xix. 2). To the same category of concepts belongs a short Parsi poem contained in the second volume of the collection of Rivayat of Dīnak, after his defeat.1 As J. J. M. de Wyzewa, 207, 19-208, 4; the edition is not yet published, but the writer has a set of the proofs through the courtesy of the editor and J. J. M. de Wyzewa.)

The problem of the relation of light and darkness was even more vital than the earliest Iranian text people to suppose; for it gave rise to philosophical speculations which materially helped to form the leading Zoroastrian sects.

Al-Shahrastānī goes so far as to declare that 'all problems of the Magians turn upon two main points: why the light mingled with darkness, and why the light cleansed itself from darkness; they post the mingling as the beginning, and the cleansing as the aim.'

The Gāyomārīan sect maintained, according to al-Shahrastānī, that light had no beginning, but darkness was created. Whence, was their problem—whether from light, which, however, could not produce anything even partially evil, or from something else, though there was nothing which had light as the properties of creation and eternity. Their rather lame solution was that Ahura Mazda thought to himself: 'If I had an opponent, how would he be formed?' From this thought, which did not harmonize with the goodness of light, Anga Mainyu was produced. The mingling of light and darkness was due to the fact that the light gave men, before they were embodied, light by which men, led by the properties of creation and eternity, made the realms of Anga Mainyu or battle with them. They chose corporeal existence and battle, on condition that they were aided by the light to eventual victory and to the final resurrection at his defeat.

The Zarvanite sect held that the light produced a number of creatures of bright, divine nature, the most important of whom was Zarvan (Time), who, after murmuring prayers for a son during 9999 years, entertained the thought: 'I enhance this world is nothing else. From this time on, Anga Mainyu was born, and from Zarvan's wisdom sprang Ahura Mazda. There were a number of minor speculations among this sect—e.g., that the Sun was originally the moon; in that case, the Moon was the Sun, to which it was said, 'I meditated upon treachery until, like Satan, he fell.' The Mashhūtes thought that a portion of light had transformed itself into darkness.

The Zoroastrians (Zoroastrians) entertained, according to al-Shahrastānī, the views of light and darkness which we would naturally infer from the Avesta and Pahlavi texts. Both light and darkness had existed from the beginning. Good and evil, purity and impurity, etc., had arisen from the mingling of light and darkness; and, had there been no such mingling, the world would not have existed. God was the source of both (cf. X. xv. 5, cited above), and in His wisdom had mingled them; but light alone is real darkness, being, in fact, only its necessary antithesis; and, since they are antithetic, they must war against one another until the light shall allay and destroy the darkness.

Thus in Zoroastrianism the problem of the relation between light and darkness becomes part of the greater question of the origin of good and evil; and from this point of view the antithesis of light and darkness is found again—whether independent or derived—in several Gnostic systems (cf. ERE, vol. vi. i. 238 f.), as well as in Mandaeism (A. J. H. W. Brandt, Mandäische Religion, Leipzig, 1880, p. 39 f.) and Manichaeism (K. Kessler, PHR, xix. (1903) 205 f.). See art. MAZANDAN.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references given in the art., other citations from the Avesta may be gained from C. Bar- tholomae, Abüwir, Wörterbuch, Strasbourg, 1904, s. v. 'Rāsik,' *Rauzān,' 'Hrwān,' *Hrwān,' etc. (cols. 1487-1492, 648-650). No special treatise on the subject has as yet been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian).—I. Peoples and period. —Babylonian (Assyrian), Egyptian, and Hebrew beliefs on the subject of light and darkness may all be taken together. Although in course of time they became widely divergent, at the outset and for a considerable period they showed many points of similarity—a fact to be derived to the contact and the common origin, in part if not in whole, of the peoples inhabiting the countries of the Near East. For the Babylonians and the Hebrews this affinity is generally admitted, both being of the Semitic stock. Further, the words of God, the positive contact between the early Egyptian race and the Babylonians has been made extremely probable by Hommel. Winckler, too, remarks with justice that the cults of the Horus-child belongs to the same religion as the Babylonian, and is in this sense Semitic.1 Sayce, while tracing many analogies of the same kind between Babylonian and Egyptian beliefs, takes a further step, and sees in 'the triumph of the gods of light and order over the monsters of chaos not only the birth of the present creation, but also the theological victory of the Semites over the Sumerian.2 Without going so far as this, other scholars admit that the mythological compositions of the Babylonians were derived from Sumerian sources.3 The upper limit of the period to be considered is, therefore, before 2050 B.C. and the lower limit is placed in Sumerian times, about the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.

1 T. K. Cheyne, Bible Problems, London, 1904, p. 200. Linguistic affinities are worked out by C. J. Ball in the Hibbert Journal, 1900, p. 133. See also M. de Wyzewa, op. cit., p. 207, note 3, for 'light.'

2 A. H. Sayce, Egyptian Religion of the Middle and Late Periods. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1910), 496.

3 L. W. King and R. R. Hall, Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries, London, 1897, p. 230.
fourth millennium B.C. and the lower limit may with propriety be fixed about the time of the Hebrew Exile, before the influence of Persia, followed by Greece, could have been felt. 1 Throughout this period of three millennia the predominant feature of the Babylonian mind is the cult of the sun-god. We should therefore expect to find in the records that have survived much that is cognate to at least the first member of our subject. Owing to syncretistic tendencies always present, and the case with which those ancient peoples tolerated antinomies in belief, no uniform presentation of their views about light and darkness can be given.

2. Various relationships of light and darkness.

—While the words 'light' and 'darkness' appear to stand in a co-ordinate relation, in reality they are contrasted terms, to be compared with 'day' and 'night,' 'life' and 'death,' 'good' and 'evil.' 2 In all these cases the co-ordinate relation holds good in the sense that light and darkness, etc., can be regarded as complementary terms, conveying the idea of the whole—e.g., the daily round, the sum-total of existence, and the ethical contents of life. The exceptional view whereby both light and darkness are traced to the same creative source (as in Zoroastrianism) may also be looked into this connection. 3 In general, however, the relation between light and darkness continues to be regarded in Semitic thought as adversative, slightly veiling a dualism which perhaps has been inherited from prehistoric times, and which is not resolved (Jahwism excluded), even theoretically, into a monism until the limit of our period has been passed. 4 We have throughout to reckon with that 'Oriental resignation to the contrasts in life' which marked all the peoples of the Ancient East. 5 The theory that prevailed might at best be termed 'optimistic dualism.' 6 With special reference to light and darkness there was a contest present in the beginning (cosmology), and this is daily and yearly renewed, with every day and night, every spring and autumn (or summer and winter), and it may even extend through the course of the world cycle. 7 While light and darkness have, therefore, each a separate kingdom, the one being for day and for life, the other for night and for death, there is evidence in the development of religious thought in Egypt in the inroads of an invasion of death upon the other's domain, resulting in a measure of fusion. This is concisely summed up by saying that the solar cult was stylized and the Osiris myth was deified. A subtle theory of a similar kind has been formulated for Babylonia, as an instance of which we may quote the representation of the sun as under-world divinity, 'because in his light the stars disappear and perish.' 8 There is much less warrant for such crossing over of the ideas of light and darkness in Babylonian thought. Regarding the 'Astral Theory' as a whole, it may be remarked that, were it accepted, it would greatly extend the possibilities of our subject. It requires, however, more agreement than at present exists as to the date of the origin of scientific astronomy among the Babylonians before its findings can be used with any measure of confidence.

3. No science of light.—Judging from present data, the likelihood is that the peoples of antiquity were not conscious of the fact that the universe is under the domination of natural law. Theirs was 'the cosmography of appearances' 9—a view of the world resting at the empirical stage. They had no scientific theory of light; darkness was not merely the absence of light. Both were 'material entities':

1. The matter of light issues forth from its place and spreads over the earth; at night it withdraws, and darkness comes forth from its place, each in a hidden, mysterious way. 10

The 'substantiality of darkness' may be specially remarked. Exemplified by this 11 higher conception of the quality of light was indeed reached. According to Hahn, in the later parts of the OT light is used as a symbol of deity because it is the finest and most indispensable instance known, and there is no danger of corporeal form being attached to it.

'The deity as light gives the transition to the deity as spirit.'

Bearing in mind that the peoples of the Ancient East were accustomed to concrete views of what are accepted by us as abstract qualities, we shall understand better how they received the phenomenon of light and darkness mainly according to their physical effects and their bearing upon life. Light was of service to them; darkness formed a hindrance. This was transferred to the feeling of light they rejoiced in; darkness they dreaded. Love of the light and hatred of the darkness lie at the root of many of the myths of antiquity, and are evident in the metaphorical usage of the two terms. By an entirely logical transition light is associated with warmth, and darkness is linked with cold. This applies to the cycle of the year, which is of more importance in ancient belief and practice, as appears in the Samoz cult, than the cycle of the day. From warmth again there is an easy passage to life and growth, and from cold to decay and death.

4. Light and darkness as associated with deities.—Like great natural forces, such as thunder and tempest, light and darkness were seen to lie beyond human control, and thus they came to be associated with deity or deities, and with beings more than human. Light is the creation of good gods, although it has also a hurtful side, when found in conjunction with the scorching heat of summer, and when bound up with lightning and fire. Darkness is viewed less as a creation of the gods than as an instrument for the subservient use of evil spirits, who could not exercise their beneficent power apart from darkness. Still there are gods specially associated with darkness, both in Babylonia and in Egypt. Many deities bear names and attributes compounded with words signifying 'light,' and their temples are similarly termed (e.g. E-Babbara, 'the shining house' [sun-temple at Sippar]). In addition to Shamash, the sun-god (and other deities who in their original function are merely aspects of the sun), Nannar or Sin, the moon-god, and Ishtar, 'the light of the heavens,' the foremost place must here be given to Marduk or Merodach (Amar-Ud), 'sun of the sun,' or 'child of the day,' as being the god of light by pre-eminence. He, too, is generally regarded as a solar deity, although an attempt has been made to prove that he is independent of the sun, being simply the god of light. 12 Although appearing at the summit of the Babylonian pantheon, he

11. E. H., art. 'Darkness (Babylonian), vol. i. p. 184 ff.
certainly did not hold undisputed sway, either at the beginning or afterwards, and the light between light and darkness, typified by Marduk (or the One, see below) was continued down the ages. How this should be is perhaps best explained on the theory of Radu, 2 who contends that Marduk is the god of light considered not as an illuminating power, but as a life-giving principle, which appears in the warmth of the spring. His light with Tiamat is a light of the light, i.e. the warmth, against the darkness, i.e. the cold. By this line of argument Marduk comes into relation to the Punamu-Adonis (and Ishtar) cycle of myths, and is also to be placed in opposition to Nabû, the god of the darker half of the year. Viewed as a solar deity, then, Marduk stands for the sun-god of spring, who brings 'blessing and favours after the sorrows and tribulations of the stormy season.' Before Marduk was exalted to the chief place, Anu, Ningi, Enlil, and Ea fulfilled a similar rôle in the myths of creation, 4 and in later times Ashur arose to dispute the glory. The nearest approach to a god of darkness, energizing in the world of nature, is Ea (Ea, god of the domain, is the thunderer). 5 The darkness which he causes (e.g., in the Flood Story, ii. 46 f.) is relieved by the lightning, in virtue of which he has some title to be regarded as god light also. With him may be compared Girru (Gibil) or Niniku, the god of fire, whose symbol, a lighted lamp, is as old as the 14th cent. B.C. 6

Of the evil spirits that love the darkness, mention may be made of the seven evil demons who, aided by certain of the great gods, were thought to be responsible for the darkening of the moon by eclipse or storm, and even for the disappearance of the sun from sight for a month. 

1 From city to city darkness work they, A hurricane, which mightily hunts in the heavens, are they, 
2 Thick clouds, that bring darkness in heaven, are they, 
3 Goads of wind rising, which cast gloom over the bright day, are they. . . .

In the official cults of Egypt sun-worship was all-important. Less is said about the moon, although it finds a place. 7 Within his own domain, which is the upper world, Ra (Amon-Ra), the sun, figures as a life-giving power, a set-off to the cycle of life and death. The power of death and darkness in the under world, to which so much importance was attached in Egypt. Here, it would seem, light and darkness are concomitants of the fuller notions of the life after death. We must imagine in this event the apparent exception of the ‘Aton’ cult of the XVIIIth dynasty (in the reign of Ikhnaton). In the ‘Solar universalism’ of that period, which finds expression in a series of unexecuted hymns, 8 while the whole activity and beneficence of the sun are rehearsed, its life-giving power is still in the forefront. In the Egypt the part of Marduk was taken by Horus the elder. 9 An equivalent to Ishtar is found in Hathor, by whom some scholars call ‘the goddess of light.’ 10 Specific gods of darkness appear in Set (or Set-Apoph) and in one member of the Hermopolitan ennead, Kek (see above, Kek). 11 (For the gods of the underworld see below, § 7.) In Egypt the demons of darkness were, like those of Babylonia, an awful power for evil to the living, and conscientiously active in the realm of the dead.

The Hebrew conception of God is frequently conveyed by means of language (much of which is metaphorical and poetical) drawn from the realm of light (see Job, vi. 14-16, 18, 20, Ezk. 11:18, 19, 20, 22; Hos. 6:1). But, while light is readily employed as a symbol of Jehovah, from first to last there is no idea of identifying Him with this manifestation of nature (as in the case of Marduk). While God is investlled of as luminous above measure, He is at the same time thought of as hidden, and His ways are reckoned to be mysterious. For this reason darkness, the ‘natural antithesis’ of light, also enters into the imagery of the OT (Ex 20:11, Deut 41:52, 1 K 8:9, Ps 18:11, Am 5:8, Zeph 1:10).

It is surprising that, though the Hebrews were Babylonians, they did not find an equivalent for the name of the god of darkness (Aton) who shared the Babylonian and Egyptian belief in demons and evil spirits, hardly a trace of such powers of darkness is evident in the religious literature of ancient Israel.

5. Light and darkness in cosmology.—According to the main version of the Babylonian Story of Creation, Marduk, the god of light, prevails over Tiamat, the personification of chaos, of which darkness presumably forms part (see Vol. ii. p. 190). In Mummun (table I. 4) ‘the flood,’ or chaos, the equivalent of ‘the darkness’ which in Ga 1 is said to have been ‘upon the face of the deep,’ is identified with the Babylonian and Ptolemaic ‘whirlpool’ of which we have seen a parallel in the flood-story of Genesis (see below). While this knowledge is unattested by Yehow, the goddess of light, as we see in the case of the Egyptian Amun, it is evident to be distinguished from the ‘lights’—stars, constellation, and sun—which light is, as it were, localized (Gen 11:25). In Egypt there is no detailed account of creation. 12 Sayce 13 and

1 Sayce, p. 146.  
2 JNES, art. ‘Amon (Egyptian),’ vol. IV, p. 106; Breasted, P. 46.  
4 JNES, art. ‘Babylonian and Assyrian,’ vol. II, p. 312; Jastrow regards him rather as a water-god (op. cit. p. 312 f.).  
5 Jastrow, p. 30.  
6 Jastrow, p. 30.  
7 E. F. Thompson, Babylonian Religion and Mythology, London, 1902, p. 130.  
8 FRG, art. ‘Babylonian and Assyrian,’ vol. II, p. 316.  
9 A. H. Sayce, in Hilprecht’s Anniversary Volume, p. 70 ff.  
12 See Ebsy xxi. (1911) 485. For a revised tr. of the most important of the Egyptian hymns see Breasted, op. cit. p. 204 ff.  
13 Sayce, p. 165.  
14 Some ascribes the light- and darkness to ‘the sun-god of Egypt,’ see Ebsy xxi. 485.
LIGTH AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian) 65

Jeremiah’s remark on sectional parallels to the Babylonian main version. Different conceptions of the origin of light appear. Light according to one primeval chaos is an ocean from which the sun-god (Atum) arises, bringing his own light with him; according to another, light is laid up in the world-egg, which was brought current so long in Egypt that the sun died every evening, and every morning was resurrected. In the interval he moved with difficulty through the realm of darkness, and, as a passive body, had to be lighted through the interplay of light and darkness. In addition to the deities of light were also present to bear witness, and a second world was rendered necessary of such a kind that they could bear the light.2

Deutero-Isaiah’s exalted conception (40b), whereby the creation of light and darkness is referred to the same divine source, is the verbal outcome of monothelmism.3 It has an anthropomorphic parallel in the words ascribed to Ra: ‘When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness.’4 This, of course, applies to the daily renewal of light and its withdrawal every night.

A reduction of earth to primeval conditions would involve among other things the extinction of light and by inference the return of the darkness of chaos (Jer 4a). An Egyptian myth, found in the Book of the Dead, represents Atum (see above) as defacing what he had made, bringing a return of the darkness.5 It was as the dimming. Over this Osiris (lord of darkness) is to rule.6

6. Light and darkness in human experience.—
The cosmology, although relating to what is first in the order of things, is itself the product of reflection upon the phenomena of the present. The processes of thought which give origin to the myths connected with the world’s beginning, and to mythology in general, may be placed in times antecedent to the-Semitic period. The myths, having been invented and reduced to writing, were now exercising a certain counter-influence on current ideas. They were never absent from the back of the mind and were, as we have said, a very biding, familiar development. We may suppose that light and darkness, especially light, would in time have been accepted as in the course of nature, and have ceased to attract attention. But there came interruptions of the usual order—e.g., in the eclipse of moon or of sun—and on such occasions the mythology was speedily recalled. The cults also were of such a kind that they kept the mythology alive. The great festival of New Year in Egypt, the Sed, and the transcription and frequent recitation of funerary literature in Egypt, much of which had been handed down from very early times; the festivals attending new moon, full moon, and the new year, and every occasion of national or local assembly—all must have exercised much influence towards the preservation of traditional beliefs. There was thus but slight opportunity of escaping from the legacy of the past. When the Egyptians looked upon the fiery clouds that attended the rising sun, their minds reverted to the pits of fire that were supposed to mark the eleventh division of the Tutt. The multifarious representations on cylinder-seals of the orbs of night and day, especially of the figure of the sun-god rising between the mountains of the East, depicted with streams of light flowing from both sides, or with rays of light protruding from his shoulders, give a vivid conception of the ideas constantly at work in the minds of the Semites and their kindred. In addition to anthropomorphic representations of the deities of light, their symbols, especially the sun’s disk, winged or unwinged, abounded both in Egypt and in Babylonia. It is remarkable that all the obelisks and pyramids of Egypt, which were symbols of the sun in addition to their other uses. Temples to these deities of light were also present to bear witness, and a second world was rendered necessary of such a kind that they could bear the light.2

1 OT in Light of the Anc. East, p. 168, and, in more detail, Die Parasbolisten, etc.
4 E.R.E. art. ‘Cosmogony and Cosmology (Hebrew),’ vol. iv. p. 165. Delitzsch, q.v., points to this verse as containing Old Persian dualism; similarly Jeremiah, OT in Light of the Anc. East, p. 228; a different view is given by H. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, Göttingen, 1899, p. 139 n.
5 Based on E.R.E. iv. 223; cf. Sayce, Religion of Anc. Egypt, p. 27.
8 1 K. 7:4.

Thoughts of light and darkness were further kept in the minds of these ancient peoples by the terms assigned to the
day (Asv. ivmh, Heb. dwr, ‘light’); to the morning, or East (Asv. el ‘Sunnī, Heb. mabir, ‘the rising of the sun’); to the evening, or West (Asv. erē, Samn., Heb. melā ha-shahmenah, ‘the setting of the sun’); and by certain Babylonian moon names (Ar., Aljura, the second or ‘bright’ month; Addur, the eleventh, or ‘dark’ or ‘glowing’ month). One series of directions in Hebrew gives north (‘ēffon) as the ‘obscure’ or ‘dark’ place, and south (‘adār) as the ‘bright’ or ‘illuminated’ place.

7. Light and darkness in relation to the state after death.—The contrast between light and darkness is of the highest importance in Eschatology, but darkness is most strikingly revealed in their views of the state of the living and of the dead.

1. Darkness without light’ is one of the curses invoked by Hammurabi on any one who should venture to deface his stele. This is synonymous with death. The grave to which the dead are consigned is ‘the dark dwelling’ (Sumerian Unurg), which in its extended meaning is applied to the under world, the abode of the shades (cf. Ps 89:15). The departed soul itself is a ‘creation of darkness’ (Sumerian, gidinu, Semitic, cdímma). The darkness attending death was to some extent relieved in the practice of the living by the use of artificial lights in the preliminaries to burial and by occasional illuminations in proximity to the tomb. From Palestinian excavation it has been ascertained that lamps are exceedingly common in graves with their impure and evidently symbolic purpose. Their purpose has been variously explained, and one and the same interpretation will hardly suit every era. The readiest explanation would be that in earlier periods, a light on a level with food and drink vessels deposited with the dead. Whatever was of service to the living might also serve the dead.

Among the Babylonians the general idea was that it was a misfortune for the dead again to be brought to the light of day. Unless decent burial were given, their spirits would return to earth, but only to plague the living. In the under world (or preferably the other world) there was their home, and there their spirits found rest. The classic description of this abode of the dead is found in the myth of Ishtar’s Descent to Hades, to the land of no-return (cf. Gilgamesh Epic, ii. 436-452):

[Transcribed]

‘To the house of darkness, Irrashu’s dwelling-place, To the house from which he who enters never returns, To the road whose path is not back, To the house where he who enters is deprived of light, Where they lay down, their sustenance, their food they see not, in darkness do they sit.’

Over this gloomy realm of the Babylonian dead the god Nergal presides, with his consort Ereshki-gal, goddess of the dead. At Osiris was lord of the under world, and there held his court. This also was a world lying in darkness, which was relieved one hour in twenty-four, during the passage of the sun-god and his train through each division of the vault. The entrance to this realm of the dead lay, for both Babylonians and Egyptians, in the west, where the sun goes down. On the other hand, the east, as the point of sunrise, is the abode of life; but this has an interest only for the sun-god and the privileged few who shared his daily recurring glory. Although the point of departure to the under world and the point of return thither, for interments, were not necessarily the location, relatively to earth, of the region of the dead. The Egyptians placed it beyond the circle of mountains guarding the earth, perhaps on the same map as their immaterial regions, or even beyond it. In the Babylonian and Hebrew conception it seems to have lain beneath earth, even lower than the waters of the abyss (aspšt), themselves associated with darkness. This was a region which the sun, living or dead, could not pierce.

A better fate for departed spirits, some if not all, was also conceived of—symbolized, e.g., in the recovery of Tamman from the under world and in the sun-bark with its occupants who returned to the region of light. Light here plays the principal part, although the obstacle of darkness has to be surmounted before the goal of light can be reached. One of the emblems in the Book of the Dead is for making the transformation into the god that giveth light (in) the darkness, or light for darkness. The ‘island of the blessed,’ in the Gilgamesh Epic, is cut off from the world by a barrier including twelve double-hours of travelling through thick darkness.

The Babylonian heaven was the reserve of the gods, save in exceptional cases. In Egypt, at an early date, the king shared in the delights of heaven, and was exalted to life with the gods in the sky. Later this was qualified by the Osirian doctrine, whereby the realm of the blessed could be attained only by redemption from the under world through faith in Osiris or Amon-Ra. This other world is a realm of light for the most part.

The created sun-god was called ‘the light’ in the Babylonian religions, and is ever the symbol of the light, used as a symbol of the soul, including that of the sun-god. The khû, or beatiﬁed spirits, feed upon the divine grain (i.e. the body of Osiris) and are in the land of the Light-god. Later, the followers of the sun-god, who travelled with him in the Boat of Millions of Years, eventually became beings consisting of nothing but light (cf. Is 60:18).

Hebrew thought about the state of the dead in the under world shows close kinship to the Babylonian, and is less developed than that of Egypt. The utmost allowed, even in the later books of the OT, falling between the years of 2800 and 1600 B.C., was the idea that the shades may emerge from Sheol back to the light of the upper world (Is 26:19).

Liguori.—Saint Alfonso Maria di Liguori was born 27 Sept. 1696 at Marianella, near Naples. He was the eldest son of a rather impoverished noble family, and, according to his biographers, was from early youth observed for his charm of manner, and his precocious ability. A strain of Spanish blood seems to have lent him a greater seriousness of mind and tenacity of purpose than are common among natives of Southern Italy. He devoted himself to the law, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at the age of sixteen, being then so small of stature that, to the amusement of the spectators, his doctor’s gown hid him almost completely from view. He afterwards practised in the courts of Naples for nearly eight years with extraordinary success; but it would seem that in 1723, in a case in which large pecuniary interests were at stake, Liguori, in the interpretation of an important document, was guilty of an oversight which, when brought home to him, covered him with confusion, and disgusted him with his career and with all worldly ambition. This was a most innocent life, and now, giving himself up to solitude and prayer, he had what he believed to be a..."
supernatural intoxication to consecrate the rest of his
days to God in the ecclesiastical state. He
wished to become a Redemptorist, but his father,
who had already been much distressed on two
different occasions by his son’s unwillingness to fall
to an advantageous project of marriage that had been suggested, hastened
to yield. Eventually to his father’s entreaties, and acting on the advice of his confessor,
himself an Oratorian, the young lawyer gave up
his idea of leaving home, but began to study for an
ecclesiastical career, and in 1726 was ordained priest.
In the first six years of his ministry Alfonso worked under the direction of an
association of missionary priests, and devoted himself
as well, at Naples, to the care of the Jesus-woods, among
whom his labours bore extraordinary fruit. He
converted many hundreds from a life of sin, and
formed a sort of confraternity, the ‘Association of the
Chaplents,’ for these poor outcasts, to ensure
their perseverance in good. In 1729 Liguori was
brought into relation with a certain Father Thomas
Falcoia of the ‘Pit Operariz,’ who conceived a deep
respect for the young man, and, when he himself
was appointed minister of Castelmezzano, he led to the conviction that Alfonso
was an instrument divinely sent to carry out
a project which he had long secretly cherished of founding a new order of the
missions, and herds and peasants of that part of Italy.
The scheme eventually took shape in the little town of
Scali, near Amalfi, twenty miles from Naples.
There the ‘Congregation of the Most Holy Re-
demption,’ from which name the members are most
commonly called Redemptorists, was founded in
1732. Bishop Falcoia was at first its nominal
superior, but he lived at a distance whilst Alfonso resided with the
community. Hence, on the
bishop’s death in 1743, Alfonso was formally
elected to preside over his brethren. In 1747
he was made provinciale, and in 1750 he was made
provincial of the most holy order of the
Redemptorists, and he spent the rest of his days
in the directorship of the Institute. A
document drawn up in those very early days by
the hands of Alfonso himself in the vain hope of
obtaining the approbation of the king of Naples,
Don Carlos (afterwards Charles III. of Spain),
supplies a concise account of the special character-
tistics of the new Order.

*The principal aim of the priests so associated is to imitate as closely as possible… the life and virtues of Our Lord Jesus Christ and to imitate him, as far as may be, in their own spiritual advantage and that of the people of this kingdom—especially the most forsaken of these, to whom they render spiritual aid. In their houses they lead a perfect community life, under obedience to their superior, and perform the functions of the sacred ministry, such as instructions, confessions, the supervision of schools, confessional duties, and other devot gatherings.

They go about the dioceses in which they are established, giving masses, and, as a means of preserving the good results which they have been by the grace of God to effect, they return from time to time to the districts which have been evangelized, to bring them back to the faith, and to teach people in their
best resolutions by another series of instructions and sermons as well as by spiritual advice and so forth. In the monasteries as well as abroad they endeavour, with the help of divine grace, to follow closely in the footsteps of the Most Holy Redeemer our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to instruct the people by example as well as by precept.

As a means of attaining this end, there are twelve points of its rule set forth in their constitutions. The headings of these are: Faith, hope, charity, poverty, humility, obedience, silence and prayer, formation of conscience, good counsels, poverty, humility of heart, obedience, meekness and humanity of heart, mortification, recollection, prayer, abnegation and silence, and of the sacred books.

Each of the associates passes one day every week (now one day every month in recent years, and three times a week in the interests of his soul, in order to be able to employ himself afterwards with more arduous in securing the spiritual welfare of his neighbour.

In their houses they consecrate a large part of each day to silence, recollection, prayer, meditation, and in some of these times a day.

Their houses are to contain but a small number of subjects. As for their admission, they endeavour to ensure that only those may be admitted who live in a home, and not in the convent, and not in any family, resources which they may have been accustomed to employ, are made spontaneously for the love of Jesus Christ, by the priests of the faithful’ (Gerché, Saint Alphage de Liguori, Eng. tr., i. 109).

Despite domestic anxieties and counteradvice in the government of the new Institute, Liguori, down to about the year 1752, devoted himself indefatigably to the actual work of preaching, while leading at the same time a life of extreme abstemiousness and penury. At that period his health began somewhat to fail, and henceforward he devoted more time to literary activities, composing a number of books of piety and instruction, as well as the comprehensive work on moral theo-

logy by which he is especially remembered. As early as 1747 the king had wished to make Alfonso archbishop of Palermo, but by earnest representations he has succeeded in evading the proffered honour. The Redemptorists were resolved to take a special vow to accept the no ecclesiastical dignities, but in 1762 influence was used with the Holy See to dispense the saint from his vow, and, sorely against his will, he was induced to take the pope to accept the bishopric of Sant’ Agata dei Goti, a tiny see to the north of Naples, among a peasant population unpleasantly notorious for their barbarism and irreligion. Here he worked wonders for the reform of morals, but after an episcopate of more than thirteen years he permitted Pope Pius VI, in 1775, to allow him to resign in order that he might end his days among a community of his own Order. Broken with years, and with apostolic labours, and with the incredible anxieties which he practised, he retired to Nocera dei Pagani, but twelve years were still to pass before he was called to his reward. In the mean-
time he was destined to endure trials which probably cost him more severe mental suffering than any of the difficulties which he had previously encountered. For forty years and more, mainly owing to the influence of the anti-clerical and all-

powerful minister Bernard Tannei, who was the virtual ruler of Naples, the formal recognition of the Redemptorists as a religious Order had been withheld by the Government. This had been an obstacle in the way of its expansion, reducing it, as it did, to the position of an illegal association. At the time of Tannei’s downfall in 1776, the Order numbered only nine houses—four in Naples, one in Sicily, and four in the States of the Church. In 1779, under a different administra-
tion, everything seemed to point to the adoption of a more generous policy. Promises of favour were made on behalf of the Government, and in response the Redemptorist rule was formally submitted for State approval. From the point of view of the aged founder, the result was disastrous. The rule was approved, indeed, but in a fundamentally modified form (known in the controversies which followed as the ‘Regolamento’), which set at

ought many of the most essential features of the constitutions as hitherto observed, and which practically reduced it from the status of a religious Order to that of a mere pious association. Liguori, who was now 85, decrepit, deaf, and almost blind, was induced to sign the Regolamento, and it was for the time adopted in the Neapolitan dominions, but the Redemptorists belonging to the houses founded within the States of the Church energetically protested against the acceptance of such a caricature of their rule. The Holy See pronounced in their favour, and the unfortunate schism thus
caused in the Order had not been healed when, on 1 Aug. 1787, the saint died at Neora del Fagano. His followers were not more satisfied with the outburst of popular enthusiasm which it evoked and the marvellous events that followed, brought about a happier state of feeling. The Government of Charles III. in Oct. 1786 ordered the suppression, under papal sanction, of the different houses of the Order were once more reconciled with each other. From this time forward, and especially after the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the development of the Order was rapid. In 1786 the first Redemptorist house north of the Alps was founded at Warsaw by Clement Bofaner, afterwards beatified. From there the Congregation gradually spread to Austria and through Europe, while a beginning was made in the United States in 1832 and in England in 1843. The Redemptorists have since made foundations in Ireland (1851), Kimmou, near Perth, in Scotland (1809), in Brazil, Dutch Guiana, the Congo, Australia, New Zealand, and many other distant countries. At present the Order numbers rather over 4000 members, half of whom are priests, the rest lay-brothers and students preparing for ordination. The strict ultra-monastic views distinctive of the followers of St. Alfonso di Liguori have been out of fashion with State officials, and, like the Jesuits, they have several times been banished from different European countries. Still no serious attempt has been made to combat their moral influence, and the severe rule of the Order has suffered no relaxation.

Alfonso di Liguori was beatified in 1816, canonized in 1839, and declared 'Doctor of the Universal Church' by Pius IX. in 1871. The terms of this last pronouncement, though somewhat vague, may be held to constitute a guarantee of orthodoxy for the saint's writings, at least when taken as a whole. Moreover, it may fairly be inferred from the language used that he is commended for holding a golden mean in his moral teaching between a Jansenistic rigorism on the one hand and dangerous laxity on the other. A full bibliography of Liguori's works may be found in Berthe, Encycl. tr., ii. 756 ff. Two works especially in this long catalogue have been subjected to much adverse criticism. Against the Le Glorie di Maria, first published at Naples in 1730, and since translated into every European language, many objections have been raised on the ground of its alleged extravagant 'Mariolatry' (see, e.g., E. B. Pusey, Eirenicon, Oxford, 1865, passim). But it is to be remembered, as Newman points out, that 'St. Alfonso wrote for Neapolitans, whom he knew, and whom we do not know' (see the whole context in J. H. Newman, Letter to Pusey on the Eirenicon, London, 1866, p. 108 ff.). The character and traditions of the people are very different from ours, and he was writing to protest against what he considered to be a veiled attack on that simple and venerable devotion to the Blessed Virgin which he shared, and which is a very important factor in the religion of his countrymen. It is, however, the Theologia Moralis that more than anything else brought the obstacle to the vision of Liguori originally (i.e. in 1748) published his views on moral questions in the form of a commentary on a well-known text-book for students, the Moral Theology by Franz Bohn. But the second edition in two volumes (Naples, 1753 and 1755) appeared as an original work, and the author continued to revise and enlarge it as the successive editions were exhausted. The eighth edition, which was printed in 1779, was the last to reveal his personal attention. Seeing that not only has Newman been declared a doctor of the Church, but that earlier authoritative decrees in 1803 and 1831 pronounced that there was 'nothing worthy of censure' in his writings (on this cf. Newman, History of the Religious Orders, note G, p. 333), and that all his opinions might safely be followed by confessors, it is fair to conclude that by the theology of Liguori the moral teaching of the Roman Catholic Church has been based ever since, while we admit this, it must be said that few indeed of the exoteric critics who have inveighed against his teaching have taken the trouble to understand 'laxity' of this or that isolated proposition set out, often inaccurately, and always apart from the context, as, e.g., in the notorious pamphlet of Robert Grassmann, Ausseige aus der Moraltheologie, etc.), but the man who does this is most commonly a publicist who knows nothing of ethical systems and who has never considered the difficulties which follow from the acceptance of a contrary principle. Nothing can produce a better impression than to lay down the rule that under no possible circumstances must the truth be departed from, but those who most positively commit themselves to this are also those who make the least progress. The extremely difficult problems which arise in practical life, and who have never attempted to square their own conduct by any consistent principle.

They believe, as Newman well says, 'that on a great or cruel occasion a man cannot help telling a lie, and that he would not be a man did he not do it, but still it is wrong to do it, and he must trust that the sin will be forgiven him, though he goes about to commit it. It is a truism, and had better not be anticipated, and not thought of again after it is once over.'

Now Liguori, like all his fellow-bishops, believed that for those whose duty it was to contradict objections and instruct their flock it was necessary that these and other moral questions should be thought out. Moreover, it must be said, in answer to such criticisms as those of the Philans, that these contain in art. Casuistry (vol. iii. p. 240), that priests administer a code of law in the tribunal penal and, like lawyers, doctors, and magistrates, they have to acquaint themselves with technicalities which, in the case of certain questions, involve unsavoury details quite unfit for public discussion.

One of the special grounds of reproach against Liguori's moral system is his adoption or defence of the principle (p. v.) that the difference between this and probability, rightly explained, is not very momentous, and many modern writers on the subject, especially the theologians of the Jesuit school, have maintained that St. Alfonso's views diverged but slightly from those of approved probabilists. According to the probabilist system, starting with the admitted axiom that a doubtful law does not bind (lex dubia non obligat), a man is not justified in conscience to obey as long as there is a sound probability against the law—as long as, e.g., in a matter of extrinsic testimony, where doctors disagree, one unrealizable authority teaches that a particular precept has no binding force. The probabilists, on the other hand, held that, unless the authorities who maintained the binding force of the law were more weighty than those who excused from it, such a precept could not be set aside without sin. Between these rival views comes that of Liguori, who held that, when the reasons or authorities were
equally balanced for and against the law, then a man without peril to his soul was free to use his liberty.

'A doubtful law does not bind. But when two opposite opinions are equally admissible, and you have a strict doubt as to the existence of the law. Therefore the law, being equally admissible, is pronounced, how nor binding force. Therefore it is true that you can follow an equally probable opinion in favour of liberty' (Berti, Eng. tr., ii. 110).

A critical and definitive edition of the Theologia Moralis, with adequate critical apparatus, has only recently been brought to completion: Theologia Moralis S. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio, ed. Leonard Gaudé, 4 vols., Rome, 1905-12. The editors give a satisfactory explanation of the inaccuracy of so many of the saint's quotations as printed in the current editions.

LITERATURE.—The fullest life of St. Alfonso de Ligorio is by Berthelot, 'L'Alphonse de Ligorio,' in the 'Collection des biographe et étude de l'ecrivain de Ligorio, 3 vols., Naples, 1796-1799 (a valuable source written by a devoted disciple of the saint). See also C. Villecourt, Vie et institut de S. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio, 4 vols., Tours, 1893; R. Didier, Léonard de Bruxelles, orientalistes ou religieux, de Ligorio, Regensburg, 1897; A. Cepeletat, La Vie et l'œuvre de St. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio, in a posthumous edition of the Order with full bibliography will be found in M. Haimsbach, Die Orden und Kongregationen der kathol. Kirche, Paderborn, 1908, iii. 319-332.


LIGURIAN RELIGION.—Solitude is certainly known of the early history and geographical distribution of the Ligurians that any attempt to give a general account of their religion is impossible. The details of the deities that were worshipped in Roman times in the Ligurian area strictly so called may be mentioned. The most noteworthy are those closely attached to a particular spot, such as Mars Cemenelum (BEL, V. 1301) sometimes worshipped without the first name, and clearly connected with the town of Cemenelum; and Bormanus, who was probably, like his namesake in the north of Italy, a cult to a deity that was worshipped in Roman times in the Ligurian area strictly so called may be mentioned. The name literally describes them; for the true Ligurian was born on his body a small silvery scar which is the symbol of the Virgin Mary and the equivalent to spiritual death. The emblems are worn by both sexes. The men carry the box on a red silk scarf or a thread tied round the neck, while the women wear it inside their costume, on a neck-string. When working, the male wearer sometimes shifts it to his left arm.

The Ligurians are Dravidian, that is to say, they belong to a stock that was established in India before the arrival of the so-called Aryans. They are dark in complexion, in common with the races of Southern India, and speak Kannarese, a Dravidian language. They have been not inappropriately described as a pene-centric people of Hindu tradition, though it may be questioned how far their rejection of many of the chief dogmas of Brāhmaṇī Hinduism leaves them the right to be styled Hindus at all. Of the Brāhmaṇī trinity—Brahma, Visnu, and Siva—they acknowledge only the god Siva, whose emblem, the linga, they bear on their persons. They reverence the Vedas, but disregard the later commentaries on which the Brāhmaṇīs rely. Originally they seem to have been the product of one of the numerous reformed religions in India that have been joined with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and sometimes themselves called Iinones—a plural form which never appears in pure Latin inscriptions. It would be exceedingly unsafe, without other evidence, to see in this a trace of any polymorphous strain in the Ligurian conception of Olympia; a nearer parallel is the (presumably) generalizing plural in such animistic figures as Nymphe, Faun, or the 'Clouds' of Homer. (See also H. A. Grue, 'The Gods of Greece and Rome in the Poems of Homer,' in the 'Jacobsen Annual,' 1911, p. 5, and notes and refs. There, it is to be remarked that the most archaic of the so-called "Great Mothers" will be found in the Index to CIL (p. 1180). The other deities of the locality are all of common occurrence in Italian communities.

On the important question of the ethnic character and conceptions of the Ligurians, reference must be made to EBR, art. 'Ligurians,' and the authorities there cited. It is, and in so far as, the view of W. Ripley ('Who were the Romans? Brit. Acad. Trans., i. 1897, 42, with the comments of the present writer, ib.) may be accepted as sound, the early history of Ligurian religion would be the same thing as that of the pre-Tuscan population of Western Italy. Other communities of Ligurian origin inhabited parts of the rest of Italy and other dwellers on the soil of what afterwards was Latium (see I. F. Will, Die Bevolkerung, especially the paragraph on the archaic cult of Ariadne).

LIGAYATS.—The Ligayats are a religious community in India, numbering nearly three million at the census of 1911, of whom more than half are found in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency. They constitute the bulk of the Belgaum and Bijapur one-third of the population is Ligayat, and in the adjacent district of Dharwar they constitute nearly 60 per cent of the total. Beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency, Ligayats are numerous in the Mysore and Hyderabad States. They also form an important element in the population of the north-west corner of the Madras Presidency.

1. Description.—The Ligayats, who are also known as Lingawants, Lingangis, Sivabhattas, and Virasivas, derive their name from the Skr. word līgha, the bull-like emblem, with the suffix ayā, and are the people who bear the līgha habitually. Their name literally describes them; for the true Ligayat wears on his body a small silvery box containing a stone phallic, which is the symbol of the Virgin Mary and the equivalent to spiritual death. The emblem is worn by both sexes. The men carry the box on a red silk scarf or a thread tied round the neck, while the women wear it inside their costume, on a neckstring. When working, the male wearer sometimes shifts it to his left arm.

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aimed against the supremacy and doctrines of the Brāhmans, whose selfish exploitation of the lower castes has frequently led to the rise of new sects essentially anti-Brahmanic in origin. It seems clear that, in its inception, Lingayatism not only rested largely on a denial of the Brāhman claim to supremacy over all other castes, but attempted to abolish all caste distinctions. All wearers of the lingam were proclaimed equal in the eyes of God. The traditional Lingayat teacher, Basava, proclaimed all men holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit, and thus, in his view, all men are born equal. The denial of the supremacy of the Brāhmans, coupled with the assertion of the essential equality of all men, constituted a vital departure from the doctrines of orthodox Hinduisms. Other important innovations were: the prohibition of child-marriage; the removal of all restrictions on widows remarrying; the burial, instead of burning, of the dead; and the abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity. The founders of the religion could scarcely have forged more potent weapons for severing the bonds between their proselytes and the followers of the doctrines preached by contemporary Brāhmānic Hinduisms.

The reader must not assume that this brief description of the fundamental doctrines of a religious movement which has lasted for over 700 years conveys an accurate picture of the prevalent Lingayatism of the present day. In connection with the attitude originally assumed towards caste distinctions, there has been a very noticeable departure from the practice in this respect among Lingayats in India as yet a subject requiring much elucidation. In its development no mean influence must be allotted to function, religion, and political conduct. The race has not entirely failed materially to assist the formation of Indian society on its present basis. One of the most interesting phenomena connected with the evolution of modern caste is the working of a religious reformation in which caste finds no place on the previously existing social structure of caste units. If caste is largely a manifestation of deep-rooted prejudices tending to retard and preserve barriers between the social intercourse of different sections of the human race, it would seem not unnatural to expect that it would tend to reassert itself within the fold of an essentially casteless religion so soon as the adherents of the latter are no longer themselves subject to it and is not unlikely that the mere fact of converts having joined the movement at an early stage in its history would generate a claim to social precedence over the later converts, and thus in time reconstitute the old caste barrier that the reformers spent themselves in endeavouring to destroy. One of the most interesting pages in the history of caste evolution, therefore, must be that which deals with the evolution of caste inside the fold of a religious community originally formed on a non-caste basis. A remarkable instance of such evolution will be found in the history of Lingayatism. The Lingayats of the present day are divided into three well-defined groups, including numerous true castes, of which a description will be found in the section dealing with their social organization (see p. 72). With the rise of caste distinctions, numerous other changes occurred in the nature of the Lingayat religion. The āgyas or jñāgama, the priests of the community, devised in Siva a ritual and ceremonies in which the influence of the rival Brāhman aristocracy can freely be traced. The more important of these ceremonies are described in § 4 below. But it is essential to note that the foundation of Lingayatism that the most important ceremony of all, known as the āstagārpa, or the eightfold sacrament, should be understood by the reader. It is commonly asserted nowadays by prominent members of the Lingayat community that the true test of a Lingayat is the right to receive the full āstagārpa, and that the possession of a few of these eight rites only does not entitle the possessor to be styled a member of the community. The contention is generally made with the popular usage of the term *Lingayat*.

The āstagārpa consists of eight rites known as

1. Āgada
2. Linga
3. Vēndaka
4. Rudrākṣa
5. Mantra
6. Jñāgama
7. Pūjā
8. Prasād

On the birth of a Lingayat the parents send for the guru, or spiritual adviser, of the family, who is the representative of one of the five akāra, or holy men, from whom the father claims descent. The guru binds the liha, or the child, and washes it with vibhātī, or a garland of rudrakṣa (seeds of the bastard cedar) round its neck, and teaches it the mystic mantra, or prayer, known as Namah Siva—i.e., 'Obeisance to the god Siva.' The child being incapable of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred text at this early stage of its existence, the prayer is merely recited in its ear by the guru. The child has then to be presented to the god Siva in the person of a jñāgara, or Lingayat priest, who is in priestly order. At the arrival the parents wash his feet, and the water in which the feet are washed is described as the tirtha or charayatirtha of Siva. This water is next poured over the liha attached to the infant. The liha is made up of a piece of cloth in which a dish is placed in the child's mouth. This final ceremony is known as prasād. Occasionally the double characters of guru and jñāgara are combined in one person. When the child attains the age of eight or ten, the ceremony is repeated with slight modifications.

It will be seen that this eightfold ceremony forms a very convenient test of a Lingayat's religious status, and may be not unlike compared to the rites of baptism and confirmation which are outward and visible signs of admission to the Catholic Church. But it is clear that they are distinct, and in the same way not all members of the Lingayat community undergo the full ceremony of initiation. It would probably be safer to apply the term *Lingayat* to all wearers of the liha, whether they are Catholics or Buddhists or Christians, or to a few only of the eight sacraments. In so doing, the lower orders, from a social standpoint, of the Lingayat community will not be excluded, as they would otherwise be, from the fold.

Lingayats are not permitted to touch meat or to drink any kind of liquor. The greater number of them are either occupied in agriculture or are traders. They are generally reputed to be peaceful and law-abiding; but at times they are capable of dividing into violent factions with such rancour and hostility that the dispute culminates in riots, and occasionally in murder. Among the educated members of the community there is a strong spirit of rivalry with the Brāhmans, whose intellect and capacity have secured them a preponderating share of Government appointments. Except for these defects, the community may be described as steady and industrious, devoted to honest toil, whether in professional employment or occupied in trading or the cultivation of the soil.

2. History.—Until the recent publication of two inscriptions, which have been deciphered and edited by J. F. Fleet, and throw an entirely new light on the early history of a Lingayat religion, the movement in favour of this special form of Siva-worship was commonly supposed to
have been set on foot by the great Lingayat saint, Basava, in the latter half of the 12th century. The acts and doctrines of Basava and of his nephew Channabasava are set forth in two puranas, or sacred books, named after them, the Baseswaranarayana (ed. Poona, 1905) and the Channabaswara Purana (ed. Mangalore, 1851). But these works were not written until some centuries had elapsed since the death of Basava, and the writer states (p. 222), an animal sacred to Siva, and that a connexion is traced between Basava and the god Siva. At the age of eight, Basava refused to be invested with the sacred thread of the twice-born caste, to which he belonged by birth, declaring himself a worshipper of Siva, and stating that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. By his knowledge of the Saiva scriptures he attracted the notice of his bishop, who then persuaded him to work for the king of Kalyana, Biljala. Basava gave him his daughter Gangadevi in marriage. Subsequently Bijjala, a Kalachurya by race, who underwent a minor pilgrimage to Kalyana in the middle of the 12th century, installed Basava as his prime minister, and gave him his younger sister Nilachanana to wife. The puranas further recount the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister, Madalambika, by the descent of the spirit of the god Siva. The myth in connexion with this miraculous conception is interesting. Basava, while engaged in prayer, saw an ant emerge from the ground with a small seed in its mouth. He took the seed to his home, where his sister swallowed it and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephews both presented the new doctrines, and in so doing encountered the hostility of the Jains, whom they ruthlessly persecuted. A revolution, the outcome of these religious factions, led to the assassination of King Bijjala and to the flight of Basava and his nephew. Basava is said to have been finally absorbed into the Itiha Sa Kudal Sangameswar, and Channabasava to have lost his life at Ulvi in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency, which was, as we shall presently see, the home of the Lingayats of the present day. Basava, who was born in the year A.D. 1150, and died in 1228, according to the writer Lingayats to the shrine of the latter at Ulvi takes place to this day.

Two important inscriptions bearing on these traditions of the origin of the Lingayats deserve consideration. The first was discovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bagevadi, the traditional birthplace of Basava. This record (as also many others) shows that king Bijjala"
it. Mr. Karikasavashastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kannarese in the State College of Mysore, contends that the Saiva sect of Hindus has always been divided into two groups, one comprising the wearers of the 
\textit{tung}, and the other those who do not wear it. The former he designates Virāśaiva, and declares that the Virāśaivas consist of Brāhman, Kṣatric, and Sudra castes, under the division of Manu. Quoting from the 17th chapter of the \textit{Paramanuvā daśma}, he declares that the Virāśaiva Brāhmans are also known as Sudha Virāśaivas, Marga Virāśaivas, Virāśaiva Vaiśyas as Miśra Virāśaivas, and the Śūdras of the community as Anteva Virāśaivas. In his opinion, the duties and penances imposed on the first of these classes are (1) the \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} (see p. 70), (2) penances and bodily emasculation, and (3) the act of worship of Siva without sacrifice, (4) the recital of the Vedas. He further asserts that the Hindu \textit{aṭṭamā}, or conditions of life of brahmanātiri, grhaṇaṇa, and saṃsāra, i.e., student, householder, and ascetic, are binding on Virāśaivas, and quotes, from various Sanskrit works, texts in support of this view. He furnishes a mythical account of the origin of Lingayats at the time of the creation of the world. The importance of this summary of his views lies in the fact that it is completely typical of the claims that many members of the Lingayat sect have recently commenced to advance, in a sense, within the fold of orthodox Hinduism, with the mistaken notion of thereby improving their social standing. They endeavor to divide themselves into Manu's fourfold caste scheme of Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, regardless of the fact that theirs is in origin a non-caste religion, and that Manu's scheme, which can only with great inaccuracy be applied to the more orthodox Hindu castes, is totally unsuited to the Lingayats. A sign of this movement towards Brāhmanic Hinduism among Lingayats is to be found in the organization made by certain Lingayats at recent censuses to enter themselves as Virāśaiva Brāhmans; and it seems probable that these claims to a great antiquity for their religion and for a caste scheme based on Manu's model are chiefly significant as signs of the social ambitions of the educated members, who are jealous of the precedence of the Brāhmans.

3. Lingayats and their Sects.—The results of investigations undertaken in the Bombay Presidency in 1900 by committees of Lingayat gentlemen entrusted with the duty of preparing a classification of the sects and divisions of the Lingayat community tend to show that the relation of these various groups to each other is one of some complexity. Broadly speaking, Lingayats appear to consist of three groups of subdivisions.

(1) The first, which for convenience may be named "Panchamalis with full \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites" (see p. 70 above), contains the priests of the community, known as \textit{sūryas} or \textit{śaṅgirás}, and the leading trader castes, or \textit{bōjiga}. It is probable that this group is the nearest approximation to the original converts, who, it will be remembered, could interdine and intermarry without restriction. The seven subdivisions of this group may still divide together, but for purposes of marriage the subdivision of \textit{bōjiga} above the other, and it is permissible for a bridegroom of one subdivision to take a bride only from below him. The reverse process, namely, of a bride marrying a youth of the other division, is strictly forbidden. Members of the lower subdivisions of this group may rise to the higher by performing certain rites and ceremonies. The marriage of a girl to a boy above her is part of a system of isogamy and hypergamy, and is not at all uncommon in many Indian castes. It is a probable speculation that the early converts in course of time came to rank themselves as superior to the more recent converts, and the growth of this feeling would lead, in harmony with the ideas that prevail in all societies, to the early converts declining to wed their daughters to the newcomers, therefore rising in the scale of rank from the latter as socially inferior, if only slightly so. The Panchamalis, as they may be called for lack of a better name, are all entitled to the \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites, and rank socially above the remaining groups. In BG xxiii. 218 they are described as "Pure Lingayats."

(2) The next group is that of the 'non-Panchamalis with \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites.' This group contains over 70 subdivisions, which are functional groups, such as weavers, oil-pressers, bricklayers, dyers, cultivators, shepherds, and the like. It seems probable that they represent converts of a much later date than those whom we have styled Panchamalis, and were never permitted to interdine or intermarry with the latter. In this group each subdivision is self-contained in regard to marriage; that is to say, that any one of the \textit{śaṅgirā} or \textit{śaṅgirinā}, a \textit{pādīra} girl, a \textit{pādīdrī} girl, or a carpenter, may marry only a \textit{pādīdrī} girl, and so on, resembling in this respect the ordinary Hindu castes, which are usually endogamous. Members of one of these subdivisions may never pass to another. The names of the subdivisions are commonly indicative of the calling of the members, and it is of special interest to note here how the barriers erected by specialization of function have affected and altered the communal theories of equality which the Lingayats of early days adopted.

It is interesting to observe that considerable diversity of practice exists in connection with the relations of the subdivisions of this group to the parent Hindu castes from which they separated to become Lingayats. In most cases it is found that, when a portion of an original Hindu caste has been converted to Lingayatism, both intermarriage and interdining with the unconverted members are finally abandoned, and the caste is broken into two divisions, of which one only is to be recognized by the members wearing the \textit{tunga} and the other by their wearing the sacred thread of the twice-born. But in some instances, e.g., the Jeeras of the Belgaum district—the Lingayat members continue to take brides from the non-Lingayat section, though they all may marry their daughters to them; it is usual to interdine the bride with the \textit{tunga} at the marriage ceremony, thus formally receiving her into the Lingayat community. In other cases the Lingayat and non-Lingayat sections live side by side and dine together at caste functions, intermarriage being forbidden. In this respect, however, the former are much more often to perform their religious ceremonies, and the latter employ a Brāhman. The more typical case seems to be that of a caste subdivision given in detail in the \textit{INDIAN CENSUS REPORT, 1901. CIII. v. (p. 183). In the last century a Lingayat priest of Ujjain owned a number of weavers in the village of Tumharkat, Dharwar district, Bombay. These converts abandoned all social intercourse with their former caste brethren, and took their place as a new subdivision in the non-Panchamal group under the name of Kurnivasas.

This second group of subdivisions, therefore, differs essentially from the Panchamalis, though the members also have the \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites. It is described in BG under the name of 'Affiliated Lingayats.'

(3) The third group of subdivisions is the 'non-Panchamalis without \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites.' It contains washermen, tanners, shoemakers, fishermen, etc., which would rank as unclean castes among Brāhmanic Hindus. It is the practice among Lingayats of the present day to deny that the members of this third group are entitled to be called Lingayats at all. They maintain that, since the possession of the full \textit{āśeṣamōraṇa} rites is the mark of a Lingayat, these lower divisions, who at most can claim through one of their subdivisions, or the followers or servants of Lingayats, are only the followers or servants of Lingayats. The contention is not unreasonable; yet it seems that these lower orders would be styled Lingayats by the other three groups if permitted to do so, and would describe themselves as such. A classification of the Lingayat community would not there-
Lingayats

The specially Lingayat ceremonies described by Carr are:

(1) Birth.—It is customary for the female relatives attending a confinement to bathe both mother and child. On the second or third day boiled turmeric and water is applied to the mother, and a ceremony known as virada, or the worship of the afterbirth, is performed. The propitiation of the afterbirth by the offering of fruits, leaves, turmeric, and a coco-nut, is considered necessary for the safe suckling of the child. When the child receives the birth, or water in which the jaigaram’s feet have been immersed (see above, p. 70), the mother also partakes of it.

(2) Betrothal.—For a betrothal the bridegroom’s family come to the bride’s house on an auspicious day in company with a jaigaram. They bring a woman’s no, a jacket, two coco-nuts, five pieces of turmeric, five limes, and betel-leaf and areca-nuts. They also bring flowers for the sindoor (a cap of flowers made for the bride), gold and silver ornaments, and sugar and betel-nut for distribution to guests. The bride puts on the new clothes with the ornaments and flowers, and sits on a folded blanket on which fantastic devices have been made with rice. Some married women fill her lap with coco-nuts and other things brought by the bridegroom’s party. Music is played, and the women sing. Five of them pick up the rice on the blanket and gently drop it on to the bride’s face, nose, and head. They do this three times with both hands; sugar and betel are then distributed, and one of the bride’s family proclaims the fact that the bride has been given to the bridegroom. One of the bridegroom’s relations then announces that the bride is accepted. That night the bride’s family feed the visitors on sweet things; dishes made of hot or pungent things are strictly prohibited.

(3) Marriage.—The marriage ceremony occupies from one to four days, according to circumstances. In the case of a four-day marriage, the first day is spent in worshipping ancestors. On the second day rice and oil are sent to local priests, or to the village temple, and oil alone to the relatives. New pots are brought with much shouting, and deposited in the god’s room. A marriage booth is erected, and the bridegroom sits under it side by side with his betrothed female relative, and goes through a performance which is called surige. An enclosure is made round them with cotton thread passed ten times round four earthen pitchers placed at the four corners. Five pots are placed filled with water and wash off the oil and turmeric with which the bride and the bridegroom and his companions have been anointed. The matrons then clothe them with the new clothes offered to the ancestors on the first day. After some ceremonial the thread forming the enclosure is removed and given to a jaigaram. The surige being now over, the bridegroom and his relative are taken back to the god’s room. The bride and her relative are then taken to the pandal, and another surige is gone through. When this is over, the bride is taken to her room and is decorated with flowers. At the same time the bridegroom is decorated in the god’s room, and, mounting on a bullock, goes to the village temple, where he offers a coco-nut. A chaplet of flowers called bāśīnga is tied to his forehead, and he returns to the house. In the god’s room a paśchīkā, consisting of five metal vases with betel and ashes, has been arranged, one vase being placed at each corner of a square and one in the middle. By each kalūs is a coco-nut, a date and a betel-leaf, a small leaf, and one pie tied in a handkerchief. A cotton thread is passed round the square, and round the centre kalūd another thread, one end of which is held by the family guru and the other by the bridegroom, who sits opposite to him. The guru wears a ring
made of kula grass on the big toe of his right foot. The bride sits on the left-hand side of the bridegroom, and the groom ties her right and left hands respectively with kula grass. The joined hands of the bride and bridegroom are washed, and bilve (Egle marnelle) leaves and flowers are offered. The officiating priest then consecrates the neck ornament and the thread, ties the latter on the wrists of the joined hands. The thread is tied to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride’s neck, repeating some words after the priest.

The tying of the tali is the binding portion of the ceremony. Before the tali is given to the bridegroom, who is passed round the assembly to be touched by all and blessed. As soon as the bridegroom ties it on the bride, all those present throw over the pair a shower of rice. The bridegroom places some curds in seed and sugar, on the bride’s head, and the bride does the same to the bridegroom. Small quantities of these articles are tied in a corner of the cloth of each, and the cloths are then knotted together. The bride worships the bridegroom’s feet, and be throws rice on her head. The newly married couple offer fruits to five jaygams, and present them with rice, etc. The bride and bridegroom wash their feet, and offer presents, and the proceedings of the day terminate.

On the third day, friends and relatives are fed. On the fourth day, the bridegroom ride in a procession through the village on the same bullock, the bride in front. On returning to the house they throw scented powder at each other, and the guests join in the proceedings. The bridegroom breaks fast, to which only the nearest relatives are admitted. The married couple worship jaygams and the elders, and take off the consecration thread from their wrists and tie it at the doorway. The five marriages were therefore given presents and dismissed, and the marriage is now complete.

In a one-day marriage the above ceremonies are crowded into the short time allotted.

The remarriage of a widow was one of the points on which Basava insisted, and was probably one of the biggest bones of contention with the Brahmans. Widow remarriage is allowed at the present day, but the authorities at Ujiru see fit to disregard this. They say that among jaygams it is prohibited, and that among the other classes of Lingayats it is the growth of custom.

The third day is that upon which the festival of Jahgam is celebrated. This festival, a day for the dead are buried in a sitting posture facing towards the north; but an exception is made in the case of unmarried persons, who are buried in a reclining position.

The ceremony called vibhati-velai is performed. He is given a bath, and is made to drink holy water in which the jaygam’s feet have been washed. He is made to give the jaygam a handful of jati with vibhāti (ashes), rudraksha (seeds of the bastard cedar), daskina (coin), and tambita (betel-leaf). This is followed by a meal, of which all the jaygams present and the relatives and friends of the patient partake. It appears to be immaterial whether the patient is still alive or not. It is stated that, if the invalid survives this ceremony, he must take to the jungles and disappear; but in practice this is not done. The death party resembles in some points an Irish ‘wake’, though the latter does not commence until the deceased is well on his way to the next world.

After death, the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, and the jaygam, who has received the offering before death, places his left hand on the right thigh of the body. The people present worship and use the usual distribution of coins and betel to the jaygam follows. The body is then carried in a vimān, or bamboo chair, to the burial-ground. The grave should be a cube of 9 feet dimensions, with a niche on one side in which the corpse is to sit. The linga is united and placed in the left hand, bilve leaves and vibhāti are placed at the side, the body is wrapped in an orange-coloured cloth, and the grave is filled in. A jaygam stands on the grave, and, after receiving the usual dawas, shouts out the name of the deceased, and says that he has gone to Kailass, or heaven.

Memorial ceremonies are contrary to Lingayat tenets; but in this, as in other matters, the influence of the Brahmans appears, and among some sects an annual ceremony is performed. The performance of śradātha, or the funeral ceremonies common to other Hindus, is unknown. Dubois tells us that a Lingayat is no sooner buried than he is forgotten.

The priest in the creed of the Śivās which appears to me to be most remarkable is their entire rejection of that fundamental principle of the Hindu religion, māryajana, or metempsychosis (p. 19).

From this it would follow that they do not believe in ghosts. But there is a generally accepted idea that evil spirits sometimes take possession of females. This may be a rude way of expressing the fact that they are in fright of marriage. It seems hard to please. ’Although the ceremony of śradātha is unknown, once in a year on the new moon day of the month Bhadrapada or in Asvina, they offer clothes andfood to (a) ancestors in general, (b) childless ancestors, and (c) men who have died a violent death.

Among Lingayats widow remarriage is common, and divorce is permissible. The custom of Hindus is followed in regard to inheritance. Lingayats regard their jaygams, or priests, as incarnations of Śiva, and will bathe their jaygams in the water in which the jaygam has washed his feet and is rendered holy. They have numerous superstitions regarding good and bad omens. Thus, it is lucky to meet a deer or a dog going from right to left, whereas the same animals passing from left to right will bring ill fortune, or bad omens.

The ceremony of the Lingayats is called pahchamrotya, or srajyana, or metempsychosis. The ceremony of the Śivās is called bhuriaj, and is said to be most remarkable in that, besides the rejection of the fundamental principle of the Hindu religion, māryajana, or metempsychosis, the priest in the creed of the Śivās which appears to me to be most remarkable is their entire rejection of that fundamental principle of the Hindu religion, māryajana, or metempsychosis.

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establish a community on a basis of the equality of its members, irrespective of sex, by means of the purifying worship of the one god Siva. It seems clear that the movement found special favour in the latter part of the 12th century, when the Buddhism, which would have ranked, as Vaisyas, below both Brahmans and Vaishyas under the Hindu scheme of social precedence. The community encountered the hostility of the Buddhist Church, which remained uncowed, but showed, the most tenaciously to its simple faith in the worship of Siva, and in his emblem, the linga. We must assume the probability that the Brahmans, of whose existence we possess historical evidence, were tended by degrees to assert for themselves social precedence as logyas or jagamas, i.e. the priests of the community, for which position their knowledge and descent would give them special fitness. In time, indeed, they came to be regarded as the very incarnations of the god Siva, and thus they were holy, imparting holiness in a special degree to the water in which they had bathed their feet, known as thirtha, so that it plays a prominent part to this day in the Lingayat ceremonies. Once the original notion of universal equality of rank had yielded to the priests a precedence incompatible with the Gotra, viz., the way was prepared for the introduction of further social gradations, and the older members of the community commenced to claim over the latter converts a precedence modelled on that which the priests had established. In such manner the essential doctrine of equality became completely undermined, and in the end gave place to certain rites and ceremonies as the test of Lingayat orthodoxy. Thus, when the more recent cases of caste conversion occurred, a section of a Hindu caste became Lingayat, not, as the founders of the religion would have wished, by being admitted to the common ground of the worship of Siva and of his emblem the linga, but by investiture through certain rites and ceremonies with the linga, retaining their distinctive social status as a functional caste, with which other Lingayats would neither marry nor dine. It must be admitted that in the case of most of the Lingayat subdivisions the jagamas will take food in the house of the members, but here all trace of the original equality ceases; and the Lingayats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken in the course of centuries into social fragments, of which the older sects are entitled to call the modern the most ancient in origin possess the typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of Asia, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.


R. E. ENTOVEN.

gLING CHOS.—The gLing chos (gLing-mythology), or gLing giu (gLing-song), is the mythology contained in Tibetan folk-lore, and is perhaps the most wonderful of all the facts of the period, the most ancient in origin possessing the typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of Asia, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.

1. Is the gLing chos the ancient religion of West Tibet only or of the whole of Tibet?—Although the present writer's materials were collected exclusively in West Tibet, it is probable that the gLing chos was the ancient religion of the whole country. (1) We are informed by a lama of Tashil Humpho (in Central Tibet) that an endless variety of versions of the Kesar-sage (not the Kesar-epic, which belongs to the subject of Lamasim) are current, just as is the case in Ladakh (Western Tibet), where each village has one or even more versions of its own. (2) In the legends of Milarepa there are embodied several gLing giu. Milarepa seems to have been extremely clever in building a bridge from the gLing chos to Lamasim. He was a native of Eastern Tibet, Khang chen aBhuyang lags (or the Kanchanjanga) being his native country. But, even if the gLing chos can be proved to be, territorially, a real Tibetan religion, the question still remains whether it is the original property of the Tibetan (Indo-Chinese) race or belongs to the Mon and Bedha population, who are the principal preservers of Buddhism at the present day, and who are not of Indo-Chinese, but possibly of Aryan or Mundari, stock.

2. Cosmology of the gLing chos.—In all the sources mentioned below, in the Literature, three large realms are distinguished, as in the days of the earlier Indo-Aryan literature. (1) Sthang tsha, heaven, (literally, 'the upper gods,' or 'the gods above').—A king reigns in Sthang tsha called skyer rzung yangspa. He is also called dbangpo rgyalchub, and dbangpo rgyalpo. The name of his wife, the queen of heaven, is dbur dam dbangpo, and dbur dam dbangpo, and dbur dam dbangpo. They have three sons, one of whom is Don pod, Don pod, Don pod. The common ground of the worship of Siva and of his emblem the linga, but by investiture through certain rites and ceremonies with the linga, retaining their distinctive social status as a functional caste, with which other Lingayats would neither marry nor dine. It must be admitted that in the case of most of the Lingayat subdivisions the jagamas will take food in the house of the members, but here all trace of the original equality ceases; and the Lingayats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken in the course of centuries into social fragments, of which the older sects are entitled to call the modern the most ancient in origin possess the typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of Asia, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.


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1 The term gLing chos was first employed by the present writer. Among natives of Tibet the name gLing giu ('songs of gLing') is in general use. In a hymn discovered in Upper Kasmir the words lha chos and lden chos are used for this type of religion.

2 This is the actual pronunciation. In literature the name is spelled bya brgya skyes (Sakyabri or Sakyabri).
eighteen agus (see below) take the part of human beings.

3. Yog klu, the under world (literally, ‘the night-colored’).—Like s'Tang lha, Yog klu is also a State. There is a king called Icogpo (probably Icogpo is meant), with his servants and his subjects, who are remarkable for the large number of their children. The klu, or nakpul (female nakpul or nangkuns are kept beneath them for their benefit, and Kesar is warned not to fall in love with them. For this reason, at the present day, the Ladakhi women still desire to look like klu, and wear the parag or berag, a feather strap set with turquoise. The parag represents a snake growing out of the neck of a human body, which, according to Indian Buddhist art, is the characteristic mark of klu.

3. The colours of these realms.—The most original system of colours seems to be contained in the Sheh version of the Kesar-saga. According to it, the colour of s'Tang lha is white—perhaps the colour of light; Bar btsan is red—perhaps on account of the reddish ground of the colour;1 and Yog klu is blue—this may be due to the deep blue colour of many Tibetan lakes. The klu generally live in caves.

According to the Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar-saga, the colour system is as follows: s'Tang lha is white; Bar btsan is red; and Yog klu is black. A still more advanced stage is represented in the Sheh version (which is probably based on that of Tibet). Here s'Tang lha is white; Bar btsan is yellow; and Yog klu is black. The change from red to yellow has probably something to do with Yong-khun-pa and his reformation of Lamia.

4. The devil b'ud—Occasionally, to the three realms of the world a fourth is added, that of the devil b'ud. Then all the heavens are divided into two classes: the good and the evil. This is united in opposition to this new realm. The colour of the devil and of his realm is black (Sheh version) or violet (Lower Ladakhi version). It is situated in the north. The devil tries to carry away the goats of the gods. He is in possession of a beautiful castle, great treasures, and a girl who is kept in a cage. Near his castle is the well of milk and nectar. In size, appetite, and stupidity he closely resembles the giants of European mythology and folklore. There seems to be a close connexion between Yog klu and the devil’s realm, as they both appear to go back to similar ideas. But gradually the devil developed into a morally testable character, while the klu did not.

Other names of the devil b'ud are: dzhe lung btsan bog, Curudu, Singpo (‘ugro’), and sDigsu (‘sinfu’). Of a very similar nature is agu Zn. He is probably a mountain- or cloud-giant. He favours not only Kesar, but also sun and moon.

5. The seven and the eighteen agus.—Next to Kesar, the greatest heroes of the Kesar-saga are the eighteen agus. Kesar is their leader, and together with them they form a group of nineteen beings, in whom the present writer is inclined to see personifications of the twelve months plus the seven days of the week. Just as India had a group of seven adityas before there were twelve, we find occasionally a group of seven agus who act by themselves, the others being forgotten. There is a famous version where the seven agus, who are all mhsa dpon gongma, with an arrow-blade for a head.

6. Ali jug gongma is the king of the demons.

7. Aria dinar btsan, with a worm’s head.

8. Sinlgyi bzhung, with a cowcowl for a head.

9. Dlaba btsan, with a collar for a head.

10. Lag lag, with a hand for a head.

11. Rikage sTang, with a foot for a head.

12. Long rag dKarbu, with a donkey’s head.

13. Msba btsan, with a man’s head.

14. DPal buzhung, with an old man’s head.

15. N'ma yru rma athal, with a turquoise for a head.

16. Dlaba dmar dpa’, with a white shell for a head.

The following is the list of the seven agus: (1) dPalle, (2) dGani, (3) Gonqma bthuks, (4) I'ba miggi ralb, (5) N'ma yru rma athal, (6) DPal bza'ng gongma, (7) DPalmo astag.

Both lists are from the Lower Ladakhi version. Certain names will be found to differ in other villages. It looks as if there were not much hope of finding the clue to this ancient zoide.

6. The Lokapalas.—There is some likelihood that the gling chos has always had deities for each of the four cardinal points. It is quite possible that the Indian Amogasiddhi, Vajrasattva, Ratnasambhava, and Akshobhya were deities of the four quarters before they became Dhyanibuddhas. In close correspondence with them we find in the gling chos the following deities of the four quarters: Don yod grubpa, North; D'Torgi, East; I'ba dus bstan, South; S'angsha mtho’ yas, West. It is not necessary to assume that these deities were introduced from India together with Buddhism. It is more likely that the names represent an instance of mutual influence between pre-Buddhist Tibetan and Indian mythology. The name Don grub, which corresponds exactly to the Indian Siddhartha, was not necessarily introduced with Buddhism. Siddhartha was a common name in India long before Buddha’s time, and may belong to a deity similar to Don grub and Don yod grubpa of Tibet. There are also four kings of the four quarters, who correspond more closely to their Indian equivalents, and may therefore have received from India; but even these have nothing to do with Buddhism. To these the deities mentioned above, they belong to the four quarters, and to nothing else in the gling chos.

7. The Tree of the World.—It is called the ‘king-willow’, or the ‘far-spreading-willow’. It has its roots in Yefo (the moon), its middle in earth, and its top in s’Tang lha. It has six branches, and on each branch a bird with a nest and an egg. On the first branch there is the huge bird Kyung with a golden egg; on the second, the wild eagle with a turquoise egg; on the third, the bird ‘white-head’ with a pearl-white egg; on the fourth, the eagle ‘white-kidney’ with a silver egg; on the fifth, a snow-plumpous with a coral egg; and, on the sixth, the white falcon with an iron egg.

8. Outline of the Kesar-saga.—

(1) Prolegomena to the saga; the creation of the earth. The ‘boarfather and his wife’ sow some seed which grows into a huge tree, the fruits of which are gathered into a barn. There the fruits became changed into worms, which eat another until one huge worm is left. This worm becomes the child Dong yam mina. The child kills six agus with nine heads, and builds the world (gling) on top of the body in seven days. Long yam mina is married to eighteen girls, to whom are born the eighteen agus. The agus, eager to gain riches, start for the castle Pachal dpal dongs. Agu dPalle arrives there first of all, receives the riches, and bears the prophecy about what will happen in the course of the Kesar story.

(2) Birth of Kesar.—Agu dPalle assists the king of heaven in his fight with the devil, in the shape either of a bird or of birds. He is allowed to seek a boon, and asks that one of the three sons of the king of heaven may be sent to the earth for him. All the sons are asked, and Don grub, who is the oldest in spite of his youth, decides to go. He dies in heaven, and is reborn on earth as the giant Oog bzung lma. The name Kesar is spelt in full sge-yar, and is said to have been given with reference to this story; it means ‘reborn ones’; the conception arises from Oog bzung lma’s eating a hallucinate, and the child is born
through the ribs. It is a most ugly shape, but at pleasure exchanges this for a beautiful shape, with sun and moon as attributes. The tritower among the agus siru, and they are unceasingly affidavit to the throne of the agus, but Kesar wins his affection by their skill in games. His parents are disgusted when they see this woman's shape, and treat her with contempt. He runs away, and ábrugumra has to seek him. She is pleased to be called the youngest, but Kesar throws it all away and sends balls and rain. Her parents say that their daughter will be given to him who brings the skin of this huge yak Kur (Kur is a mountain). The girl brings a woe of the bird Nyima khyung hyung (this bird looks almost like a parrot, and only Kesar succeeds). Now he is accepted as son-in-law, and the wedding is celebrated. (Here Kesar is praised even in the Inventor of firearms.)

(1) Kesar's victory over the dragon. After religious preparations Kesar decides to start for the north to kill the devil. He opens and closes three of his own locks; there are also three locks accompanying him, but the queen of heaven sends her back. In the castle of the devil he finds a girl in an iron cage, whom he delivers. They have an enjoyable time together, until the devil returns. Before his arrival Kesar is hidden in a pit which is difficult to see and the trade of the smith. At a tournament, the first which presences the smell of a human being, and although his book of magic assures him of it, he is soon surrounded by the contrary of the book of magic. Then the dragon is dug out again and kills the devil. The girl gives Kesar the food and drink of the blettter, showing that, in consequence of this he found, three, the land of ábrugumra, and everything.

(2) Departure of the king of Hor.—Because Kesar does not return, the king of Hor starts to carry off ábrugumra. The tritower among the agus sits on the throne of ábrugumra, and the other parts of the castle are his电阻. The most plausible among the agus is the youngest, ÆBu dam lam cut. ábrugumra does not desire this, while she herself is quite a stable, but she is discovered and carried away. She begins to love the new lord and it is evident that the youngest dam lam cut makes an unsuccessful attempt to retake her, but he is killed through the treachery of ábrugumra and the tritower among the agus. (This is the Sigfried story.) Kesar sends two messages to his beloved women and leaves his adventure spring sets in.

(3) Return of the king of Hor.—The road to Hor, with its many cela, is full of vicissitudes. The First day is spent on a fox, then he gains the service of a dwarf. There is a door of rock which opens and closes of its own accord; there are stones flying about between heaven and earth; and the watchmen of Hor, who are killed in the same manner as Sasan killed the Philosophers in his castle, give him the address, and pretend to be the son of the smith of Hor. He is accepted after some difficulties, and the trade of the smith in the castle a tournament shows his superior powers, and gains the victory in every contest. He is therefore sent with a force against the approaching agus of gliding. He destroys his followers from Hor, and sends the agus home again. He compels the smiths to give him the fabrication of an iron chain, which is to be thrown on the top of the castle of Hor. When it is finished Kesar has the castle of Hor between the hands of his followers, and kills the king of Hor, and rages ábrugumra. On their way back to gling, ábrugumra's children, whom she had borne to the king of Hor, are offered to the door of gliding to induce it to open. In gling, ábrugumra is first punished for her treachery, then she is restored to her former position, and another wedding is celebrated.

(4) Kesar's journey to China.—(The Tibetan word for China—ropes say—means 'the black expanse'). Kesar preparations so entire until the castle of the king of China falls to pieces and the king of China becomes ill. Kesar is entreated to go to China and heal the king. He sends the tritower agus, Khram thung, in his place. Then he starts himself. The journey is one chain of obstacles (ice and snow, lakes, an ogre and an agus, etc.). All are overcome, and on Kesar's approach the king of China becomes better. Now he refuses to bear his word, and gives Kesar his daughter (Yui, dker mo chenmo). But the girl runs away with Kesar, who, in the end, is killed by the ogre. Then the ogre carries another girl, who is the second. ábrugumra begins to see that he does not mind much. He escapes in the shape of a fly, goes home and founds the land of China. In the leprosy (even apparently). The tritower among the agus has meanwhile gone back to gling, turned ábrugumra out of the castle, and seized the throne. He is chased, seduced, and turns happiness with his two wives. The leprosy in China is stopped by another journey to the same country, that is, to that country.

(5) Epilogue to the Kesar-saga; the story of Kesar's boy.—Kesar and ábrugumra have a boy by nature, born of the woman which was given to Pino (or Phymi?) yseram, but the ogre ábrugumra carries this girl off. ábrugumra has to seek a new wife, which he finds. He is now recognised, because the dogs, horses, and other domestic animals included in this way under him. Before the agus have succeeded in killing him, they are invited by Pino yseram to a feast. On this occasion the girl places nine fry-
even called, in historical works, a suitor to the white gālōma. (3) There can be hardly any doubt that the system of colours as we find it in the gāling chos has influenced the pantheon of Lamasism with its white, red, blue, green, yellow, and golden-faced occupants. Still, it cannot account for all the different shades of colours. Some of them were probably introduced from India. (4) Most of the deities of the gāling chos, dilānpo (dragons) included, have been incorporated into the pantheon of Lamasism, where they have to be satisfied with an inferior rank.

12. gāling chos and Bon chos.—The gāling chos was perhaps not such a pure religion of nature as it appears to have been from the preceding pages. It probably had its dark side of superstitions and sorcery. This dark side seems to have had its development down to the present day in the garb of the Bon chos.

13. Sacred numbers in the gāling chos.—Holy numbers in the gāling chos are 3, 7, 8, and 18. But it is remarkable that, whilst the first three of these numbers are quoted without a following number, the 18 is often followed up by 19; e.g., 'They dug a pit of 18, 19 yards.' There appear to have been from 16 to 18 such numbers in the pantheon, as the sun of 12-7, the months of the year plus the days of the week.

14. Animism in the gāling chos.—Here we may mention the following four gods: 1. Kyung gyung phor, the wind; stang char siltun, the rain; sengge dbarmon yul ralcan, the glacier; bya Kyung drung nyima, (apparently) the sun; byamno dbarmon, the moon; bya so mig damar, the morning-star; yom spirito living in rocks and trees. It is remarkable that several of these personifications are mentioned together with the representatives of the animal world. Some of such representatives are: umgang rager mig, for fishes; bya rgyag rgyado, for birds; fyang byung kiha dmar, for horses; srong byung roppo, for yaks.

15. Festivals of the gāling chos.—(1) The Lo rser, or New Year's festival. It is the festival of lamps and lights. Pencil-cedars are used for the decoration of houses. There are horse-races, and a goat is offered before a white tha tho (altar of the gāling chos). The heart is torn out of the living animal and offered to the tho. In the monasteries mask-dances are held, which were probably intended originally to show the victory of the coming spring over the winter. Only at Lhemis do the mask-dances take place in June, perhaps as a last remnant of a former festival to celebrate the highest point reached by the sun. (2) Storms pho chen. This is the spring festival of driving out winter. At Khaltset a clay figure of human shape is carried outside the village and destroyed there. At other places the spirits of winter and disease are banished into magic squares of sticks and strings (sdomo) and destroyed outside the village. (3) The Keser-festival. The festival is called 'Kesar-festival' only in Upper Kanawār. In Ladakh it is called māndha pho ni, 'arrow-shooting.' It is celebrated in spring. The gāling gods are played and sung; and the boys amuse themselves with arrow-shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the tho tho (altars) are decorated with fresh twigs, and pencil-cedars are burnt. (4) The Ṣrub tho, or harvest festival. In Skyurubchan the boys dance with poles covered with fragrant alpine flowers. Offerings of grain are carried to the monasteries. The dates of all these festivals are fixed by the lamas, and the lamas take part in them.

16. The names of the gāling chos.—In the course of this article some of the names of the gāling chos are given with their English translation. The author has not ventured to translate all these names, because scholars are at variance with regard to the meanings of certain of them. In the names of the eighteen aqua there is always contained the distinguishing mark of the aqua which forms its head; thus in no. 4, kha rgyan means 'old month,' i.e. a month surrounded by a white beard; in no. 1, ru skyes means 'horn-producer,' or goat. As for the group of seven aqua, there is always contained the word 'heroes of such folk-lore as, e.g., 'Sōchhe kommen durch die ganze Welt,' in the name of no. 4 the ability to see clearly is indicated; in the name of no. 5, the ability to hear clearly is expressed as well. There are certain names occurring in the gāling chos which are not of Tibetan origin; thus in the word sengge in the name sengge dbarmon, 'glacier,' we have the division into the turquoise locks, the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word sīňha. In the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Keser, the first part hem seems to be the Indian word hema, 'snow.' We find the word hem in the sense of 'snow' also in the name Hembas, which means 'snow-falling,' and such Indian words as rākṣesha, 'monster,' Sīṭāram, Sītā and Rāma, and Indra occur occasionally in the gāling chos—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

LITERATURE.—It must be admitted that all the following publications are not found in the present author's hands. It may, however, be pointed out that in no case did he, with the text or translation of a native; he always employed natives to record them from the dictation of such other natives as were famous for their knowledge of this ancient literature.

(1) Keser-saga, the Frühling- und Wintertythmus der Khamdras, in Memörae de la société franco-tibétaine, No. 1, 1903, 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Khamdras,' in Bibliotheca Indica, 1903.

(2) Syllables: 'The Spring-symphony of the Khamdras,' in Ia xxxi. (1902), 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Khamdras,' in Bibliotheca Indica, 1903.


LION.—See ANIMALS.

LITANY.—A litany, according to the modern use of the word, may be described as a devotion consisting of a number of short petitions or invocations, to each of which a response is made by the people. It may be either said or sung. In either processional or stationary, it may be liturgical, i.e. connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or independent, and it may be for regular use or used only on special occasions. Proces- sional psalmody which is not of the responsive form is not now usually called a Litany, but at one time the word was applied to anything sung in procession. The modern use of the form is the result of a long and somewhat complicated history. It is especially necessary to trace the growth of two forms of devotion which were originally distinct, but which have coalesced to form the modern litany. These are the liturgical responsive prayer and the procession.

1. Earliest use of the word.—The word ārāveda is not common in classical Greek, and it seems to be used in the quite general sense of a supplication. The earliest mention of the word in connection with Christian services appears to be by Basil (c. A.D. 375; Ep. civ, "ad Cler. Neoces. [Opera, iii. 311 D].")

Objections had been raised to some particular words that had made. 'These things were not,' the objector says, 'in the days of the great gāling glu' (Ep. Gregorii, Aen. ix, 12). 'Neither,' replies Basil, 'were the litany which you now use. And I do not say this by way of accusing you; for I would that you all should live in tears, and in continual repentance.'
These litanies were, therefore, prelatical devotions of some kind, but there is nothing to indicate their precise character. The word ῥυγατίον was used in a similar general sense in the West.

2. The Liturgical Litanies. The earliest description of Eucharistic worship is that contained in the Apologies of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148). Here common prayers are spoken of 'for ourselves . . . and for all, in place,' immediately before the Kiss of Peace and the Oeclectory, and therefore after the lessons and homily (Apok. i. 65). Whether these already took the form of the later litany there is nothing to show, and the response 'Lord have mercy' was the earliest. And there is no further detailed information about the form of service until the liturgies which date from about the end of the 4th century. Here, however, the liturgical litany is found in the Donian, which has preserved in the Eastern Church ever since. It consists of a number of short petitions offered by the deacon, to each of which the people respond 'Kyrie Eleison,' and the usual place for it is after the Gospel, but this is not invariably. Some litany of this kind appears to be almost universal in the Eastern liturgies. Many examples will be found in litanies of Byzantine and Western, esp. pp. 4, 471, 521 for the most ancient forms, all belonging to the 4th cent.). The usual name for these devotions in the East is ινθεταί, but καιτημπάς (lit. 'stretched out,' i.e. the earnest prayer), or καιτημπάς λογία (the earnest prayer) show when Kyrie Eleison was first used in the services of the Church, but as its use is almost universal in the Eastern liturgies it must have been very early, and the expression is so natural, and would be so easily suggested by passages of the OT, that no explanation of its introduction is necessary. It was also in use among the heathen, as was pointed out by O. Gamurrini, (Ep. x. 12, 1888), p. 47; and it mentions the Kyrie as the response made at Jerusalem to the deacon's list of names, and it appears in the litanies mentioned above as belonging to the 4th century.

3. The Liturgical Litanies in the West.—It is probable that the Western liturgies originally contained litanies closely similar to those of the East. This was certainly the case, as far as can be judged from the liturgies, of the Gallican (or non-Roman) type. The extant forms bear the closest resemblance to the Eastern litanies, and may in some cases be translations from the Greek (see some examples in L. Duchesne, Christian Worship, pp. 192-201; F. E. Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, p. 229). There is little doubt that there was originally a litany of the same character in the Roman liturgy also, and that the Kyries at the beginning of Mass are a relic of it. There is also another place in the service which should be noted. After the Gospel the priest says 'Oremus,' but no prayer or response follows; and this was so late as the 8th cent., as appears from the Ordines Romani. Some prayers had evidently fallen out of the service even at that early date, and these were undoubtedly the Prayers of the Faithful, which occur in this place in the Eastern liturgies, and which are still preserved in the Roman rite in the prayers used on Good Friday. Probably these prayers dropped out of use because they were transferred, in substance at least, to the litany which came at the beginning of the service. St. Gregory the Great (Ep. ix. 12), when speaking of the use of the Kyrie, mentions other devotions that accompanied it, and which were no doubt a litany. In the present service only the Kyrie remains, and this is curious because the Kyrie was probably an addition made to the original litany from the East, so that it would seem that the original prayers have disappeared, whilst the Kyrie remained. There is nothing to show when the Kyrie was first used in Rome. It was not used, as in the East, as the regular response to the petitions, but at the beginning and conclusion of the Mass. It was associated with Christe Eleison, which was never used in the East. Gregory says:

'We have neither said nor do we say Kyrie Eleison as it is said among the Greeks, because the Greeks say it together, but with us it is said by the clerks and the people respond; and Christe Eleison is said as many times, and this is not said at all among the Greeks' (loc. cit.).

The Kyrie was, therefore, in use in Rome in Gregory's time, but for how long before that we do not know. The Council of Yavnin (c. iii. (A.D. 519)), in ordering its use in the province of Arles, implies that it had been introduced into Italy at a not very distant date. The rest of the liturgical litany disappeared, as has been said, from the Roman service at some unknown date, but that the Kyrie was still regarded as part of a litany is shown by the fact that in the 8th cent. the Kyrie was omitted in liturgy, and the expression "Kyrie Eleison" was added to the responses of the palms, and the people gathered together. Thus there arose a double derivation of the word 'collect' (q.v.).

4. Processions of the Early Church.—Processions became common in the Western Church at about the same time as in the East, but their origin appears to have been independent. They were probably at first transformations of pagan processions, the Roman festival of the Obonalia, intended to secure the crops from blight, was kept on the 25th of April, and the procession called the Litania Major, which took place on the 14th of May, seems to be a direct descendant of this. The other actual routes of the heathen and the Christian processions were nearly the same. The institution of the Greater Litany of St. Mark's Day has been generally ascribed to Gregory I., but it was prob-
ably earlier, and perhaps dates from the pontificate of Liberius (352-366). The Litany ordered by Gregory on St. Mark's Eve, A.D. 490, in order to avert a pestilence, seems to have been distinct from the Litany Major. Another ancient Roman festival, the Ambarvalia, was observed on three successive days in the month of May, and also had the fertility of the fields as its object. There was a close resemblance to the Rogation processions on the three days before Ascension Day. These are said to have been instituted by Mammert, bishop of Vienna, at an early date, and were revived in the occasion of various public disasters (Sit. Apoll. Ep. xiv. 14, v. i. 1; Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. ii. 54); but such processions had probably been practised at an earlier date, and were only revived on this occasion. These rogations or litanies, called Litanies Minoræ to distinguish them from those of St. Mark's Day, spread rapidly through Gaul, and were adapted and reorganized at Rome by Leo III. (795-816). Both the Greater and the Lesser Litanies were ordered to be used in England at the Council of Cloveshoe (A.D. 747 [A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Oxford, 1869-71, iii. 305]), it may be noted that in the decree of this council, and elsewhere, rogatio and litania are regarded as equivalent terms ('litanie, id est, rogationes'), and that both embrace all the invocations connected with those days. There is no allusion to responsive prayer, and the only reference to processions is a mention of reliefs being carried about. The words 'litany' and 'rogation' were still used in quite a comprehensive sense.

6. Medieval litanies.—Hitherto the liturgical litanies in the Mass and processions have been regarded as distinct. But it is easy to see how things would coalesce. There were various kinds of singing which had always been used in processions, but that particular form of responsive singing in which the people answer with an unvarying refrain was so naturally adapted to the processional, owing to the ease with which the refrain could be taken up by a moving crowd, that litanies of the type of the Eucharistic etene came to be very commonly used in processions not only in the Mass, but on all sorts of occasions. And so the word 'litany' came to mean a form of prayer with a response, either processional or stationary, and either regular or occasional. As usual, the most conspicuous and popular, the procession litany came to be used as almost an equivalent term, and the book which contained the medieval litanies was called the Processional. The litanies in most common use also assumed a regular structure. They consisted, as a rule, of the following parts: (1) the Kyrie Eleison, alternated with Christe Eleison; (2) a number of invocations of saints by name, with the response 'Ora pro nobis'; (3) a series of short prayers against various evils, called Deprecations, with the response 'Libera nos Domine'; (4) prayers on behalf of various people and for various objects, called the Supplications, with the response 'Audi nos Domine'; (5) the Agnus and the Kyrie, and a collect. Such litanies became very popular, and Cardinal Baronius estimated in 1601 that there were at least 200 different forms in use. The invocations of the saints just mentioned formed a conspicuous part of most of these litanies. It is not clear when these invocations were first introduced; it was certainly before the 8th cent.; they are to be found in the Stowe Missal, and in a litany which probably belongs to the 8th cent. printed in Warren, Lit. Obit. Ch. (p. 178), but they may be much older. Some of the later litanies contain a string of allusions to the saints, and it has been suggested that these lists of saints originally grew out of a heathen formula recited by the Pontiff Maximus, but there appears to be little or no evidence for this.

It has been noted that litanies, in the sense of responsive prayers, were often, though not necessarily, sung in processions, and so were commonly called processions. On the other hand, devotions sung in procession were often called litanies even though they were not prayers. Psalms and anthems were also frequently sung. For instance, Bede says (III. i. 25) that at the first meeting of St. Augustine with king Ethelbert the missionaries approached the king in procession, bearing the image of our Lord upon the Cross, and singing litanies; and then he specifies what they sang, and it was clearly an anthem, and not a litany in the usual modern sense. Again, the processions before High Mass on Sundays began during the Middle Ages, a very popular and conspicuous devotion, but the psalmody was not usually in form a litany. In the 8th cent. at Rome it was so, or it was regarded as such; for, when there was a procession, as has been mentioned, the Kyrie at the beginning of Mass was omitted. Later on the Kyries became a fixed part of the service, and the processional psalmody took a different form. From the 12th cent., however, there was a tendency to use the term 'procession' of whatever was sung in procession, and to confine the term 'litany' to the Kyrie, the Greater and Lesser Litanies of St. Mark's Day and the Rogation Days, and other similar forms.

7. Litanies in the Roman Church.—As has been mentioned, a large number of litanies came into use in the late Middle Ages, and the decree of the Holy Office, dated 6 Sept. 1601, Clement VIII., forbade the use of any litany except that usually known as the Litany of the Saints, which had been included in the full rite of Mass, and the Litanies of Loreto had already been sanctioned in 1587. All others were forbidden to be used without the approbation of the Congregation of Rites. It is probable that this decree was never very strictly enforced, but it was renewed in 1727 and in 1821. A decree, however, of the Congregation of Rites, dated 23 April 1890, allowed the private use of litanies sanctioned by the Ordinary. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin or of Loreto mentioned above was probably used in some form at a very early date at Loreto, but in its present form it perhaps dates from the early 15th cent., and the earliest printed copy known is dated 1476. Another popular litany was that of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. This was perhaps also composed in the early 15th cent. It was not included in the decree of 1601, but later on it received some sanction from the Congregation of Rites, and it was finally allowed by Pius IX. in 1852 for certain dioceses, and for universal use by Leo XIII. in 1886. The Litany of the Sacred Heart was sanctioned in 1899.

8. The Anglican litany.—As the procession was a popular form of devotion, it was natural that it should be one of the first parts of the public services to be translated into English. The Prayer Book of the 15th cent., books of devotion for lay people, commonly contain a litany in English. The form now used in the English Church appeared in 1544, and it is no doubt the work of Cranmer, and perhaps the happiest example of his liturgical style. The occasion of its production was given by public calamities. In 1543 the harvest was bad, and Henry VIII. wrote to Cranmer to desire that "regations and processions" should be made. In the following year there was war with France and Scotland, so that the English Litany was produced in similar circumstances to those of the early litanies mentioned above. It was a string of appeals intended for regular use, and was printed in the Prayer Book of 1545 and in the first English Book of
Common Prayer of 1549. This litany was constructed with great care, and several sources were used. The chief portion was taken from the Sarum Rogationtide litany, and the main structure of this was adhered to, but the invocations of the saints were greatly shortened, being reduced to three clauses, which were themselves omitted in the First Prayer Book. Passages were also introduced from a Sarum litany for the dying, called Commendatio Animae (also omitted in the First Prayer Book), and parts of the Western litany. Supplications were taken from a medieval German litany which was revised by Luther in 1529, and published in German and Latin. This litany was included in the Consultatio of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and so came to England, and it was used for the litany in Marshall's Prymer of 1535. It must be noted that the English litany falls into two main sections: the first ends with the collect that follows the Lord's Prayer—a collect being the natural ending of a litany. What follows is a translation of suffrages which were added to the Sarum litany in time of war. The reason for their insertion was no doubt that war was going on in 1544, but they were appropriate for use at other times, and were retained. These suffrages are preceded by the antiphon and Psalm verse which have been set to music and printed for the first Sunday in the month. Unfortunately, the accidental omission of the Amen at the end of the collect has led to the ridiculous custom of using the antiphon ("O Lord, arising in great compassion to the collect.") until 1601 the conclusions of most of the collects were not printed in the Book of Common Prayer: in the revision of that year the A men were printed, but most of the endings were omitted by mistake.

Although in his adaptation of the old litanies Cranmer added little or nothing of his own, he made a noticeable change in the rhythm: the old petitions were short and simple; Cranmer, either with a view to compression or, more probably, because he preferred sonorous periods, grouped several petitions together, and enriched them with epithets and synonyms. For instance, the Deprecations of the Sarum litany begin thus:

* From all evil—Deliver us, Lord.

From the crafts of the devil—Deliver us, Lord.

From thy wrath—Deliver us, Lord.

From everlasting damnation—Deliver us, Lord.

In the revision this becomes:

* From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation—Deliver us, Lord.

At about the same time Cranmer intended to translate other processional hymns, such as 'Salve Festa Dies,' for he wrote to Henry viii. in 1545 to say that he did not intend to do so. The attempt was probably relinquished because he became aware that he did not write so skillfully in verse as he did in prose.

The English litany has remained substantially unchanged since its first appearance in 1544. In 1549 the invocations of the saints were omitted, and in 1559 a petition about 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.' 'The grace of our Lord' was added at the end in the same year. In 1601 the words 'and rebellion,' 'and schism,' were added, and 'Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church' was changed to 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' The collection of collects at the end of the litany was altered more than once, and most of them were removed to other places in the Book of Common Prayer. This litany was intended to be used for all the purposes for which the ancient litanies were employed. It was issued for occasional use at a time of distress, and was sung in procession in the usual manner. Later on royal injunctions ordered it to be sung kneeling before Mass, and this became the usual, but not universal, practice. The present rubric allows either the stationary or the processional use. It was also related to the Rogationtide processions, being derived mainly from them, and it took the place of the Eastern mystery as a preparation for Mass. It was ordered from the first to be said on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient 'Station' days, on which especially Mass was anciently said, and, although its use on Sundays was not specified in the rubric until 1552, this was probably taken for granted from the first. Unfortunately, this special characteristic of the litany as a preparation for Mass was obscured later on, partly by the placing of the 'O Lord, arising in great compassion to the collect.' of 1601, which directs it to be said 'after Morning Prayer.' This made no practical difference so long as Matins, Litany, and Mass continued to be said in processions in their natural order. In recent years it has caused the litany to be regarded as a sort of appendage to Matins, and in many churches has led to its being altogether separated from the Mass. Lutheran practice, as described above, Luther published a revised edition of a mediæval litany in German and Latin in 1529. The original edition does not appear to be extant, but the litany was printed in the Psalms-books, and it was used in both languages for some time. The use of the Latin form seems to have died out in the 17th cent., and the German form, although it continued to be used on various occasions in North Germany, never became a popular form of devotion. The Calvinistic bodies objected to this form of service altogether, and the litany was one of the parts of the English Book of Common Prayer which were most disliked by the Puritans.


LITERATURE (American).—The literature of the aborigines of America may conveniently be treated under two topics, viz. purely autochthonous literary expression, and works produced under Caucasian influence. 1. Autochthonous literature.—This group in-
LITERATURE (American)

In the Iroquoian creation myth, there is a somewhat subtle humour in the description of the fall of Tiitawentitash, from the Sky-world to the chaos of watery waters:

'So now, you must be contented to fail. Her body was falling, some time before it was emerged. Now, she looked, seemingly, that there was light below, of a blue color. She looked, and then seemed to be at a lake where she expected she was falling. There was nowhere any earth. There she saw many ducks on the water, all of them, one and all, of all their kinds, floated several about. Without interruption the body of the woman-being continued to fall.'

Now, at that time there was a waterfowl called the Loon shouted, saying:

'Do ye look, a woman-being is coming in the depths of the water, her body has got through the surface it is even so.'

Now, verily, in a short time the waterfowl called Bittern said:

'It is true that ye believe that her body is floating up from the depths of the water. Do ye, however, look upward.'

All looked upward, and all, moreover, said:

'Verily, it is true.'

With this may be contrasted a fragment of the Navaho myth of the erection of the sun (RBEW [1898–97], pp. 275–277), which is not without a touch of prudence:

'The people then said, 'Let us stretch the world'; so the twelve men at each point expanded the world. The sun continued to rise as the world expanded, and began to shine with bright heat, but when he reached the meridian the heat became great and the people suffered much. They crawled everywhere to find shade. Then the voice of Darkness went four times around the world in the sun at the cardinal points to go on expanding the world. 'I want all this trouble stopped,' said Darkness; 'the people are suffering and all is burning; you must continue stretching.'

The more civilized Indian peoples of Mexico, Central America, and Peru show a corresponding advance in the degree of consciousness. The Aztec records written by B. Sahagun (Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, Mexico, 1529) are dignified and ornate, and often imbued with a sombre and haunting beauty. The assemblage of these more advanced people has comprised a considerable body of legends, chronicles, oracles, spells, calendrical computations, laws, etc., which are preserved from the fragments which are preserved, while the existence of a peculiar literary literature is probable. Brinton is of the opinion that the Central Americans possessed an autochthonous dramatic art (see Library of Aboriginal American Literature, no. III, ‘The Glieregis, a Comedy Ballet in the Nahual-Spanish Dialect of Nahuaquen, Philadelphia, 1885’); and Clements Markham regards the 'Ollanta' as an example of a pre-Spanish dramatic literature (see Markham, The Incas of Peru, London, 1910, which contains a translation of this drama). For this literature of the semi-civilized nations see the art: ANDREAS, CELIAN BALDWIN, EDDIE BULLOCK.

2. Literature produced under white influence.—This class consists of (1) works in the native languages, and (2) works by American Indian authors in the European languages. Some of the first type include translations of the Bible and other works by white missionaries and teachers, and native records of native ideas made after a system of writing had been acquired. Of the latter, perhaps the most notable instance is the Cherokee literature in the native alphabet invented by Sequoyah. A large number of periodicals—some under native, some under missionary, editorship, some in the native tongues exclusively, some part English, some wholly English—have appeared or are now appearing for the expression of American Indian ideas. For the growing body of aboriginal records—chiefly myths, rites, and tales appearing in the Reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology and elsewhere special modifications of the Roman alphabetic signs have been invented and systematized for the expression of the native tongues.

(3) A certain number of Indians or part-Indians have distinguished themselves in their literary mastery of European tongues. The names of Garcilasso de la Vega, Lucio Sarmiento de Acosta, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, descendant of the caciques of Teesco, are notable as authors for the native customs and histories of Peru and
LITERATURE (Babylonian).—Our knowledge of Babylonian-Assyrian literature has been gained chiefly by excavations. Only a few monuments are known that contain cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, from the study of which the decipherment of the Babylonian script and language started. The names of the kings and their deeds are inscribed on slabs, prismoids, cylinders, and various smaller objects of art inscribed with Babylonian legends are, as far as hitherto disinterred, not very numerous in comparison with the thousands of clay tablets which served the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian priests to record the deeds of the rulers of those Empires, to chronicle their historical events, to fix the common prayers, incantations, and religious rites, to place the emblems of their superstitious belief in certain systems, and to transmit very ancient myths and legends to posterity.

As a matter of fact, these documents are not thoroughly perceived in the main language of Babylon, the Semitic tongue. It is now well known that in the third millennium before our era the fertile alluvial plain of the twin rivers enclosing Mesopotamia, the Euphrates and the Tigris, was inhabited by a non-Semitic race called the Sumerians, to whom must be attributed the primitive culture of that country, the building of its earliest cities, the first works of art in Western Asia, and the invention of the cuneiform script. Some months by order of the king, all those important are the documents of a correspondence carried on in the middle of the second millennium between Sumerian territory, and how the process of amalgamation between the two races developed, cannot be yet explained.

In comparison with other documents, the Babylonian-Assyrian literature is entirely preserved, and the Cuneiform inscriptions are carefully preserved and handed down to posterity, just as in medieval and modern times the Latin language is treated and used as the language of the Church.

Sumerian literature is dealt with in this art, in so far as it forms part of the Babylonian-Assyrian incorporated therein. Babylonian literature actually begins in the time of Hammurabi, whose inscriptions (with one exception, and whose famous collection of laws (see LAW [Babylonian and Assyrian]) are conceived in pure Semitic Babylonian. Before entering into a detailed enumeration of the various branches of the literature, attention must also be called to the fact that the difference between the Babylonian and the Assyrian languages consists merely in dialectic varieties, so that Babylonian and Assyrian literature, practically speaking, are to be considered as identical, and are differentiated only by the respective time of their origin during one of the great monarchies of Western Asia—the Old Babylonian Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

The history of the ancient East can now be authentically reconstructed from the historical inscriptions of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature. To the great kings of those monarchies the gaining of immortality by means of a careful tradition of their exploits, their successful campaigns, and the building operations appeared most desirable, and so they caused the records of those deeds to be inscribed on a number of clay prisms, on cylinders and tablets, and on the animal colossi at the entrances of their palaces. The great extent of such texts is illustrated by famous bilingual tablets on which the events of a single year (714 B.C.) are recorded so minutely that an English translation of the text would fill five columns of the London Times. Long prayers supplement the historical contents of these inscriptions, interspersed with the enumeration of the titles and abilities, virtues and religiousness, of the royal personages therein glorified. As a rule, the contents are arranged according to the years of reign or the campaigns, in chronological order, followed by an account of the building operations and, in some cases, of the hunting matches of the royal kings, while at the end of the inscriptions, the blessing of the great gods is invoked upon a successor preserving the document, and their wrath upon its destroyer. To the historical documents must also be assigned the branch of the Sumerian literature dealing with public affairs. It is from an extended correspondence between Hammurabi and one of his highest officials that an exact knowledge of the reign of the first Semitic ruler in the united Babylonian kingdom is gained. It is his personal care for the welfare of his vast dominion, the building of cornhouses and dykes under his auspices, the regulation of the temple-taxes, and the use of intercalary months by order of the sun, that make the importance of the documents of a correspondence carried on in the middle of the second millennium between

Mexico respectively. To these might be added the names of Tezozómoc, Chimalapaal Quauhtlehuanitzin, Nahua Pachac, and the Missouri Hernández Arana Xahilis, Mexican and Central American post-conquest chroniclers of native history (see respectively E. K. Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico, 9 vols., London, 1875-79; E. C. Simons, Anales de San Antonio Munon Chimalapaul Quauhtlehuanitzin, Paris, 1889; D. G. Brinton, Library of Aboriginal American Literature, 1: 'The Ojibway Ethnology,' 2: 'Mexican Indian Lore,' 3: 'The Calchiques'). In N. America, George Copping (Kaggeyega, 1818-63) was the author of several books, dealing chiefly with his own people, the Ojibwa, while Charles A. Eastman (Oniyes, b. 1853) is the author of essays and stories portraying the native life and ideals of his Siouan kinsfolk.


H. B. ALEXANDER.
the Pharaoh of Egypt, then rulers of the whole civilized world, and the kings of Western Asia, including Palestine, the Phoenician ports, and the island of Cyprus, which have become generally known as the Tell el-Amarna find. Letters, proclamations, petitions, accounts of building operations, and short notes accompanying requisites for war were in constant use down to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and are of a historical value similar to that of the royal inscriptions mentioned above and various so-called ‘epigraphs’ which were added to the numerous bas-reliefs on the walls of the palaces, illustrating the kings’ campaigns and other achievements.

Assyrian literature in the narrower sense of the word has become known chiefly from the documents preserved in a great Royal Library founded at Nineveh by Ashurbanipal, the last great king of the Assyrian Empire, who reigned from 680 to 626 B.C. and was called Sardanapalus by the Greek writers. This Library, generally known as the Konyunjik Collection, the various portions of which have been studied since the middle of last century for the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson and other English scholars, consists of copies and translations of Babylonian and Semitic Sumerian works, and deals with every branch of wisdom and learning then appreciated by the Assyrian priests, who, by command of their royal patron, collected and catalogued, as it were, and reproduced various texts which had been gathered from the oldest cities and temple archives of the whole land. Recent excavations have in some instances also brought to light a number of hymns and prayers, certain original copies of few fragments of inscriptions which must be attributed to an earlier period than that of Ashurbanipal, and apparently belonged to the mass of original documents from which the copies in the Konyunjik Collection were made; and the same may be said of certain collections of the Neo-Babylonian times, in which, again, copies from the Konyunjik Collection have been found. An exact idea of the literary achievements of the Babylonian-Assyrians, however, can be formed only by a perusal of the contents of the Library itself. Such a perusal yields the following results.

Apart from the epistolary literature, a few drafts for inscriptions, and numerous commercial texts—the last extending from early Babylonian times down to the beginning of our era—Assyrian literature was devoted chiefly to superstitious and religious subjects, the incantations and prayers, and, in close connexion with both branches, to medicine, astrology, and philology.

A large proportion of the documents here concerned deal with the appearance and actions of various animals, and it has been justly remarked that in these inscriptions survivals may be seen of a very ancient animal-cult—reminding one of certain parallels in Egypt—which in later times seems to have been superseded by an exquisitely astral religion. Closely connected with these animal compositions are numerous so-called systematically arranged texts bearing on monstrosities and other unusual features of births, as well as the large collections of documents dealing with the inspection of the liver of an immunolised wether. The movements of various birds, the actions of dogs and pigs, the hissing of a snake, and the invasion of locusts were especially observed for the compilation of such omens.' Another means of divination used by the Babylonians was purification with water, into which a small quantity of sesame-oil was poured, so as to produce the well-known interference-colours, re-discovered by Newton, and certain structures of rings and bubbles, from which the events of the future were predicted. The link between these forecasts and the religious texts must be sought in the medical prescriptions, which were laid down and redacted into a kind of pharmacopoeia. Various diseases, arranged according to the limbs and members attacked, are enumerated in these collections, and the draughts, decoctions, and other therapeutics are described in detail. Mental disorder was attributed to the influence of evil spirits, and on this account the medical texts are frequently interspersed with incantation formule which otherwise constitute a class of literature by themselves. Three or four ‘series’ of tablets containing such incantation-texts, accompanied by directions for the respective ceremonies, have become known to us. They are chiefly directed against the pernicious actions of witches and sorcerers, supposed to be neutralized by destroying the images of these witches, mostly by burning. In the majority of cases the text of these incantations is in the interlinear bilingual style, i.e. in Assyrian and Sumerian; and in several instances it can be proved that the Sumerian original has been taken over from ancient sources, portions of which still exist. On the other hand, it can hardly be denied that the Assyrian Assyriologists have introduced such interlinear texts, using the Sumerian language, then long extinct, in much the same way as medieval monks used Latin. Moreover, even pure Sumerian texts are found. Such Sumerian version are preserved in Ashurbanipal’s Library—a fact from which it may be concluded that such incantations even at his time were recited in the old sacred language. And the same holds good of the psalms also of Israel and Assyria, which are written either in Sumerian only or accompanied, in Assyrian times, by a Semitic version.

Whilst the incantation-texts, however, are mostly preserved as parts of certain literary compositions or ‘series’, the prayers and similar religious documents stand for the most part isolated, and only by their style can they be recognized as belonging to various classes. Of such prayers, for instance, after the ‘lifting of the hand,’ the hymns exhibiting a parallelism of members, the litanies addressed to certain deities, and the compositions showing acrostics may be mentioned as some of the best.

Of special interest among the religious texts are the legends and myths, of which a number of ‘series’ have been discovered. A few of them, as, e.g., the Babylonian Creation Legend and the Deluge Story, have indeed come into the OT, and can be proved to reach as far back as the Old Babylonian period. It cannot be ascertained at present, however, at what time the account of the Deluge was incorporated in a great national epic, the so-called Gilgamesh Epic, which is founded on astral religion and seems to refer to the life in the other world. Similarly the ‘Descent of the goddess Ishtar to Hades,’ an isolated poem preserved in Ashurbanipal’s Library only, appears to depict nature’s death in the autumn and its resurrection in the spring, and the story of Nergal, the lord of tombs, is by his consort Ninkishbandi, Ereshkigal, likewise contains a description of the abode of the dead. Immortality was not granted to mankind, as we learn from another myth, the story of a pious man called Adapa, who, being misled by chance, partook of the fruit of life and the water of life, which were offered to him in heaven.

As has already been remarked, it may be concluded from the Gilgamesh Epic and from other mythological texts that in the Assyrian time at least an astral religion was reigning in the valley of the Eniprates and Tigirs. This appears to be borne out by another branch of Babylonian-Assyrian
literature, viz. the astrological texts. A large composition, comprising at least 70 tablets, is devoted to observations of the movements of the celestial bodies, including atmospheric phenomena, such as thunder-storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes, and to the forecasts taken from such observations and referring to the welfare of the king, the devastation of temples and palaces, the growth of vegetation, and the increase of cattle and the granaries. According to a text of the 1st century B.C. these astrological documents were parallelled by purely astronomical texts, dealing with the heliacal risings and the eclipses of luminous fixed stars and constellations, while of the Neo-Babylonian time documents with astronomical observa-
tions and calculations have been found which bear witness to the highly developed facilities of the later Babylonians for determining the velocity of the sun and moon, the length of the year, and the revolution of the five planets then known.

An equally high standard was attained by the Babylonian and Assyrian priests in grammar and lexicography. These sacred Sumerian incanta-
tion-texts, hymns, and prayers must have early prompted the protectors of religious traditions to collect helps for studying the extinct sacred tongue, and to found a grammar-school for the necessity involved in studying the Semitic native language of these priests as well. Paradigms of verb-forms, lists of synonyms and antonyms, and, above all, large collections of Sumerian ideographs explained according to phonetic principles, comprising hieroglyphic hieratic and thus had been handed down. And the numerous lists of names of animals, stones, plants, and wooden objects, of stars, temples, and deities, afford a clear insight into the wisdom and work of the philolo-
gists, by whom the oldest colleges on earth were founded and literary tradition was first carried on.

Babylonian literature was deeply influenced, as has been shown, by the Median sister, the Assyr~rions, in developing it, so as to have played a rôle similar to that played in later cen-
turies by the Syrians who conveyed Greek learning to the nearer East. On the other hand, the cuneiform Babylonian script spread all over Western Asia, and the Hittite and Mitanni nations, the Chaldean tribes, and the Canna~anites appear to have adopted it in one or other form, and certainly be-
came familiar to some extent with the literary documents of the Babylonian people. Babylonian legends found their way to the ancestors of the Israelite tribes, and similar Babylonian documents were also included in the circle of the sacred millennium by the learned priests of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Finally, the late Assyrian omen and astrological texts wandered to the East as far as China, left remarkable traces in the Indian literature, and were transmitted to Greece, where actual transl-
atm of such texts have been found. In this way also Babylonian literature has in the last instance influenced Christianity, and has left its marks throughout medi eval times down to the present day.


LITERATURE (Buddhist).—The sacred canon of Buddhism has been handed down in two forms. One, written in Pali and preserved in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, contains the doctrine of the older school, called Hinayana ('Little Vehicle'; see art. HINAYANA), the chief aim of which is to attain arhat-ship or the release of the individual from suffering. It is the canon of one sect only. The other, the Sanskrit canon, was worked out later, is extant in any complete example, but is known only from fragments found during recent years in Central Asia by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, and A. von le Coq. The latter is mainly in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, as well as from Chinese and Tibetan translations. The chief texts of the Sanskrit Maha-sarvastivadins, who belonged to the older Buddhism, were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the years 700-712. This canon agrees largely with the Pali canon both in wording and in arrangement. But there are also various divergences. These are to be explained by the process of handing down a common original in the Magadhi dialect, from which the Pali canon was derived in one part of the country, and the Sanskrit canon, later, in another. While the other sects had no complete canon, each regarded as specially sacred one or more texts, which either incorporated parts of or replaced a theoretically acknowledged canon. The great bulk of these Sanskrit Buddhism texts belong to the sect of the Madhyamika or Mahayana ('Great Vehicle'; see art. MAHYANA), the chief aim of which was the attainment of the condition of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha, who brings nirvana within the reach of the entire human race.

The forms of Buddhism preserved in Pali and in Sanskrit have commonly been called 'Southern' and 'Northern' respectively because the former prevails in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and the latter in Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan. While this distinction is thus made is misleading, since all Buddhist canonical literature arose in the Northern countries, and has been brought to the South, and the term 'Northern' confusingly refers to the erroneous implication that it excludes the older school of the Hinayana. It is, therefore, more appropriate to speak of 'Pali Buddhism' and 'Sanskrit Buddhism.' The languages in which these texts were composed require to be more precisely defined. Pali is the sacred language common to the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, but Pali MSS are written in the four different alphabets of these countries, while it has become the regular practice to print European editions of Pali texts in Roman characters. The Pali language in which the texts have been handed down cannot be identical with the dialect in which the canon of the 3rd cent. B.C. was composed; the latter could only have been the language of Magadha (Bihar), in which Buddha first preached and which must have been used by the neophytes of Pataliputra who put together the canon. Traces of such a Mahajata' canon may be found in the Pali texts. In this connection it is necessary to note that the titles or designations enumerated in Aloka's Baitar inscription appear in a Mahajata form. But Pali MSS from the Magadha region are never, from inscriptions, literary works, and grammarians, nor is it identical with any other dialect. It is, in fact, an exclusively Buddhist literary language, which, if anything, is the result of a mixture of dialects. Its basis is, however, in all likelihood Magadhi, a conclusion supported by the fact that even identifies Magadi and Pali. The language of the other canon is either correct Sanskrit or a Middle Indian dialect which, approaching to Sanskrit, is best termed 'mixed Sanskrit' (formerly as a rule called the 'Gauda dialect').

No work of Buddhist literature goes back to Buddha's time, but much contained in the canon may very well hand down the words spoken by the Master, such as the famous sermon of Benares, especially if we consider the tenacity of the verbal memory in Indian tradition. Almost the whole of the earliest Buddhist literature consists of short collections containing speeches, sayings, poems, tales, or rules of conduct, which are included into larger collections, called Pitaka, or 'basket,' in a manner somewhat analogous to the formation of the sandhi-ta of the Vedas (cf. Hymns [Vedic]). Three such aggregate collections, called the Tripitaka, form the Pali canon.

The canon and commentaries in Afghanistan design must have undergone appreciable changes between then and the time when it was fixed in the 1st cent. B.C. in Ceylon. But thenceforward it has been handed down with great care. Some modifications, indeed,
must have taken place even after the 1st cent., because it is otherwise difficult to account for the numerous contradictions appearing in the canon. Taken as a whole, however, the Pāli Tipiṭaka may be regarded as not very different from the Magadhī canon of the 3rd cent. B.C. For the quotations occurring in the Asoka inscriptions diverge only slightly from the extant text, while the titles of seven texts mentioned in one of these inscriptions and not preserved in the canon might conceivably be those which are found in the extant Sutta-piṭaka. Moreover, the sculptures and inscriptions of the monuments at Sāfāchi and Bhāghat (c. 200 B.C.) afford correlative evidence of the existence of a collection not unlike the extant Sutta-piṭaka. But the earliest direct evidence that the Tipiṭaka as a whole had already assumed its present form is furnished by the Māṇḍāesa-piṭaka, which dates from the 1st cent. A.D. The age and authenticity of the Pāli tradition are confirmed by the Sanskrit canon, which, as already stated, is so closely allied to it as necessarily to be derived from the same original. The texts which the sacred literature comprises will now be summarily described in regard to their chief contents.

1. THE PĀLI CANON.—1. Vinaya-piṭaka.—The first of the three main divisions is the Vinaya-piṭaka, the ‘Basket of Discipline,’ which supplies the regulations for the management of the Order (sangha), and for the conduct of the daily life of monks and nuns. It includes rules for reception into the Order, for the periodical confession of sins, for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medicinal remedies, and legal procedure in cases of schism. Here and there are also to be found stories, some of which contain the oldest fragments of the Buddhist legend, while others are valuable for the light that they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

2. Sutta-piṭaka.—The second ‘basket’ is the Sutta-piṭaka, our best source for the dhamma, or religion of Buddhism and his earliest disciples. It contains, in prose and verse, the most important products of Buddhist literature grouped in five minor collections named nikāyas. The first four of these consist of suttas, or ‘lectures,’ being either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally mixed with verse. They are also to be regarded as the oldest fragments of the Buddhist legend, while others are valuable for the light that they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

(a) The Dīgha-nikāya, or ‘Collection of long lectures,’ consists of 34 suttas, each of which deals fully with one or more points of Buddhist doctrine. The very name of this division, Dīgha-nikāya, or ‘Lecture on the Brāhmaṇ net,’ is of very great importance for the history not only of Buddhism, but of the whole religious life of ancient India. The very name of this division, Dīgha-nikāya, or ‘Lecture on the Brāhmaṇ net,’ is of very great importance for the history not only of Buddhism, but of the whole religious life of ancient India. The very name of this division, Dīgha-nikāya, or ‘Lecture on the Brāhmaṇ net,’ is of very great importance for the history not only of Buddhism, but of the whole religious life of ancient India.

(b) The Majjhima-nikāya, or ‘Collection of (lectures of) middle (length),’ consists of 152 sermons and dialogues dealing with almost all points of Buddhist religion. Thus Buddha is represented as admitting that a man may obtain nirvāṇa even without being a monk, or may commit suicide if he acts solely for the purpose of obtaining release; and as refuting the claim of Brāhmans to be the only pure human beings, and asflipping the ascetics.

(c) Of the 36 divisions into which the Sānkhāyuttanikāya, or ‘Collection of combined lectures,’ is divided, the last is most noteworthy, as treating of the four truths—mode of suffering, cessation, path, results. Of the last sutta in one of its sections some contain a large admixture of stanzas, while others consist entirely of verse forming short ballads of great poetic merit.

(d) The Aṭṭhakathā-nikāya, or ‘Collection of lectures arranged according to increasing number,’ consists of over 2300 suttas in 11 sections, so arranged that in the first are treated objects of which there is only one kind, in the second those of which there are two kinds, and so on. Thus the second deals with the two kinds of Buddhas. In this collection are found a large number of suttas and stanzas which occur in other texts of the canon, and which here even sometimes appear as quotations. This alone points to a late date. But internal evidence also shows that it was composed at a time when Buddha was already regarded as an omniscient semi-god, if not an actual deity. (e) The Khuddak-nikāya, or ‘Collection of small pieces,’ is a late compilation added after the previous ones were complete. Its contents date from very different times; for, while several of its parts belong to the latest stratum of the Pāli
canon, some go back to the earliest period. It is composed for the most part in verse, and, in fact, contains all the most important works of Buddhist Indian poetry. Of the works which it embraces the following may be mentioned. The Khudda-
pātha, or 'Short reader,' comprises nine brief texts to be used by the novice or as prayers in the Buddhist cult. The first is the Buddhist creed; the second gives the ten commandments enjoined on monks; and the ninth is the line ṛtu-sutta, in which kindness towards all creatures is praised as the true Buddhist cult. The Dhamma-pada, or 'Books of religion,' and the Sutta-nipāta, or 'Songs of monks and nuns,' are poems of great literary merit exalting mental calm as the religious ideal, and describing the value of Buddhist ethical doctrines from personal experience. It is quite possible that here may be included poems composed by some of the earliest disciples of Buddha, but several are much later, since they represent a Buddhist cult like that of the Mahāyāna. The Jātaka is a book consisting of about 350 stories of former births of Buddha in the character of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha. It consists partly of poetry and partly of prose, but only the verse portions have canonical value. For a discussion of the work see art. JĀTAKA.

3. Abhidhamma-pitaka. — The Abhidhamma-
pitaka, or 'Basket of higher religion,' treats of the mind, in contrast to the subject matter of the Sutta-pitaka, one of the texts of which, the Anguttara-nikāya, may be regarded as its precursor. Its first beginnings seem to have been certain lists called matikas, which are already mentioned in the Vinaya-pitaka.

While the Pāli canon (apart from additions) was entirely composed in India, the non-canonical literature was the work of monks in Ceylon. There is only one important exception, the Mūlinda-
pātha, which must have been written in the north-west of India. It represents a dialogue supposed to have taken place between a Bud-
dhist teacher and a Hindu, and the Greek dominion came to an end soon after Menander, he could hardly have been remembered for more than a century. That the original portion of the work, books ii. and iii. with parts of i., is thus old as the beginning of our era is supported by the fact that it bears comparison with the very best dialogues in the Sutta-nipāta. Books iv.-vii., besides differing in character from the rest, are wanting in the Chinese translation made before A.D. 317 and 420. These and the other spurious parts are the work of learned monks in Ceylon.

II. Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.—While one ancient school of monks enjoined the Pāli canon, various later sects produced a Buddhist literature in pure or mixed Sanskrit, of which many extensive works have been preserved, though others are known only through the Chinese translation made before the 4th cent. A.D. The great bulk of this Buddhist Sanskrit literature belongs to, or has been greatly influenced by, the later Mahāyāna school. That school, though acknowledging that the Tāvadvāda, or 'Doctrine of the Elders,' went back to Buddha, regarded it as inadequate, because it made nirvāṇa attainable to the few only through the life of a monk. In order to bring salvation to all humanity, the Mahāyāna taught that every man could aim at being born as a Bodhisattva (q.v.); and any ordinary man, even a Pariah, could attain salvation by the practice of virtue and by devotion to Buddha. The earliest extant works are the Jātaka, written the beginning, their earthly life and their nirvāṇa being nothing but an illusion. The Buddha preachers Gautama, instead of being six, are now believed to be thousands or even millions of millions in number. Hence the Bodhisattvas are revered as having made the salvation of mankind refined from entering nirvāṇa. For the Buddha under the influence of Hinduism a new mythology grew up in which a number of Hindu deities were added to the Buddhás and Bodhisattvas, and a much stronger devotion to Buddha, analogous to that of the Brahman Bhagavad-Gītā (q.v.) to Kṛṣṇa. Brāhmaṇ doctrine influenced the development of Mahāyānism on the philosophical side also. For, while the old Buddhism denied the existence of the ego only, the Mahāyāna doctrine also denied the existence of everything (expressed by the formula svayam kāla-yāna, 'everything is void'), either as complete nihilism or as ideal nihilism (vijñāna-vāda, or 'doctrine that nothing exists except in consciousness'.

1. Hinayāna. — The large realist sect of the Sarvāstivādins ("followers of the doctrine that everything is"), besides having an extensive literature, possessed a Sanskrit canon, of which, however, only fragments, differing from that collection only in being more scholastic. It is composed chiefly in the form of question and answer, like a catechism. The starting-point of this collection appears to have been the Sutta-
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ally a Buddha biography of the Sarvāstivāda, has been extended in the sense of the Mahāyāna, of which it bears all the characteristics. It is a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, which long metrical pieces in mixed Sanskrit. Containing old and new elements side by side, it is valuable for the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings to the dedication of Bodhisattva gods above all, especially Avalokitesvara. The Buddha-era, or ‘Life of Buddha,’ is an epic composed in pure Sanskrit. It is the work of Āvaghoṣa (q.v.), a genuine poet, who, as one of the pioneers of the Mahāyāna and a contemporary of Kaniska, must have composed it about 100 A.D. Originally a Brāhman, he joined the Sarvāstivādins sect, but laid great stress on devotion to Buddha. His epic, however, contains no pronounced Mahāyāna doctrine.

Another work of the same school, dating probably from the 4th cent. A.D., is the Jātaka-mālā, or ‘Garland of birth stories,’ by Anāśāra. It is composed in a mixture of verse and prose, conforming to the style of classical Sanskrit literature. It contains 34 jātakas, illustrating the pāramāsīta, or ‘perfections,’ of a Bodhisattva, and nearly all occurring in the present day. Cognate with the preceding works are a number of collections of avadānas, or ‘stories of great deeds,’ being practically jātakas in which the hero is the Bodhisattva Buddha’s descent of the earlier ones also still belong to the Hinayāna, though attaching special importance to the veneration of Buddha. Such is the Avasāna-kātaka, or ‘Century of great deeds,’ which, dating probably from the 2nd cent. A.D., contains pieces from the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivādins, and nothing connected with the cult of Bodhisattvas or with Mahāyāna mythology. Dating from about a century later, but including very old texts, is the Divyāvāsāna, or ‘Heavenly avadānas,’ which often mentions the Sanskrit canon and quotes individual canonical texts, besides having several legends in common with the Pali canon. Most of the stories are written in good simple Sanskrit with occasional gāthās, but others show the elaborate metres and long compounds of the artificial classical style.

Mahāyāna.—The Mahāyāna, not representing a homogeneous sect, possesses no canon. But there are nine dharmas, or ‘religious texts,’ which, composed at different times and belonging to different schools also called Mahāyāna sūtras. The most important and most characteristic work of the Mahāyāna school is the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, or ‘Lotus of good religion.’ It contains matter previously expounded in the philosophical systematized by Śāntarakṣita and by gāthās in ‘mixed Sanskrit.’ Its original form dates perhaps from about A.D. 200. Sākyamuni is here no longer a man, the mendicant of the Pāli suttas, but a god above all gods, who has lived for countless ages and will live for ever. His doctrine is that every one can become a Buddha who has heard the preaching of Buddha, performed meritorious works, and led a moral life. Even those who adore relics, images, stūpas, or make Buddha images obtain the highest enlightenment (see LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW).

A whole sūtra, the Kāraṇḍāvyuha, akin in language to the earlier A.D. 400, is devoted to the exaltation of Avalokiteśvara, the ‘Lord who looks down’ with compassion on all beings, here the typical Bodhisattva who, in the exercise of infinite pity, refuses Buddhahood till all beings are saved. The teaching for salvation has probably never been more powerfully expressed than in the figure of Avalokiteśvara (q.v.). The cult of this Bodhisattva is known to have spread to the date A.D. 400. More mythological is the Sukhavati-vyuha (c. A.D. 100), or ‘Detailed account of the Land of Bliss,’ which is devoted to the praise of the Buddha Amitābha (‘unmeasured splendour’). The Gagana-uyāha (a still earlier dhāraṇī) celebrates the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (q.v.), who occupies a prominent position in Mahāyāna cult and art.

Other Mahāyāna sūtras are of a philosophic and dogmatic character. The Lankāvatāra-sūtra (a dhāraṇī) describes a visit to Lanka by Rāvana in Ceylon by Buddha, who answers a number of questions of religion according to the doctrines of the Yogāchāra school (founded by Avalokiteśvara). The tenets of a number of philosophical schools are also discussed here. The Dārabhāmisāvata (a dhāraṇī) represents a lecture by Buddha in Indra’s heaven, about the ten stages by which Buddhahood is to be reached. It dates from before A.D. 400, when it was translated into Chinese. The Samādhi-rāja (a dhāraṇī), or ‘King of meditations,’ is a dialogue in which Buddha shows how a Bodhisattva can attain the highest enlightenment by various stages of contemplation. The Suvarṇa-prabhāsā (a dhāraṇī), dating not later than the 6th cent. A.D., is partly philosophical, partly legendary, and partly ritualistic in its conception. The Hindu gods Śiva and Mahādevi are introduced, and magical formula and Tantra practices are dealt with. The Rājaśāla-sūtra (before A.D. 600), besides containing a Buddhist message, introduces the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva, introduces a number of jātakas. Its main interest lies in its prophecy of the future decay of religion; for its realistic descriptions must largely reflect the lax morality of the Buddhist monks of the 6th century. The most important of all the sūtras of the Mahāyāna are the Prajñā-pāramitā, or sūtras on the ‘perfection of wisdom.’ They deal with the Mahāyāna doctrines of a Bodhisattva, especially with the highest, prajñā, ‘wisdom,’ the knowledge of the doctrine of nothingness, which denies not only being, but also not-being. The doctrine of the Mahāyāna sūtras was expounded by Nagarjuna, originally a Brāhman who flourished about A.D. 200 and founded the Madhyamika school, one of the main branches of the Mahāyāna. In order to remove the otherwise insoluble contradictions of complete nihilism, he lays down in his Madhyamika sūtras that the doctrine of Buddha rests on two kinds of truth. The one is the conventional truth of everyday life (which the Brāhmaṇa sāstras call the higher truth, the pundya sūtras). This distinction resembles that between the higher and the lower knowledge in the Vedānta system of the Brāhmans (see MADHYAMAKA, MADHYAMIKAS).

Nagarjuna cannot be regarded as the originator of the Mahāyāna doctrine itself. There must have been teachers and texts of that doctrine more than a century before his time; for Mahāyāna texts were translated into Chinese in the 3rd cent. A.D., and the Gandhāra type of Buddhist art, which represents the Mahāyāna doctrine, came into being about the beginning of our era. Asanga (q.v.), the eldest of the three sons of a Brāhman from Peshāwar, probably flourished in the first half of the A.D. 400. Northwestern adherent of the Sarvāstivāda school, he became the main exponent of the Mahāyānist Yogāchāra school, which recognizes existence in consciousness (svāttāna) only, denying the reality of the phenomenal world. The only absolute entity is truth (bodhi), which is manifested in the Buddhas, and which is attainable solely by those who practise yoga in ten stages. Yoga (q.v.) was thus brought into systems like Huayan, the Mahāyāna doctrine. Asanga expounds the tenets of this
school in his Mahāyāna-Sūtrālankāra, a work consisting of memorial verses (kārikās) in various metres and a commentary written by himself. Asāṅga’s brother, Vasubandhu, one of the most important figures in Buddhist literature, distinguished himself by the great powers of independent philosophic thought, is remarkable as having written authoritative works representing both the great divisions of Buddhism. His most important work, belonging to the earlier and Hinayāna period, was his Abhidharma-kosa, which deals with ethics, psychology, and metaphysics, but is known only through a Sanskrit commentary and Chinese and Tibetan translations. In later life he was converted by his brother Asāṅga to the Mahāyāna doctrine, when he composed a number of commentaries on various Mahāyāna sūtras, which have, however, been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations only. The most important of the later Mahāyānists was Sāntideva, who probably lived in the 7th cent. and was the author of the two works. The first, Sīkṣā-samuccaya, or ‘Summary of the Doctrine,’ is a manual of the Mahāyāna teaching, consisting of memorial verses (kārikās) and a commentary. The other is the Bodhicaryavatāra, or ‘Entry into the practice of enlightenment,’ a great literary merit, inculcating the pursuit of the highest moral perfection. The aim in both works is the attainment of enlightenment as a Bodhisattva by means of the practice and the veneration of Buddha, the highest wisdom being the belief in nothingness (śānyāda). An indication of the decay of Buddhism in India is the approximation of its later literature to that of Hinduism. Thus the Mahāyāna sūtras show striking resemblances to the Brāhmaṇic purāṇas, containing, like these, māhāmyas, or glorifications of particular localities, and stātras, or hymns addressed to various deities. There are also separate sūtras, like those addressed to Viṣṇu and Śiva; many of them glorify the goddess Śārā, the female counterpart of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. A further sign of degeneracy is the increasingly important position which the dhārānas, or ‘spells,’ begin to occupy in Mahāyānist literature. They appear to have existed from the 3rd cent. A.D. They were probably in their earliest instance light sermons to sustain Buddhist doctrine, but unintelligible mystic syllables gradually began to prevail as the ‘kernel’ of magic powers. Finally, under the influence of the Saivite tantras they became a separate and essential element into the Buddhist tantras. The Tantras (q.v.), which probably date from the 9th to the 11th cent., and are composed in barbarous Sanskrit, represent the final stage in the degradation of Indian Buddhism. They are treaties partly concerned with ritual (śrīyogā-tantra) or rules of conduct (charṣyā-tantra) partly with the esoteric doctrine of the yogā (yogapatantra). The former class is a revival of the old Brāhmaṇ ritual of the Gṛhyaśūtras, and the mystical syllables contained in them are addressed not only to Buddhists and Bodhisattvas, but also to Bhūtas and any other created beings, while, however, are connected with yoga, starting from the mysticism of the Mādhayamika and the Yogācāra schools. The yogā here aims at the highest knowledge of nothingness (śānyātya), not only by asceticism and meditation, but by magical rites, hypnotism, and other expedients. The teaching and practice of these yogas are a mixture of mysticism, sorcery, and gymnastics. Nothing of Buddhism remains in them, for they differ in no respect, except in being described as ‘promulgated by Buddha,’ from the Saivite sūtras, inculcating as they do the worship of the kingsa and Śaivite gods, and introducing numerous female deities into their cult.

LITERATURE (Chinese).—The vast mass of Chinese literature is divided by Chinese scholars into four classes—classics, histories, writings of philosophers, and belles lettres. The term king translated ‘classic,’ means originally any branch of a web, and by metaphorical extension comes to mean what is invariable, a rule. The Chinese classics are, therefore, those books which are regarded by the Chinese as canonical. Hence Buddhism as well as Confucianism have their classics; but in speaking of the Chinese classics one has in view the books of the Confucian canon only. If we speak of the Chinese classics in the sense in which Buddhism and Confucianism have their classics, we expose ourselves to misleading associations. We do, indeed, meet with the phrase Sheng King as designating the Confucian canon, where Sheng is the word which is used in philosophy, in which the idea of holiness. Originally, however, it refers to perfection of wisdom (‘sage,’ ‘sagely’), and does not of itself suggest any relation to the divine. Of the perfect Sage it is said: ‘It is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him’ (Ddict of the Mean, xxi. 3). The authority of the classics is due not to any special inspiration, but to their connexion with sages or sagely men who possessed this ideal development of human nature. Degrees of authority are recognized; Mencius, e.g., in some of his pronouncements is held to have fully part of the perfect balance of Confucius. In so far as education was founded on and almost confined to the classics, their influence has been enormous. Less legitimately their connexion with the sages has given them a pre-eminent share in that reverence, passing into superstitition, with which all written and printed paper is regarded by the Chinese. Among the commentators on the classics, Shu Hsi (A.D. 1150-1200) has long been considered to be the standard of orthodoxy. The number of books and the number of editions has increased somewhat, the Imperial edition of the T’ang dynasty included thirteen books. The present canon, taken in the strictest sense, includes the Five Classics and the Four Books.

1. The Five Classics.—[1] King, ‘The Book of Changes.’—The term of this is the Eight Triograms, further elaborated into sixty-four, alleged to have been copied by Fu Hsi, a legendary ruler of early China, from the back of a mysterious creature which appeared from the waters of the Yellow River. The diagrams are combinations of whole and broken lines, and are supposed to correspond to the powers of nature—heaven, earth, fire, water, etc. From this idea, Wang Wanger added his ‘Definitions’; Chou King supplemented these with his ‘Observations’; and, finally, Confucius added ‘Ten Chapters of Commentary,’ and the classic was complete. As being the joint work of these four sages, it enjoys a great reputation. It is a compound of obscure and fanciful speculation and of a system of divination. But with regard to its meaning and origin, whether it is native to China or may be connected with Babylon or elsewhere, various opinions have been held by scholars.

(2) Shu King, ‘The Book of Historical Documents.’—We read of a canon of one hundred
historical documents, ascribed on inadequate evidence to Confucius, with a preface the Confucian authorship of which is even more doubtful. What most wikis is this claim that eight books of the LLI documents, the tradition of which is traced back to two scholars, Fu Sheng and An Ku. The twenty-five books which rest on the sole authority of the latter are gravely suspect. The whole collection of books in such a disordered history falls into five divisions—the books of T'ang, of Yu, of Hsia, of Shang, and of Chou. The oldest documents refer to a period about 2000 B.C., the latest to 627 or 624 B.C. Whatever be the admixture of legendary matter, the documents are of much historical interest. As a record of early moral and religious ideas their value is a great deal. The political ideal is a benevolent autocracy, and sovereignty is conferred or withdrawn according to the righteous judgment of God, who raises up the instruments of His providence.

(3) Shi King, "The Book of Odes."—This comprises three hundred and five odes, with the titles only of six more, traditionally said to have been selected by Confucius from the numerous pieces extant in his time. This account greatly exaggerates his share in defining the classics. Confucius attached great educational value to the odes. He claims that their design is summed up in this: 'Have no depraved thoughts'; but, while these may be the fives of titles, they are not the substance, speaking from irrational passion. The subject-matter of the odes is various—praise of virtuous kings and ministers, and of chaste and submissive wives; lamentation for departed friends, and the joy of reunion; the griefs of neglected officers and forsaken wives; complaints of injustice, remonstrances with careless or wicked rulers; celebration of State banquets and sacrifices, and record of official changes in chronological order, but in four classes: (1) 'Lessons from the States,' 15 books of odes from various feudal States; (2) 'Minor Odes of the Kingdom,' 8 books; (3) 'Great Odes of the Kingdom,' 3 books; and (4) 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar,' 3 books. The earliest odes date from the Shang dynasty (1765-1122 B.C.), and the latest from the time of King Ting (685-585 B.C.) of the Chou dynasty. Much can be gathered from the odes illustrating early Chinese civilization.

(4) Li Ki, "Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usage."—Of the "Tris Ki," the last only has a place among the Five Classics. It is a collection condensed from a larger group of documents in the 1st cent. B.C., and augmented and finally fixed in the 2nd cent. A.D. The various treatises, which are not arranged in any logical order, cover a great variety of subjects—birth, naming, marriage, death, mourning, sacrifices, education, and intercourse between persons of different ages and grades. There is much wearisome detail, but it is from this classic that we learn the genius of the Chinese race as embodied in religious and social usages.

(5) Ch'un Chiu, "Annals."—Ch'un Chiu, lit. 'Spring and Autumn,' a common name for annals, is the only one of the Five Classics ascribed to Confucius himself; but it falls so far short of Mencius's estimate of the "Ch'un Chiu" that he knew that double—not supported by other evidence—has been expressed as to whether our Ch'un Chiu is indeed the Sage's work. It seems to be founded on oral reports, merely borrowed and is from the annals of Lu, Confucius's native State. It is an absolutely bald record of such things as the beginnings of the seasons, State-covenants, wars, deaths of persons in the line of succession, and periodic sacrificial ceremonies. The notices of eclipses are important as affording chronological data. The record runs from 721 B.C. to the 14th year of Duke Ai, when Confucius's work ends, and is supplemented by his disciples up to the time of his death, 16th year of Duke Ai (475 B.C.). Even Chinese scholars admit that the record is not of great value, and is gloomy and unpalatable. The most unfortunate cloud thus rests on the character of its author. The best known commentary on the Ch'un Chiu is the Tzu Chuan, which supplements the chronicles and brings us to 407 B.C., with one entry of a slightly later date.

2. The 'Four Books.'—(1) Lun Yu, "Analects."—These were probably compiled by Confucius or his disciples of the second generation. Conversations with Confucius and disconnected sayings of his, mostly quite brief, form the staple of the work; but bk. 19 contains sayings of disciples only, and these occur also in other books. The main themes are ethics and government. In spite of the general failure even to seek after righteousness, it is maintained that human nature is made for virtue, which is a life-long task. For the attainment of virtue there is sufficient strength, if only it is exerted. Hence the importance of moral culture, though some may be incapable of it. The ideal man (Ch'an Tze) is depicted, and such topics as filial piety, friendship, and 'Reciprocity'—not to do to others what one would not have done to oneself—is the highest moral rule. There is intentional reticence on extra-ordinarily many topics, and the idea of a government is emphasized, as is also the influence of a virtuous ruler over his subjects. Bk. 10 contains many particulars as to Confucius's deportment and habits. More important are the scattered estimates of Confucius by himself.

(2) Tu Hsieh, "The Great Learning," is so called with reference either to the importance of its matter or to the age of its students. The text appears to be fragmentary. In one recension it forms a section of the Li Ki; but as usually printed it is arranged by Ch'u Hsi, though without authority, into text by Confucius and comment by Tsung Tze. The book professes to trace the development of morality from investigation of things, through extension of knowledge, sincerity of the thoughts, and rectification of the heart, up to cultivation of the person (which is the central idea); and then on to regulation of the family and tranquilizing of the empire. The work, though not without some excellent moral ideas, falls far short of the Li, and the Li Ki, the last only has a place among the Five Classics. It is a collection condensed from a larger group of documents in the 1st cent. B.C., and augmented and finally fixed in the 2nd cent. A.D. The various treatises, which are not arranged in any logical order, cover a great variety of subjects—birth, naming, marriage, death, mourning, sacrifices, education, and intercourse between persons of different ages and grades. There is much wearisome detail, but it is from this classic that we learn the genius of the Chinese race as embodied in religious and social usages.

(3) Chung Yang, "The Doctrine of the Mean" (probably rather 'Equilibrium and Harmony'), is ascribed to Kung Chi, grandson of Confucius, commonly known as Tzu Shih. The translation of the Ta Hsieh, forms a section of the Li Ki. Human nature, as given by heaven, is the source of morality. In its original state it is 'equilibrium'—as developed into right action it is 'harmony.' The beginnings of this development lie at hand in ordinary duties and virtues, particularly in 'reciprocity,' which is here developed positively (=the Golden Rule; cf. ERE vi. 311). Such development of nature is exhibited in the sages. When it is so developed that fact and ideal coalesce, we have 'sincerity.' Some have this sincerity by innate endowment; some attain to it by moral cultivation, and others, which is also a transforming influence on things and men. Confucius is enlivened extravagantly, though perhaps not precisely identified with the ideal man who is father of heaven, the Ta Hsieh.

(4) Mencius (571-598 B.C.).—Seven books of his teaching remain, which are creditably ascribed to Mencius himself in collaboration with his disciples. The main topics are social and extra-ordinary. Human nature is predicated for righteousness. This original constitution is the child-heart which good
men. Mencius maintains the disinterested nature of the affection, and asserts as according to nature the subordination of the passions to moral control. Nature in ordinary men and in the sages is one and the same, but for its development consciousness is requisite. The 'passionate nature' is not to be suppressed but disciplined. If nature does not evince its goodness, it is only as a hill constantly grazed on appears bare of verdure. Unnatural feelings are expressions of unrighteous things. Nature, regarded as divine discipline. Repentance so puges a man that he may even worship God. Mencius's views on politics are mostly developed in conversation with contemporary rulers, with whom he uses, on the whole, an admirable frankness. Government should be benevolent and righteous. Such a government inevitably prospers. Its main concerns are agriculture and education. Above all the people, who are of the first importance in a State, must have a stable livelihood. If a monarch be utterly unworthy, it is not rebellion to depose him; but this must be done in accordance with the decrees of Heaven and the popular mind. Mencius acutely criticises the heretical views of his time. In iv. ii. 26 he recommends observation of phenomena as the source of knowledge. Without such an effort is required. The 'passionate nature' is abundant and mostly apt, and the dialectic keen. He has popularised and given a tone of his own to the doctrines of Confucius, to which his work is the most authoritative.


P. J. MACLAGAN.

LITERATURE. (Dravidian).—Dravidian literature is the record of the best of the thought of those peoples of South India who speak languages designated by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, in the 7th cent. of our era, as Andhā Drāvīḍa. The four principal literary Dravidian languages are now Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayālam. According to the Census Report of 1911, Telugu is spoken by 231 millions of people, Tamil by a little over 19 millions, Kanarese by 104 millions, and Malayālam by 63 millions. That the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans who moved in with S. India and at an early period is evident from the mention of the Andhras by the grammarians Pāṇini (probably c. 350 B.C.), but Aryan immigration into the South came at so late a period that the southern Dravidian languages retained, with but few exceptions, their own characteristic grammatical structure. Their vocabulary was, however, enlarged by the inclusion of Sanskrit technical terms and words or their corruptions. So widely did this Aryan influence on the literature of the South spread in course of time that J. Vinsan says: 'Not cos Telugu, Kanarese, or Tamil book now in existence is independent of Sanskrit... Writing was not applied to vernacular languages before the 4th century. It was the Aryan Brahmans or Jainas or Buddhists who first having learned the verbaeaeals used them for literary purposes and then taught the Dravidians the way to use them in their compose works. The preliminary or Jain period must have lasted two or three centuries.' (Sīdhasānta Dīpikā, August 1865).

The southern inscriptions of Assoka show that writing must have been familiar to the people by the 3rd cent. B.C. The present southern scripts are, however, all derived from the Andhra alphabet, as the Tamil and Kanarese alphabets date from the 5th cent., while the oldest Tamil cursive writing comes from the 7th century. Previous to any writing or written records the folk-songs of the people, their moral aphorisms as well as their lyrical outbursts of love and war, set as they were to music, were handed down by memory from generation to generation. P. Sundaram Pillai states that more than 19,000 lines of the hymns of the early poet Sambandhar, written in 632, and later in date than the 7th cent., are still extant: 'Most of them appear to have been uttered improvised, and all of them being set to music, the original melodies are now mostly forgotten. They were lost in the later ages introduced by Aryans migrating south.' (Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature, p. 6.)

The intruding Aryan influence so blended with the indigenous Dravidian element that the Aryan lutes (sings) completely ousted the primitive Dravidian musical instrument (yild), no reliable description of which remains on record. Similarly, the old grammars and the grammars of the Pāṇinian and Andhāra school of grammarians have been superseded by the now standard authority for all classic compositions, the Nān Nīl, composed by a southern Jain grammarian, Pavanand, about the beginning of the 13th century. The Nān Nīl lays down the rule that 'to reject the old and obsolete usage and to adopt new and modern usage is not an error but a yielding to the necessities of time and circumstance' (G. U. Pope, Third Tamil Grammar, Madras, 1859, or 1910). Standing on this salutary rule, Dravidian prose and poetry are considered worthy of commendation by the learned only when they are as different from the spoken vernaculars as Ancient to modern English. They hold themselves aloof from the colloquial language of the time and people, and the more they are swathed in archaisms, the more they merit the praise of pandit. The earliest, and therefore the purest, Dravidian literature, as free from Aryan influences, lies enshrined in works dating from about the 2nd cent. of our era. Collections known as the Nine Classical Poems are assigned to a very early date; these were succeeded by Eight Compilations of various authors. Eighteen shorter stanzas, including the moral aphorisms of the Kūral of Tiruvalluvar, followed, and the four hundred quatrains of the Nāladiyār, said to have been composed by a Jain poet of about the 8th century. The latter quatrains show strong Aryan influences, dealing as they do with the ordinary topics of Indian metaphysics—the pain of existence, transmigration of the soul, and release therefrom. Some of the quatrains are mere translations from such Sanskrit epics as the Mahābhārata, and Pope, who translated and annotated the Nāladiyār in a scholarly edition, described it as 'The Bible of the Cultivators of the Soil.' Its style, however, is so classical that no cultivator of the soil could understand the meaning of the verses unless explained to him in the language that he is accustomed to speak. The moral epigrams of the Kūral and Nāladiyār, in couplets and quatrains, have been acclaimed as the highest achievements of Dravidian literature. Pope (Kūral, p. xiv) truly says of the Kūral (and the same applies to the Nāladiyār) that a line 'is often little else than a string of crude artifices artfully fitted together.' Stories such as this, framed on Sanskrit corrupt compounds, can hardly claim the title of literature, however epigrammatic or moral the underlying and hidden thought may be. The Nāladiyār is, nevertheless, well suited to fit its present role as a literary puzzle for Tamil students at the Madras University, or for Honours candidates at other Universities. To the same period, from the 2nd cent. to the 5th cent., are attached the twelve Tamil romances—the Maī Tikkālai, the Siṭṭāppadīthi Kāram, and the most perfectly constructed and the most untranslatable, on account of its open erotic sentiment, of all Tamil romances, the
Jivakoshitamani. These poems, amid a surrounding of love and romance, give a vivid view of early Jain and Buddhist life in S. India and reliable accounts of the doctrines of the Jain and Buddhist teachings. These poems were translated into English to make them available for historical purposes. No translation could possibly convey the peculiar charm of the stately and leisurely style of the original or the grand and harmonious sequences of sound, and the subtility of its quaint and involved conceits of metaphor. J. Vincent (Manuel de la langue tamoule, p. xlv) has given a valuable and balanced judgment regarding the comparative value of the best of Dravidian literature.

Malgré tout, cependant, la littérature tamoule est secondaire. A part peut-être les recueils de sentences morales, il n'est pas un poème de quelque importance dont une traduction complète puisse être la sans fatigue par des Européens. Ses descriptions y sont diffuses, monotones, pleines de mauvais goût et d'exagérations choquantes, conformes d'ailleurs à un type uniforme donné. Ses poèmes d'amour ne sont pas plus variés, et les poèmes de guerre sont tous, ce sous proprement des jeux d'esprit, des amplifications de rhétorique sur une formule générale et sur un casus minutieusement réglé. L'invention et l'imaginerie ne peuvent s'y exercer que sur les détails, les expressions, sur la mesure, sur la forme extérieure ou un mot.

This Aryan influence on the religious literature (see Dravidians (South India) and even on the indigenous folk-tales of the Tamils) has had the result that without a previous knowledge of Sanskrit much is almost unintelligible. According to C. E. Gover (Folk-Songs of Southern India, p. 14), who gathered together folk-songs from the varied peoples of S. India,

"the foreign element permeated till almost the whole written literature of the country became Brahmanic. Indigenous poetry fell into unfashionable disrepute, and what was possible, was edited so unapproachably that the original was hidden under a cloud of corruption."

This Aryan influence so permeated the whole spirit and vitality of indigenous literature that Appakavi, a grammarian of the 17th cent., contemptuously declared that Telugu adaptations from the Sanskrit were merely for the use of women and Sādānas. The distinguished Dravidian scholar, G. V. Râmamūrti, who quotes the above in his Monograph on Modern Telugu (Madras, 1912, p. 3), further states that, should a Brahman read the Rāmāyana for religious merit, he reads the Sanskrit original and not a Telugu adaptation. The same writer, who is an ardent advocate for a reformed pure Dravidian literature, freed from Sanskrit corruption, states only the truth when he says:

"A Sanskrit original, whether it is the Rāmāyana or Mahābhārata, is a masterpiece in style and language than a translation of it" (op. cit. p. 6).

Nevertheless, the simple peasant values these Telugu, Tamil, Kāramo, or Malayalam imitations of the Sanskrit epics, and purāṇas. Read as they are by professional reciters under the village tree during the long star-lit evenings, they hold the simple folk in spellbound wonder and awe as they listen to a running translation and commentary in the current vernacular. They teach the village folk the simple story of life, of the rewards and joys of those who had faith in the gods and thereby gained salvation through the grace of the deity, of the triumph of good over evil, and, above all, the loved stories of widely devotion and patient suffering under unmerited calamities.


R. W. Frazer.

LITERATURE (Egyptian).—The great bulk of extant Egyptian sacred literature may be grouped in three divisions: (1) the Pyramid Texts; (2) the Book of the Dead, with its related group of books, the Book of Am Duat (or of knowing that which is in the underworld), the Book of Breathings, the Book of Gates, etc.; and (3) miscellaneous writings, embracing a number of hymns to various gods, Ra, Osiris, Hapi, Amen, such writings as the Lamentations, and the Festival Songs of Iah (or Yah), and the Lamentations of Seker, and a number of legends concerning the gods and their relations to mankind.

I. The Pyramid Texts.—These constitute by far the most important body of Egyptian sacred writings known to us, not only because they exhibit the religious beliefs of the nation at a very early period in its history, but also because the remains of primitive traditions embedded in them enable some of the Egyptian beliefs to be traced back even to pre-historic times, and because the development manifest in the later versions of them shows how gradual but important changes were happening in Egyptian religious belief within a definite period.

The great pyramids of the IVth dynasty have no interior inscriptions, and it was supposed that this was true of all other pyramids. In 1880 Mariette's workmen at Saaqara managed to effect an entrance to the pyramid of Pepy I. of the Vth dynasty, and later on to that of Merennu of the same line, and found that both contained lengthy hieroglyphic inscriptions, hewn in the rock and coloured green. Eventually inscriptions were found in five pyramids, of which the oldest is that of Unas of the Vth dynasty, and the others are those of Teti, Pepy I., Pepy II., and Pepy III. of the VIth dynasty. The inscriptions thus cover a period of about 150 years, from 2225 to 2175 B.C., or, on Petrie's Sinaï dating, from 4210 B.C. onwards. Immediately after their discovery the texts were edited by Maspero, and the attention devoted to them has been steadily increasing. The best edition at present available is that of Sethe (Die egyptischen Pyramidentexte, Leipzig, 1898-1901).

These texts are, then, the oldest body of religious literature extant in the world, and a great deal of the material embodied in them carries us back to very much earlier times than their own sufficiently early date, referring to primitive customs and conditions of life which had long been extinct by the time of the Vth and VIth dynasties. The later versions show traces of editing, which was undertaken in order to meet the needs of the new developments of religious thought arising in a period of 150 years. Broadly speaking, the object of these writings is to secure blessedness in the after life to the king on the walls of whose tomb they are inscribed; for there is as yet no trace of any idea that the immortality postulated for the Pharaoh may be also the property of the common people. The whole contents of these texts are directed towards the one purpose of securing entrance to the abodes of bliss for the dead king, and unification with the gods when his entrance is secured. These contents fall under the following divisions: (1) funerary inscriptions and ritual of mortuary offerings, (2) magical charms, (3) ancient ritual of worship, (4) ancient hymns, (5) fragments of ancient myths, and (6) prayers on behalf of the dead king.

The material is arranged in sections, each of which is headed by the words 'Utter (or recite) the words. Of these sections the pyramid of Unas contains 228, of the other pyramids make up the number to 714. The amount of material is thus considerable, as may be judged from the fact that in Sethe's edition it fills two quarto volumes with over 1000 pages of text. It is arranged in the most haphazard manner possible, the scribes..."
spendable for the various versions having made (as usual in Egyptian religious writings) not the slightest attempt to group together the various types of matter enumerated above. The hymns scattered through the collection already exhibit a familiar poetic arrangement, in the form of contents showing parallelism in the ordering of words and thoughts; and the texts are not devoid of a certain wild and rude power of imagination which entitles them to rank as literature. Thus, when the dead king rises to the vault of the heavens,

'Clouds darken the sky,
The Stars rain down,
The bows [a constellation] stagger,
The bones of the hell-bounds tremble,
Then exist silent,
When they see king Unas
Drawing as a soul.'

And there is some power of fancy in the passage which pictures the king, after he has passed the lily-lake and drawn near to the gates of the sky, being challenged by voice after voice, out of the world of the dead, 'Whence comest thou, son of my father?' until, at last, when answer has been duly made to all the challengers, they fall silent, and the dead Pharaoh enters unopposed upon his heavenly kingdom.

The Conventionality which the Pyramid Texts contemplate has already ceased to be that which we may take to be the earliest form of the Egyptian conception of the life after death—that of sojourn as and about the deceased king's realm in the sky, and, moreover, in the east of the sky—this in absolute contradiction to later belief, which always placed the abode of the blessed dead in the west. In the sky the king may develop either of two destinies: he may become a star, or he may be associated with Ra, the sun-god, finally becoming identified with him. These two destinies no doubt represent two different strata of earlier belief, which have been slumped together according to the regular Egyptian custom of associating incompatibles without attempting to reconcile them.

The earliest form of belief represented in the texts is solar; the deceased is constantly identified with Ra, and the Osrian belief is referred to in terms which show that it was held to be incompatible with, or even hostile to, the solar form. Certain peculiarities in the pyramid texts and its temple against the intrusion of Osiris; and other passages show that 'to the devotee of the solar faith, Osiris once represented the realm and the double life of the deceased.' The following of Re was not delivered up' (Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 140). Gradually, however, and, as the texts show, even within the Pyramid Age the Osrian faith began to assert its power and to appropriate part of the place which the solar religion had formerly occupied. In doing so the Osiran conception of the life after death, originally one of an under world, becomes more or less solarized, and the two faiths interpenetrate to some extent; but, on the whole, the Pyramid Texts present us with the picture of the gradual assertion of superiority on the part of the Osiran faith over the earlier solar creed. It would appear that in this transformation we witness the triumph of popular over State religion, as it is evident that, to start with, the solar faith was the State theology, while the cult of Osiris was always a popular form of religion.

On the whole, there is no more interesting body of religious literature in the world than this, the most ancient of all, and the one with its own intrinsic value alone, but also to the fact that it takes us nearer than any other religious writing to the primitive ideas of mankind as to the modes of life in the world after death. Passages such as those which describe how the dead king in the other world lassos and disembowels the gods, cooking them in his kettle, and eating them,

'Their great ones for his morning meal,
Their middling ones for his noon meal,
Their little ones for his night meal,'

so that 'their magic is in his belly,' have their own value as literature for the wild power and vigour of imagination which they reveal; but they are still more valuable as a period in the Egyptian, whom we have never seen save in the decent, ordered civilization of the dynastic period, was actually an unregenerate savage, with beliefs on the same intellectual level as those of other uncivilized races.

2. The Book of the Dead.—Next in importance to the Pyramid Texts comes the collection of sacred writings which has for long been regarded as representative of Egyptian religious literature, and is most widely known by the totally erroneous title of The Book of the Dead. The only justification for the use of this title is that the texts more or less regularly used in the collection were, like the Pyramid Texts, entirely designed for the advantage of deceased persons in the other world. The Egyptians themselves called the collection 'The Chapters of the Two Ways,' or 'Ascending Day' (or 'Ascending by Day'), a title whose significance is somewhat obscure, though the contents of the chapters suggest that it may be to do with something to which the knowledge of them conferred upon the deceased to go in and out from his tomb, and to live an unfettered life in the other world. Concerning the early history of the Book of the Dead we have no certain information. In fact, there is practically no literature extant from the period between the Vlth and the Xlth dyn. to show the development of religious thought. In the middle kingdom, however, under the Xlth and XIIth dynasties, there begins to appear a series of texts which are regarded by some as an early recension of the Book of the Dead. These texts are written no longer on the walls of tombs, but on the inner surface of the cedar coffins in which the well-to-do people of the period are buried. They are generally written in black ink, and are ornamented with coloured borders representing the usual funerary offerings to the deceased. No other one-half of material thus preserved is taken from the Pyramid Texts, the other half consisting of material which is met with later in the genuine Book of the Dead; so that, really, the material occupied a middle position between the old texts, whose object was the service of the king alone, and the later book, which was a popular compilation intended for the use of all and sundry. It might be useful, therefore, to distinguish these Middle Kingdom texts by some such title as that of 'Coffin Texts,' which Breasted employs to denote them. The writing of these texts is marked by the same carelessness and inaccuracy which characterize the latest versions of the Book of the Dead. The scribe's sole object was to cover the prescribed surfaces as rapidly as possible; it was never extended for the use of all and sundry. It might be prejudicing the safety of his patron in the other world did not worry the Egyptian scribe.

The Coffin Texts are intermediate in character, as in time, being late, not to its own intrinsic value alone, but also to the fact that it takes us nearer than any other religious writing to the primitive ideas of mankind as to the modes of life in the world after death. Passages...
intrusion of the essentially Osirian idea of an under world into the old solar idea of a celestial heaven. Breasted epigrammatically sums up the dualism of ideas that that period coincided with the Osirian side by the remark that in the Pyramid Texts Osiris was lifted skyward, while in the Coffin Texts Ra is dragged earthward (p. 277).

The idea of a Western Elysium, in contradistinction to the Eastern idea of the deceased appearing, and the character of the Elysium begins to approximate to that of the Sekhet Aaru, 'Field of Bulrushes,' as found in the Book of the Dead. Thus one of the chapters of the Coffin Texts is concerned with 'Building a House for a Man in the Nether World, digging a Pool, and planting Fruit trees.' Already the Coffin Texts exhibit instances of the desire, which reaches full development later, of furnishing the deceased with words of power to enable him to assume various transformations. Various texts enable him to transform himself into 'the blazing eye of Horus,' into an 'ebet-bird,' or into 'the servant at the table of Hator'; and along with this development comes another which reaches an extraordinary pitch in the Book of the Dead—that of charms to protect the deceased from the dangers of the underworld. Thus there are charms for preventing the head of a man from being taken from him, for repulsing serpents and crocodiles, for preventing a man from sinking head downwards, and so forth. This kind of rubbish, towards which the Egyptian mind had an extraordinary inclination, increases steadily in amount until the really valuable portions of the Book of the Dead is almost choked under its senseless bulk.

The Book of the Dead, properly so called, makes its appearance with the New Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries B.C., and with the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. The change from inscriptions on tomb-walls to inscriptions on the inner surfaces of coffins is now followed by a further change; the texts which form the new compilation for the use of the dead are now written on rolls of papyrus, and placed in the coffin. The various versions extant from the XVIIIth to the XXIInd dyn. have mainly been derived from tombs near Thebes, and therefore the Book of the Dead of this period is known as the Theban Recension. It cannot be too clearly understood that there never was a standard text, or anything even remotely approaching to a standard text. Any particular man interested in preserving the body from decay or the ravages of certain animals—e.g., ch. xxvii., 'Of driving away Apsuhot' (the beetle or cockroach), and ch. xliv., 'Of not suffering corruption in the under world'; chapters providing charms against the serpent Apepi, the serpent Rerek, and the crocodile that comes to take away the charm from the deceased; chapters 'Of not letting a man be burnt or scaled in the under world,' and 'Of not eating filth or drinking filthy water in the under world, and saving us.'

Generally speaking, it may be said of these chapters, and of many others of similar import, that they are somewhat melancholy reading. Allowed had it been possible to persuade us that they are full of allusions to a mythology the knowledge of which has almost absolutely perished, and that these allusions may have been full of signification to the Egyptian, though they are meaningless to us, however, that very early the sense of a number of the references had
already been lost, as there are several chapters which contain glosses on the various allusions, and these glosses do not always agree. Very often the chapters do not rise above the level of mere vulgar interpretation. Sometimes they consist simply of an endless series of names supposed to have magical power; sometimes they are merely ludicrous—e.g., ch. xxxii., 'Of repulsing serpents in the under world.'

'Hail, thou serpent Berik; advance not hither! Behold Sob and Shu, Stand still now, and thou shalt eat the rat which is an abominable thing unto kâ, and thou shalt crush the bones of a sticky cat.'

The most important chapter of the book is xxxv., which embodies the Egyptian conception of the judgment of the dead. It consists of three parts: the introduction, the famous 'Negative Confession,' and a concluding text, and is fully discussed in art. Confession (Egyptian), and Ethics and Morality (Egyptian).

The fundamental religious idea of the Egyptian mind was that of immortality, and it is to the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead that we owe our knowledge of the extraordinary development which this idea had reached in Egypt at the earliest historical period. It is a remarkable peculiarity with which it was maintained and worked out into almost endless detail, and, most of all, of the strange resemblances which the Egyptian conception of resurrection and immortal life presents to the Christian doctrine. The Book of the Dead is not to be taken as in any sense a complete statement of Egyptian belief—a thing which as yet is conspicuously lacking. The name sometimes given to it, 'The Egyptian Bible,' is a total misnomer. But in the working out of its central theme it affords unquestionable evidence of the fact that the conception of immortality and resurrection held by the ancient Egyptian was such as no other religious system of antiquity ever approached.

Little is told us of whether any intercourse was expected in the other world with the souls of those who had been known on earth, but it is, ex., and cxxix, at least, that the deceased looked forward to recognizing and being protected by the spirits of his father and mother.

The other sacred books related to the Book of the Dead may be briefly dismissed. The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi contains fifteen chapters treating of the various methods of destroying this enemy of souls in the under world. Its text is nearly all in verse. The Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu, British Museum).

The Book of Knowing that which is in the Duat contains a description of the twelve parts of the under world through which the bark of the sun journeyed during the hours of night. It tells the names of these divisions, of the gates and gods belonging to each, and states the advantages to be derived from a knowledge of these names.

The Book of Breathings is largely a compilation from the Book of the Dead, and in the later periods was buried with the dead, being placed under the left arm, near the heart.

Miscellaneous writings.—Under this heading are to be included numerous hymns of Ptah, Osiris, Hâpi, Ptah, and other gods (cf. art. Hymns [Egyptian]); the Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys; the Literary Admonitions of Isis and Nephthys, and other similar works.

The Festival Songs and Lamentations are poems dealing with the Osirian myth, and supposed to have been recited by the two goddesses with a view to effecting the resurrection of the dead Osiris. The ancient Legends of the Gods and their relations to mankind are found in inscriptions in several tombs (notably in the tomb of Seti 1.), and in various papyri, and have been frequently translated.

In addition there are several books which do not strictly come under the heading of 'sacred,' but have yet a semi-religious character. Among them may be mentioned the Precepts of Ptah-hetep, of Iseh, of Betsweba, and of Khensu-hetep, writings essentially of the same character as Proverbs, while the Lay of the Harper (or Song of King Antef) may be compared with Ecclesiastes, and a remarkable comment on the social and moral condition of the land in the Middle Kingdom is found in the Admonitions of Ipuwer.


LITERATURE.—(Indian Vernacular).—The literature of the modern vernaculars of India may be divided into two main classes—that written under Musalmán, and that written under Hindó influence. The former dates from the Mogul conquest, and was composed mainly in the Urdu form of Hindostáni. Up to the introduction of printing at the beginning of the 19th cent., it was largely in verse and was confessed to be the earliest in Persian models and in Persian metres. The earliest works date from the 16th cent. A.D., but the standard of composition was set by Waut of Aurangábád and by Deenán, who flourished at the end of the 17th cent. who was known as 'the Father of Rekht,' Rekht being the technical form for the name of Hindostáni used by these poets. From the Deean the taste for this literature spread to Delhi, where Waut found numerous successors, and thence to Lucknow. The most celebrated of the Delhi poets were Rafúr-Suádá, best known for his satires, and Mír Taqí, famed for the purity of the language in which his Gházals and Múthakqáns were expressed. Both these flourished in the 18th century. Among the Lucknow poets the most celebrated was Mír Hassan, who is described as the father of Hindostáni prose, and who has been specially successful in the department of fiction. The novels of such authors as Rúm Náth Sáshár and 'Ab'dú'lláh Khálm Sháh are worthy of a wider circle of readers than that to which they are
condemned by the language in which they are written.

Although the above literature grew up under Musalman auspices, its language has been successfully adopted by many educated Hindus, some of whom are looked upon at the present day as masters of an exceptionally pure style. It is a matter of regret that the collection of the modern vernaculars were religious. In the North, up to about the 16th century A.D., the language of religion was Sanskrit; but, in the South, vernaculars were employed at once, and their writings are, therefore, to be regarded as the earliest and the most valuable of the modern literature. There is a great collection of Saivite texts in Tamil, said to go back to the 2nd or 3rd century. The more important of them are described in the art. DRAVIDIAN (South India). To these can be added a long list of Vaishnavite works in the same language dating from before the time of Râmanâtha (12th cent.). The most noteworthy of these are referred to by A. Govindâchârya in two papers in the JRAS (1913, p. 565 ff., and 1911, p. 925 f.). The Dravidian doctors employed both Sanskrit and Tamil for their writings. As a rule, it may be said that the Vadagalais, or Northern Tamils, wrote in Sanskrit, while the Bengalis, or Southern Tamils, wrote in Tamil (cf. Govindâchârya, in JRAS, 1912, p. 714).

In Northern India vernacular religious literature is of enormous extent and, considered merely as literature, may be said to have originated at the time of the spread of the Vaishnavite Bhakti-Marga under Râmanânda and his followers (see art. BHAKTI-MARGA, vol. ii, p. 539 ff., esp. 545). All the great writers of this early period belonged to humble ranks in life, and were born at the village at which they were raised and educated. Each therefore wrote in his own vernacular.

The greatest of all the moderns, Tulsi Dâs, although a man of the village rather than of the town, is infected by the spirit of the old village poet, and was perhaps the first to make a serious attempt to write in a language more suited to the requirements of his time. His writings fall into two groups—that devoted to Râmâcharita, and that devoted to Kṛṣṇa (Krishna). In both cases it includes not only devotional works, but all branches of literature ancillary thereto.

In the art, BHAKTI-MARGA (vol. ii, p. 543) it has been pointed out that the foundation of the religion is the belief in the fatherhood of God. This is more or less literally true as regards literature in which Râmâchandra is regarded as the perfect presentation of the Deity, and on this idea is based some of the most lofty poetry that India, ancient or modern, has produced. In the Ganges valley, Kâbir (15th cent.) preached the doctrine in wise and pithy sayings that are still household words in Hindostân. An offshoot from his teaching was the Sikh religion, whose sacred book, the Adi Granth, is a collection of hymns by various authors formed by degrees in the course of the 16th century. See art. GRANTH, SIKHIS. Both Kâbir and Nânâk (the founder of Sikhism) were masters of their teaching. A greater man than either, but the founder of no sect, was the famous poet Tulsi Dâs (16th-17th cent.), the author of the religious poem of the same name, the Râmâcharita-mânas, or 'Lake of the Gentes of Râma,' and of at least eleven other important works. His influence down to the present day over the people of Hindostân cannot be overrated. Tulsi Dâs was a native of Awadh (Oudh), and so this collection of the language and the life of Râmâchandra's early life and of his latest years. The poet, therefore, wrote in the Awadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi, and this form of speech has ever since been the popular standard of the language employed for celebrating the deeds of Râma-

1 G. A. Grierson, in JAS II, 418.

chandra, and, indeed, for epic poetry of every description.

In Hindostân proper, numerous followers and imitators of Tulsi Dâs have narrated the story of Râmâchandra, and the same subject has also, though to a less extent, attracted writers in other parts of India. In Bengal there is the 16th cent. Kâmâyudga or the Bhakti-Marga of Kesâ or, who, in the beginning of his life, was an imitator of Tulsi Dâs, but, in the later years of his life, has written the Ramayana in the 11th cent., a Malayalam Râmâ-charita of the 13th or 14th cent., and a Kannarese Râmâyana by Kumârâ Vâlmiki, said to be one of the oldest works in that language.

The literature based on the presentation of Kṛṣṇa as the Deity differs from the Râma-literature in one important particular. The love of God is represented, not as that of a father to his child, but as that of a man for a maid. The soul's devotion to the Deity is pictured by the self-abandonment to Kṛṣṇa of his queen Râdhâ, and the hot blood of Oriental passion is encouraged to pour forth one mighty torrent of prayer and praise to the divine Lover. The whole idea is based on sexual relations; and, though the mystics who first wrote of it did so in all purity of conscience, in later years erotic poetry of a character too gross for description.

It is natural that most of the literature of this school should take a lyric form. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇa's earliest exploit centred round the town of Mathurâ, and Kârâ, from this locality that his worship in the Ganges valley spread to other parts of Northern India. Hence, just as the Râma-literature is couched in Awadhî, so the Kṛṣṇa-literature of Hindostân is mainly recorded in the Braj Bhâkhâ dialect spoken round Mathurâ. Its most famous writer was Sûr Dâs (16th cent.), the blind bard of Agra. His Sûra-sâgara, or The Ocean (of songs) of Sûr Dâs, and the epic of Tulsi Dâs are considered to have exhausted between them all the possibilities of Indian poetry—no later poet could write anything original. In spite of this dictum, one later writer in Braj Bhâkhâ, Bihârî Lâl of Jaipur (17th cent.), composed the Sat Sai, or 'Seven Centuries' of verses, a collection of seven hundred masterpieces in dainty miniature painting of scenes in the life of Kârîm, or Kârîm, the master of writers connected with this phase of religion followed Sûr Dâs in the Ganges valley. In Bihâr, to the east, he was preceded by Vidîyâpâti Thâkur (15th cent.), who, however, wrote in his own language, an old form of Bihârî. He was the first of the old master-singers of Eastern India, and was followed and imitated by Chattânya and other religious lyric poets in Bengali. Assam, further east, and, in the west, Râjâpâtânâ, Kashmîr, Gujurât, and the Marâthâ country have all been prolific in this style of composition, the most famous writers being Mirâ bâî, the queen poetess of Mâwây (17th cent.), and Tukârâm (17th cent.), the Marâthâ. In the south of India we have the great Tamil hymnology, the Nâlâyirâ-prabandham, some of the contents of which are said to date from the 12th cent., and, in Telugu, the Damarla Ramâcharits of Râmânâma Marâthâ, which ranks as a classic. There are also several works in Kannarese.

Reference has already been made to the Saivite literature of S. India. There is a considerable literature devoted to the worship of Siva in the north. The best known is that of Bengal, where the worship of Durgâ, the śakti, or energetic power of Siva, is very popular. There were numerous writers who dealt with the worship of the goddess. The best admired is probably Mukunârâma Chakrâvarti (17th cent.), author of the Śrîmanta Sâudâgâr,
or 'Adventures of the Merchant Šārumanta,' and the 1 Chaupā, a poem in praise of the goddess Durgā. Extracts from the latter have been translated into English verse by E. B. Cowell (JASBE Ixxi. [1902], extra no.). There is also a considerable literature in the vernacular of Bombay, also in the Marāthi country. The name of the earliest and most famous of the latter, the Śākhīvīlī Rasōm of Chand Bārdāt (12th cent.), is familiar to students of J. Tod's Rajasthān (London, 1820-32, frequently reprinted), in which the poem is freely quoted. A semi-historical work, the Tarikh-i-Bahi of Mīhān Muhammad, is an epic poem in Awadhī of considerable merit.

The technical study of poetics gave rise to a large literature, to a certain extent ancillary to the literature of religion. Its main field was in Northern India was Kēśav Dās of Bundelkhand (16th cent.), who wrote in Brāj Bihākhā. The introduction of printing into India has given an impetus to the writing of books. It is impossible to deal with the results of this great increase in the mass of reading matter, good and bad; it must suffice to say that, so far as Hindu literature is concerned, it has furnished more and more to follow English models. The only writer in the vernacular who has gained a high reputation in both Europe and Asia on the grounds of originality and imagination is the modern Bengali poet Rabindra Nāth Tagore.

LITERATURE.—The only work attempting to deal with the vernacular literature of India as a whole is R. W. Frazer, A Literary History of India, London, 1882. G. A. Grierson in IGI, vol. ii. (Oxford, 1906), ch. xi., may also be consulted. Brief and incomplete accounts of the literatures of most of the literary languages of S. India have appeared in such periodicals as IA and in prefaces to grammars and dictionaries. For Marāthi literature the English student will find the most accessible account in the preface to J. T. Moleworth, Maratāḥ Dictionary, Bombay, 1857. For Bengali see Divesh Chandara Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1914, the only work on the subject. In his book, however, the author has been but a modest scholar (c. 1840), and it is impossible for him to deal with the results of this great increase in the mass of reading matter, good and bad; it must suffice to say that, so far as Hindu literature is concerned, it has furnished more and more to follow English models. The only writer in the vernacular who has gained a high reputation in both Europe and Asia on the grounds of originality and imagination is the modern Bengali poet Rabindra Nāth Tagore.

LITERATURE (Jewish).—The term 'Jewish literature' is used to cover those writings of the Jewish people which were composed after the completion of the Biblical (OT) canon, and which are devoted to the discussion or exposition of Judaism—its teachings, its history, and its documentary sources—and designed primarily for Jewish readers. This definition excludes all such works of Jewish authorship as, though written in Hebrew and meant for Jewish readers, deal with matters of general learning or literature.

THE TRANSITION FROM ORAL TRADITION TO WRITTEN RECORDS.—Between the completion of the Hebrew canon and the rise of Jewish literature there is an interval of several hundred years, and the reason why the literary activity of the Jews was so long in abeyance is that they regarded it as unlawful to commit their teachings to writing. The Scripture, as the Book par excellence, could suffer no other book to approach it; all supplementaries must be taught orally (vāhām; Deut. 4:9); 'to set down the oral teaching in writing is forbidden.' Thus even the Biblical Apocrypha were regarded as śāhīvīlī rasōm, 'extra-traneous books.' The idea that the production of new works was unlawful must have been prevalent by the time of the elder Sirach, and hence his collection of proverbs could not be received into the canon; an author who wished to reach the public by a polemacical edition of his ancient and venerable name, such as Daniel. That the Alexandrian Jews were at that time displaying a remarkable literary fertility did not affect the Jewish authorities in Palestine as all, for the works of the former were written in Greek, and could, therefore, make no claim to canonicity. Thus all the creations of the Jewish mind in this epoch remained unwritten; translations of the Bible, prayers, academic and popular instruction, the development of law and custom, of ethics and religion—all these were carried on by oral instruction only. Apart from letters and fugitive notes relating chiefly to ancient pedagogues, there is only a single document that has come down from ancient times in a written form, viz. the roll of festivals (mizh. 172), a list of joyous memorial days of the Jewish nation (JTh S, ṣe'ut im ṣe'ut lepaḥ)—that remarkable Aramaic calendar which stands as a monument of Jewish national pride, though it is extant only in a revised form with relatively late additions.

It would appear that as regards the Haggâdāh the interdict upon written communication was somewhat relaxed soon after the fall of the Jewish exiles from the Persian Empire, and the Babylonian Talmud, which was brought there, was probably put into writing by Hebrew scholars soon after its compilation (c. 427 B.C.E.). By the time we reach the redactions of the Babylonian Talmud, however (c. A.D. 500), the ancient prohibition must at length have been set aside, the change being necessitated, indeed, by the exigencies of the period—the repeated interference of the Persians and the rise and development of the scribes in their traditional ways—and also by the enormous growth of the material, which had now become too great a load for the human memory. In view of these facts, the last generation of the Amoraim and the Saboraim found it necessary to break with the past by committing the Talmud to writing, and they thereby cleared the ground for the growth of a Jewish literature.

Once the ban against writing had thus been lifted from the Hâlākhāh—that important domain where the interdict had been observed most rigorously—Jewish scholars formed the resolution, hesitatingly at first, but with time ever the more confidently, to write down and make more generally known the facts of their people's life and doctrine.

II. LITERARY PERIODS.—Jewish literature, in the fifteen centuries of its development, has passed through a variety of phases. To the period from c. A.D. 500 to 1000 we must assign its initial stages, in which the various branches of literature had to be evolved and wrought into form. The body of knowledge of every kind was contained and indiscriminately massed together in the Talmud, special departments were now gradually disengaged from the mass, and were dealt with in monographs and treatises. These were then collected into a number of literary and theological works. The average reader was Joseph (A.D. 892-942; see art. SAADAYA) begins...
the distinction of having been the first to treat of the most widely varied branches of Jewish theology in special works, and thus to have laboured as a pioneer, so that he has been rightly named 'the chief of the speakers in every place.' From A.D. 1000 to 1200 Jewish literature passed through its medieval period of fertility in two ramifications, viz. a Hispano-Arabic, which displays a powerful tendency towards the introduction of systematic exegesis, and a Franco-German, which in more characteristic fashion further elaborated the traditional materials of knowledge. The period from 1200 to 1500 can be considered as one of profound decline, during which the literary activity of the Jews was mainly confined to Poland and the East; but, from the advent of Moses Mendelssohn (p. q.c. 1729-56), Jewish literature, now in contact with the spirit of European culture, experienced a fresh revival which, mainly under the influence of Leopold Zunz (1794-1856), developed into a scientific treatment of Judaism, i.e., a methodical and critical discussion of the text, its language, and its nature. We cannot here trace Jewish literature throughout its various epochs and in all its phases; it must suffice to examine the chief departments in which it was specially active, to indicate the tendencies and changes which are traceable, and to search for the reasons that led to the success of this or that particular work. A characteristic feature of Jewish literature, as contrasted with the literatures of other peoples, is that with regard to the Bible it was not mere a product of the scholars, but the product of the whole Jewish people, the individual and the community, the written and the unwritten, the oral and the written, the learned and the unlearned, the religious and the secular, the rationalistic, the grammatical, and the exegetical. The Midrash, hag-Gadôl, a compilation of the 13th cent., written in Yemen, to piece the remains together, and obtain an approximate idea of the form of the ancient Midrashim. The Haggâdah Midrash is of vast extent; much of it is included in the Talmud, but it is found also in special collections. Leaving out of account the immense number of smaller Midrashim in (JE xii. 57 ff.), it is possible now to make a list of the following great compilations: the Midrash Rabbî or Midrash Rabbôth to the Pentateuch and the Five Megillôth, to Esther, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, the Midrash to the Pentateuch, and the Midrash to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Samson; but, while all these continuously follow the order of their respective texts, the Psôqîth collections deal only with selected portions of the Bible, such as the feast days and holidays or special Sabbaths. Mention should also be made of the two great Midrashic compilations known respectively as the Yalqût Shimôn, which probably took shape in Germany during the 12th cent. A.D., and embraces the entire Bible, and the Midrash hag-Gadôl of Yemen already referred to, which is confined to the Pentateuch (ob. 557 ff.). The Haggâdah Midrash, after the Midrashiic period, is the reach of contemporary scholarship by the monumental works of Wilhelm Bacher, Die Agada der babylonischen Amorîter, Strassburg, 1878, Die Agada der Tannaiten, d. i. Die Agada der p. r. Amorîter, d. 0. 1892-90.

The Midrash frequently gives simple explanations of the words and meaning of the Scripture text, but this is by no means its primary interest; in the main it is a devotional work of a didactic and devotional ends. Jewish scholarship did not evolve a rational exegesis of its own—exegesis in the scientific sense—till the time of Saûdah, who was a pioneer and wrote independent commentaries upon, as also a translation, of the whole Bible. In his exegeses he, too, writes with a religious purpose; but, on the whole, his chief concern is the rationalistic, grammatical, and lexical exposition of Scripture. The movement which he initiated owes its further development in the main to European scholars. In Europe there arose two great exegetical schools, one in Spain, the other in N. France. The Spanish school was largely influenced by Arabic learning, and its most prominent representative was Abraham ibn Ezra (1095-1168), whose works superseded those of all his predecessors (cf. JE vi. 253 ff. and art. IBN EZRA, § 1). His commentaries had an extraordinary popularity; they have come down to us in various MS copies, and were applied to the first printed edition in 1478. The Northern French school, again, while it certainly lacked the scientific bent, the philological foundation, and the general culture of the Spanish, yet by its devoted study of the Bible, and its sympathy with the spirit of the written word
did a large amount of highly meritorious and exemplary work for the discovery of the verbal semantics of the most eminent of its representatives, who—particularly Samuel b. Meir (c. 1055-1174)—have, in fact, been re-discovered by modern scholarship; but the favourite and most exalted work of the Middle Ages was the work of Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes, called Rashi (1040-1105), who combined the old method of the Midrash with the effort to ascertain the plain meaning; and consequently, though he certainly gives the dry details of exegesis of this period, has found in his work passages of an attractive and edifying character. His commentary eclipsed all others in general esteem; from the outset to the present day it has been widely read, and has formed a subject of study by itself; while in the course of centuries it has drawn itself over a hundred special commentaries, and ranks in the popular mind as ‘the commentary’ or goyge (cf. J.E. x. 324 f.).

A blending of the characteristic tendencies of the Spanish and Northern French schools appears among the scholars of Provence, from whose midst sprang David Kimhi (1160-1235; cf. J.E. vii. 494 f.), whose exegetical works on the Prophets and the Hagiographa were specially prized. The re-discovery of the predecessors and successors of the exegetes named, as also the historical or the dry details of exegesis of the second period, has been the work of modern scholarship. In Kimhi's comments we find a new type of exegesis—the philosophical, which soon passed into the mystical. Of the works that favor this type, those especially which were able to light their more stubborn materials into a popular and generally accessible form attained a great vogue. These include the long-popular commentaries of Don Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508; cf. J.E. i. 126), and also those of the so-called Biturists (J.E. iii. 232), dating from the age immediately after Moses Mendelssohn. On the whole field of exegetical literature cf. J.E. iii. 162-176.

Closely associated with the exegesis of Scripture were the works dealing with Hebrew philology. Linguistic study among the Jews was but rarely regarded as an end in itself, but, as the science of the language in which the Scripture was written, was pursued mainly as an adjunct to Biblical investigation. The literary treatment of Hebrew grammar and lexicography was practically performed by the Hispano-Arabic school, the masterly works of which, however, were composed in Arabic, and accordingly, even when translated into Hebrew, were too little noticed; the philological writings of Judah b. David Hayyuj (b. c. 930; J.E. vi. 577 f.) and Abû al-Walid Marwân ibn Jânân (early 11th cent.; ib. vi. 534 fl.), important as they are, were re-discovered only recently. The works of Abraham ibn Ezra enjoyed an enormous vogue, as did also, and even in a still greater degree, the grammar and dictionary of David Kimhi, which have in many quarters retained their pre-eminence until recent times. From the 15th cent. onward, however, a marked decline in linguisitc studies began; in proportion as mysticism prevailed, interest in the exact investigation of Hebrew fell away; the works of Elijah Levita (1488-1549; cf. J.E. viii. 40) attracted much less notice in Jewish than in Christian circles. Philology remained in a state of neglect until it was restored to its rightful position by the Mendelssohnian group; the manuals of J. B. Beil-Zeeb (1784-1811; J.E. iii. 683 f.) were widely studied until they were superseded by more modern and more competent works. The revival of Hebrew philology was due in a very special degree to Mendelssohn, whose best works were supplied, first, to the Jews who had been initiated into the peculiar nature of its dialect, and, moreover, the language of the Bible, like their general conditions of life, underwent in process of time
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and was no longer the same aa was presupposed
The need ot explanation was felt at an early
in the Talmud.
date, and soon, indeed, explanatory notes seem to have been
attached to the text and transmitted with it ; thus we find
writers o( the 10th cent, quoting verbatim from comments
dating from the 6th.i On the other hand, what we may call an
expository literature was not evolved till a much later day, for
it was the a"6nim of the 10th cent who first felt constrained to
supply written comments— first of all in the form of explanations of words ; and these, again, were the germs of the comprehensive dictionaries, of which the most celebrated was the
radical changes,

Kome

JJi ix. ISOff.).
The first commentaries in the ordinary sense, however, were produced in N. Africa c. a.d. 1000 besides explaining words, they
gave short notes elucidating the context. The most important
of these N. African commentaries is that of B. yananel b.
Hushiel of Kairwan (990-1050 ; ct. JE vi. 206). In Spain little
progress was made in the composition of commentaries,
although it was in that country that the most influential
Mishna commentary ot the Middle Ages was coinposed, viz.
that of Moses Maimonides ([g.c] 1135-1204 ; cf. JE ix. 73 ff.),
written originally in Arabic, but afterwards translated into
Hebrew, and from the time that it was first printed (1492) to
the present day regularly embodied in editions of the Mishna
or the Talmud. The most notable contributions to the exposition of the Talmud were produced in Germany and France.
Talmudio learning, carrying with it the earliest commentaries,
spread by way of Italy to Germany. R. Gershom b. Judah,
the Light ot the Exile (t 1040 cf. JE v. 638 f.), who taught
in Mainz, gave the impulse to a new method of Talmudio exposiHis school not only dealt in the most thorough manner
tion.
with details, but attached great importance to bringing out
the connexion of thought and from that school emanated the
most notable of all commentaries on the Talmud, that of Rashi
mentioned above. Its greatness lies in the fact that its author,
with the self-restraint of genius, surrenders his mind wholly to
the text, suppressing his own opinions, and bent only upon discovering and exhibiting the thought of the original writer.
Rashi never introduces superfluous matter ; nor, again, does he
ever gloss over a difliculty he either gives a solution of it or
modestly confesses that he has none to suggest The work
came to be used as an indispensable auxiliary to the study ot
the Talmud; it superseded all previous commentaries, and
threw all the later into the shade. While much of the expository literature of that age was buried in oblivion until the
modern period, Rashi's work was frequently conjoined with
the MSS of the Talmud, and it has been bound up with the
printed editions from the first; even at the present day, indeed, it is regarded as an essential adjunct to the study of the
Talmud, and no less as a work on the whole unrivalled in its
method- The French schools sought to supplement Rashi they
occasionally felt the need of a more dialectical mode of exposition, and thought that the text of the Talmud should be
furnished with decisions of the questions proposed and with
references to practical life ; and, finding none of these things
in Rashi's work, they wrote supplementary notes, tCsdfdth,
which, however, did not run continuously with the text, but
here and there supplied comments of the desiderated type upon
particular passages. Of these Tdsaflsts numerous schools arose
in Germany and France during the 12th and 13th centuries
the works which they produced were much studied in the
Middle Ages, and afterwards, from the tune when the Talmud
was first printed in its entirety (Venice, 1520), a number of
them, selected for purposes of study, were issued in conjunction with it (cf. JE xii. 202 ft.). A peculiar development
novels
of the expository literature appears in the so-called
(MddmMm), which, taking their pattern from the works of
'Irulch of Nathan

b. Jeljiel of

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Na^manides (1194-c.

1270)

and Solomon

b.

Adreth (1235-1310),

continued to be produced for hundreds ot years from the ISth
cent.; they were really commentaries in the form ot treatises on
entire sections of the

Talmud.

Talmudio commentaries

finally

degenerated into mere empty dialectic, and this was specially
the case in Germany and Poland from the 15th century.
As regards the Palestinian Talmud, the Middle Ages scarcely
produced a single commentator, and the modern period not
even one, who deals with it from beginning to end. The best
known and most widely circulated commentaries to it are the
Qirban hd-'MdhS. of David Frankel, the teacher ot Moses
Mendelssohn, and the Pni Mishe of Moses Margolioth (c. 1700).
For the literature ot the commentaries see JE xii. 28 ff.
(6) Compendta.— While the Talmud was regarded as the
standard to which all religious institutions must conform and
by which all questions of law must be solved, it was, nevertheless, but ill adapted to facilitate consultation for the decisions that were often required in practical life. Apart from
the fact that it was a work of vast compass, such as scarcely
a single individual could completely master, it confined itself
almost wholly to the discussion of the questions which it raised,
and hardly ever gave a decision as to which of the opinions
which it presented should be regarded as authoritative. Furit
ther, its matter is not always sj'stematically arranged
frequently' passes abruptly from one theme to another, so that
its discussions of a single question have often to be sought for
and examined in widely separate places. In order to remedy
these detects, Yehudai, Gaon in Sura, had (o. a.d. 750) drawn up
a compendium of luUdkhith, which was subsequently revised,
enlarged, and, as the H/Udkhdth G'dhdldth, given a place in tne
religious literature by Simon Qayyara (o. 850), from whose time
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1 Cf. N. Briill, Jahrhucher fiir jiid. Gesch.
(Frankfort, 1870) 43

und

Litt.,

ii.

(Jewish)

it has been taken into account aa a basis for all decisions (cf.
vii. 461 £t.).
The Hdldkhdth G'dhiUth often follows the
Talmud's own order, and, while abridging its discussions, it
reproduces them with verbal accuracy, and in such a way as to

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The same method was
Jacob Alfasi (1013-1103), whose work was
and was likewise used as a basis for decisions.
This type of synoptical abridgment of the Talmud became the
work of a special school, mainly in Spain, where it was cultivated by many scholars and with outstanding success by
Asher b- Jeljiel (t 1327), a native of Germany, who took Alfasi's
text as his groundwork, and added to it numerous notes from

make

the final question quite clear.

adopted by Isaac

b.

diligently studied,

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the Tdsafists ; his compendium is generally given in the printed
editions of the Talmud.

Another mode of epitomizing the matter of the Talmud was
to arrange it under the Six hundred and thirteen commandments and prohibitions,' an arrangement which is first found as
an introduction to the HdldkhOth G^dh6l6ih^ and was subsequently often reproduced in comprehensive forms. The most
important work of this class is the Sefer ham^Mifwdih ot Moses
Maimonides, which, originally written in Arabic, was several
times translated into Hebrew, and found many opponenta and
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many

imitators

(cf.

JE

iv.

181

ff.).

The most important and practically most serviceable type of
compendium, however, was the Code in the narrower sense
of the word. Here, too, Maimonides stands supreme his Mishne
T6rdk, written in Hebrew c. a.d. 1180, is the most systematic
book in all Jewish literature ; with masterly skill he arranges
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the entire material ot the Talmud according to subjects, groups
it in paragraphs, and succeeds in i>resentmg it in such a way
Each section
that the reader can at once find his bearings.
of the work opens with a clear statement of its subject, and
from designificant,
then proceeds from the less to the more
tails to essentials, all being set forth so lucidly that the solution
delay.
The
without
of any particular problem can be found
book met with the approbation which it so well merited
only
because
of
though it likewise encountered opposition, not
the bold and unprejudiced views advanced by the author in
concerns
us
here
the theological sections, but also what chiefly
because of its very structure. Codification was a process that
was never greatly favoured among the Jews, who were dispoP«»d
to fear that it might supersede the study of the sources txd
with regard to the work in question, consisting as it did of
abstractly formulated paragraphs, and giving no references to
sources or to the learned champions of particular views, they
thought it well to guard specially against that danger. Nevertheless, the admirable structure of the Mishne Tirdh, and the
veneration in which its author was held, made it a standard
work; and the writings designed to elucida,te or criticize it
constitute a literary aggregate of vast proportions.
Maimonides, in importing the entire material of the Talmud
into his Code, took no account ot the question whether it still
apphed to the conditions of his age thus, e.g., he dealt also
with the laws regarding the Temple, the sacrifices, etc. About
the year 1340, however, Jacob b. Asher drew up a new code,
entitled Arbd'd fuHm, in which he passed by such subjects as
were no longer of practical significance, and took cognizance of
views and decisions that had meanwhile come to the front
moreover, unlike Maimonides, he dealt with the various themes
in treatises, not in separate paragraphs, and, in particular, he
gave expression to the views of scholars who had lived in the
centuries immediately preceding. The Arbd'd filrlm came to
be a work of the utmost significance in the following period.
Joseph Qaro (1488-1675 ct. JB iii. 585 ff. and art. Qaro, Joseph)
wrote a voluminous commentary to it, the Betk Ydse/.trom
which he afterwards compiled an abstract entitled Shulfydn
'Arukh. The Shulhdn 'Arukh follows the arrangement ot the
Arbd'd furlm, and, like that work, is divided into four parts.
It deals only with the laws that had been in force from the
tall ot the Temple, but it departs from its model and reverts
to the method ot Maimonides in giving rules only, short paragraphs, and in making no reference to its sources or to th&
advocates ot particular views. In systematizing power and
candour of thought, however, Joseph Qaro is signally inferior
to Maimonides; he was strongly influenced by the mystical
tendency in the theology of the period of decadence. The
Shulhdn 'Sritkh was at first slighted, being regarded al f mere
book lor the ignorant,' and its eventual fame was du* Sc :tl
critics, who gave expression to their opposing vievs in commentaries and supplements to it. To begin with, Moses Isserles
(1620-73 cf. JE vi. 678 ff.) published a series of supplements
to the Beth Y6se/ under the title of Darkhe Mishe, and afterwards re-issued them aa glosses to the Shulhdn 'Arukh ; here,
on the basis of the Talmudio tradition then dominant in Germany, he frequently modified the decisions ot Qaro. It was in
this supplemented form that the Shulhdn 'Arukh was thereafter
regularly given to the public, but it did not win full recognition
four parts had already
till about 1660, by which date each of its
formed the text of celebrated commentaries these, however,
were rather supplebut
expositions,
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nature
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were not
ments, and often, indeed, in direct opposition to their text.
position, yet never
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without encountering resistance and even in those circles of
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countless departures from it in matters of detail.
vu.
JE
635 ff.
further,
cf.,
compendia
of
the
literature
of Talmudio
(c) Responses.— ^. combination of the two forms
Sh'eUth
literature dealt with in the foregoing is found io the
a-T'shv.bhdth ('Questions and Answers'), which contain expla_

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nations, decisions ot particular cases, etc.

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literary interverj' early,

Talmudic problems began


and an active correspondence by letter had been carried on between the teachers of the Talmud in Palestine and those in Babylon. In this respect, as in many others, the Jews became more and more dispersed, correspondence became more and more necessary; and it was for the purpose of obtaining these communications that increases in the number of responses; from that period itself, indeed, no fewer than fifteen more or less voluminous collections of responses were published. Nor, where the privilege of Jewish life was transferred to Europe in the Middle Ages, did the intercourse of the scholars diminish either in quantity or in vigour. Thousands of opinions and legal pronouncements by certain eminent rabbis of medieval times have been preserved, and their works are an important source of information. The number of works embodying such responses is so enormous that it cannot be content to name only the most extensive and the most generally consulted: from the Middle Ages we have those of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (1333-69), Samuel b. Joseph (c. 1570), and Solomon b. Meir, Rabbi Beriah (1253-1320), and that of Isaac b. Sheshet (1309-1468), all belonging to Spain; from the dawn of the modern period, those of Joseph Isaac b. Joseph ibn Adrets (1640) and Joseph Joseph (c. 1650), as also that of David b. Abba Shem (c. 1700); and from more recent times those of Hirsch ben Hail (1760) and Moses Sofer (1839). On the literature of the responses cf. also J. S. 240 ff.

(d) Systematic works. Mention must be made, lastly, of that branch of the literature which deals with the problems of the Talmud in a methodical and systematic way—a mode of treatment but little regarded in the earlier period, and, indeed, never strenuously applied till modern times. The earliest work aiming at systematic treatment is the Tencer Zedem Talmud, dating from the 13th century; the next works of the kind to appear were the Middor ha-Talmud of Tamid (c. 1320); (extant copies are printed in all editions of the Talmud) and the Meaflafla of Nissim b. Jacob, both of which were prepared by the great medieval authority, R. Eliezer ben Yehuda of Acre (c. 1350). The Yehudim ha-Levi of Rabbi Joseph ibn Tibbon (c. 1360); the latter has been drawn around 13 monuments, and has often been printed. A new epoch in the treatment of Talmudic study was ushered in by S. J. b. Rapport (1799-1867) (cf. J. E. x. 222), who, in various Hebrew periodicals, as also in his disciple, the Rabbinic, dealt with the whole of the Talmud in a scientific way, at once systematic and critical. This new epoch in the treatment of Talmudic study was followed by Z. Frankel (1801-75) (Ob. v. 482 ff.) in his Darkeh ha-Midrash and his Middor ha-Talmud, and by Abraham Geiger (1810-77) (Ob. v. 589 ff.) in his Middor ha-Talmud. The last-named work was continued by H. Wein (1816-1895) (Ob. xii. 495 ff.) in the historical work named below.

3. Historical literature. The post-Biblical historiography of the Jews took its rise as an element in the systematic treatment of the Talmud. The majority of the earlier works in this field were written chiefly with the object of re-constructing the chain of tradition and of determining as accurately as possible the genealogies of eminent families and the chronicle of learned men. The germs of Jewish historical literature are found in the Talmud itself, and these furnished the pattern for the earliest developments. The chronology of the Talmudic period from its legendary foundation to the destruction of the Second Temple is given in the Seder Olam, the nucleus of which was the work of Joseph b. Halafta (c. A.D. 180). An annalistic work, though not an annalistic history, is the Sefer Yehudim, which is found in the Seder Olam Zuta, a genealogical register, which cannot have been drawn up before the 7th century A.D., and which assumes a disparaging attitude towards the exilarchs of the day. The biographical annals of scholarship, again, are represented by the Seder Tanan'm ve-Amarim (c. 880), and the Epistle of Sherira (957), the latter being our principal source for the period between A.D. 600 and 950. The work that belongs also to the Sefar haq-Qaddab, composed in 1161 by Abraham b. David of Toledo, who is chiefly concerned to exalt the continuity of learned tradition down to his own time, though he has not more detailed information regarding the Jews in Spain of the two preceding centuries, yet even there his manifest purpose is to trace the development of learning, and recognized authority. The work of Abraham Zacuto (1451-1506) is of great importance for a period of astronomy and chronology in Salamisca, but after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain settled in the East, was upon similar lines; his Sefar haq-Qaddab (1504) contains a detailed study of most of the Talmudic authorities, and also a chronology brought down to his own day. For centuries this work was known only in a form containing a series of supplements, and was first made accessible in its original shape (1577). Nehemiah Haberkorn wrote his Seder haq-Doroth (c. 1700) solely for the purpose of supplementing the data of Zakuto and bringing the Rabbinical genealogies down to his own times.

A further incentive to the writing of history was provided by the peculiar fortunes of the Jewish people, and in particular by the sufferings and persecutions with which they had to contend, often without intermission during the Middle Ages. These oppressions are chronicled in a vast number of fragmentary records, both in prose and in poetry, but there are very few connected and continuous accounts. We shall enumerate here only the more extensive compilations of this type still extant. A narrative of the persecutions which harassed the Jews, chiefly in the Iberian country, in connexion with the Crusades is given by A. Neubauer and M. Stern in their Hebraische Berichte über die Zerti-Verfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge, Berlin, 1892. In those days of incessant persecution it was the practice to record biographical particulars concerning the roll of those who had perished as martyrs; so-called memorial books were drawn up in the various communities, and were constantly added to. The most famous of these was published by S. Salfeld under the title Der Martyro-Logism des Nürnberger Memorbuches, Berlin, 1898. The earliest connected account of the persecutions was composed by the notost astronomer Judah ibn Verga (c. 1450), whose Sheshet Yehudah was supplemented by a younger relative named Solomon and another writer named Joseph, and published in its enlarged form. The best-known account of the Jewish martyrs in the Middle Ages is from the hand of the physician Joseph hak-Kohen, who lived in the 16th century, and resided in various Italian cities; his 'Emeq haq-Bakkah describes with accuracy and graphic power the persecutions and banishments suffered by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple. A strange combination of martyrology and the history of learning is found in Gedaliah ibn Yahya's Shalahed hak-Qabbal (c. 1550), which, although much of it was shown at an early date to be untrue and even incredible, enjoyed an extraordinary popularity, and was again and again issued in printed editions.

The Jewish history of the Middle Ages had little aptitude for intelligently grasping or portraying their people's history. The Book of Josippone, a reproduction of the Latin Hegesippus (c. E.R. vii. 573) in fluent Hebrew, composed in Italy in the 10th century, stood long alone; by reason of its vivid and interesting style it has always been held in great esteem, and has been not only frequently edited in Hebrew, but also translated into many other languages. Even more rarely, if possible, do we find medieval Jewish writers attempting to write profane history in Hebrew. A work of later date deserving of mention is Joseph hak-Kohen's Tiferet haq-Qaddab (c. 1530), written in 1553, while a few decades afterwards, David Gans († 1613, in Prague) published, in his Semak Davudh (Prague, 1552), records, first of Jewish, and then of universal, history from their respective beginnings to his own time; this work appeared also in a Latin translation. In general, however, Jewish writers restricted themselves to the composition of popular narratives of particular episodes.

It was not until comparatively recent times, indeed, that Jewish history was treated in a coherent and orderly manner. In 1820 L. M. Jost began the publication of a history of the Jews in
many volumes and in various forms, in which he
was primarily concerned to recount the political
fortunes of his people, discussing their sociological
development in an appendix. Leopold Zunz, while he
wrote nothing of the nature of a systematic
work on Jewish history, furnished in his Zur
Geschichte und Literatur (Berlin, 1845) copious
materials for all branches of that history, and
suggestions as to the time of treating them. The
best-known and most widely circulated work of
this class, the Geschichte der Juden by H. Graetz
(2nd ed., Leipzig, 1853–70), aims chiefly at exhibiting
the development of Jewish religious and political
thought, and is a literary companion to the
political position and the martyrs suffered by them, while A.
Gaiger's Das Judentum und seine Geschichte
(Breslau, 1871) deals solely with their religious
development. I. W. Weiss, in his Heb. Der Dor
we-Doršaw (Vienna, 1871–91), is likewise concerned
primarily with the development of Judaism on its
spiritual side. On the historical literature cf. also
M. Steinheil, Die Geschichte der Juden, i. (Frankfort, 1898), and art. ' Historiography' in JE vi. 423 ff.

An important source of information regarding the
development of Jewish thought itself to the end of the Middle Ages is
found in the copious narratives of the numerous Jewish travellers and wayfarers. The most
teresting of such books of travel is the Maṣṣaṭh of
Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1165) a journey from Spain to Egypt and Babylonia, and it is
noted down in a racy style 'all that he had seen or heard.' In
the edition of the Maṣṣaṭh prepared by A.
Asher (London, 1840), Zunz has given a detailed
account of all the geographical literature of the Jews. ii. 250 ff.

4. Systematic theology.—A great part of the
Talmud and the Midrashim is devoted to the
religious teaching of Judaism; the Haggadot in particular is concerned mainly with
the problems of theology—dogmatic and ethical ideas. No more than the Bible itself,
however, does this Jewish literature give a
systematic presentation of theological doctrine. It was, in fact, only under the influence of Muslim
theology that Jewish writers first essayed to deal
systematically with the doctrinal fabric of their
religion, and to support it by arguments. Their
works were, to begin with, written in Arabic, but
were soon all translated into Hebrew—largely through the efforts of the family of Ibn Tibbon,
into this theology secret of the Jewish
world. The earliest speculative theologian among the Jews was Sa'adya Ga'on, who, in his Emtorot
we-Doréth, written in 323, sought to bring the
doctrinal teachings of Judaism into relation with
contemporary philosophy. Bahya b. Joseph (first
half of 11th cent.; JE ii. 446 ff.) won an extraordinary success with his Ḥubbah ḥad-Dorāhāh, which treats chiefly of the moral teachings of
Judaism; the book was read far and wide, and
was in its day perhaps the most popular work of
general philosophical literature among the Jews. Joseph ibn Gikatilla (c. viii. 346 ff.; see also art. Halevi), in his Ḥakham ben Ya'akov, wrote
in the style of the Platonist Dialogues, enjoyed a
great vogue. By far the most eminent work in this
field, however, is the Meroth Nóḥaim of
Moses Maimonides, which, like his Mishn Tôrāh
commentary, is divided into IV parts, each for its
rigorous systematic structure and for the keenness and independence of its thought. Although
the book, with its free handling of Jewish doctrine,
aroused hostility on many sides, and was even publicly burned at the instance of Jewish
accusers, yet in influence it stands supreme; all later study of Jewish philosophy revolves around the
Meroth, and the most outstanding Jewish thinkers, such as
Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn (q.v.), and Solomon
Maimon, found in it the incentive to the
construction of their own systems. The Meroth marks
the culminating point of Jewish philosophical
literature in the Middle Ages. Of writers belonging
to the time of treating the
Levi ben Gershon (q.v.), c. 1350; JE viii. 26 ff.,
who, with his Milḥamot Adonai, was the first to
make a stand against the authority of Aristotle;
Judah Crescas, and Menahem ben Solomon ibn Aḥdān, was drawn upon by Spinoza as an
important source; and Joseph Albo (c. 1415; ib. i. 324 ff.), whose Zekhārin was an enormously popular book.
The period after Maimonides was, however, on
the whole one of profound decadence in philosophico-
theological studies, which were, in fact, regarded as
positively unlawful. The enlightened philosophy
of Maimonides brought forth a counterpoise in
the composition of the Qabbālā (see KABRĀLA), a
peculiar medley of speculative ideas and curious
fantasies which was put forward as an esoteric
doctrine of ancient origin, and sought to attach
its authority to the authority of other systems. It
indeed did not scruple even to disseminate writings
purporting to be the work of the most venerable
personages, including Moses and the Patriarchs.
The most notable branch of such secret mystical
science was the Zohār, which was put into circula-
tion c. 1300 by Moses de Leon, and passed off as
the work of Simon b. Yohai, a writer of the 2nd cent. A.D. It takes the form of a commentary to the
Pentateuch, and is a medley of various systems, and
incoherent, it is very difficult to describe
them in terms of literary science.
It was not until comparatively recent times that
Jewish thought brought forth various
systems, not one of which, however, can be said to
have come into general favour. The modern
Judaism of Western countries, in fact, has been
powerfully influenced by the prevailing philosophy
of the age. Likewise Haskins dealing with
Jewish theology we would mention only K.
Kohler, Grundzüge einer systematischen Theologie
des Judentums, Leipzig, 1910, and S. Schechter,
The ideas embodied in the theological literature
were given to the wider Jewish public by means of
popular writings, including not only the many widely circulated pamphlets and tracts, but in
numerous books of morals, which, it is true, lack
more emphasis upon ethics than upon the
speculative verification of the faith. The most
excellent of the books of Maimonides produced in the Middle Ages is the Sefer Ḥokhotot, of Judah b. Samuel of
LITERATURE (Jewish)

Regensburg († 1317;JE vii. 535 ff.), a work of high critical value, which, though not free from the superposition of its time, is pervaded by an admirable spirit of piety and an earnest desire to foster the mutual love of men. The books of mysticism in which the thought of Solomon is transplanted into the language of the country in which they arose, and they form a large part of the Judaeo-German, Judaeo-Spanish, and Judaeo-Arabic literatures. From the time of their composition they have had an enormous influence upon the present, and the most widely read and systematic work on Judaism is the Ethik des Judeautens of M. Lazarus (Frankfort, 1888, 1911).

The theology of the Jews also involved the work of pointing out the lines of demarcation between their own religion and other creeds. The Jews, who from an early period formed but a sparse minority among the adherents of other faiths, had abundant occasion for such procedure. As might be expected, all their writings which deal with theological matters are concerned also with apologetics and polemics, but the systematic treatment of the questions at issue was a relatively late development. The works in this field which were given to the public and still survive are but few in number; from fear of the dominant religion, indeed, often religion itself was at any rate not issued in printed form. Jewish polemical works consist either of explanations of Biblical passages which had been interpreted in a Christological or Gnostical sense, or of systematic treatises on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity or Islam. Of writings directed against Christianity the 'Torathoth Peha' (on which see ERE vii. 535 f.) was not used so much by Jews themselves as by Christian controversialists. Of Jewish polemical works that created a considerable stir, mention may be made of the Na'ghosh of Lipman-Mühhausen, a resident of Prague (c. 1400), who in that work brought forward three hundred and forty-six passages of the OT as telling against Christianity, and the Hasidiot Emlam, in which Isaac Troki, the Qaraite, made a systematic attack upon Christian doctrine (c. 1580). Both of these works were translated into various languages, and many attempts were made to refute them by Christian theologians. On the polemical literature cf., further, JE x. 102 ff.

The aim of this polemical activity was likewise directed against the Qaraites and other Jewish sects, but for the most part it finds expression incidentally in more general writings, and we are unable to specify any monograph of importance in this smaller field.

5. Liturgical and secular poetry.—The worship of God supplied the most powerful impulse to the post-Biblical development of Hebrew poetry, which, now termed piyyut, was revived with a view to enriching the liturgy. All instruction in and laudation of Jewish history and religion, which in the olden time had been the work of the preacher, fell, from c. A.D. 600, to the function of the pašîn. It was under the influence of the Arabs that Jewish religious poetry sprang into life, and it was from them that it borrowed its artistic forms, but it retained its direct and intimate character. The most important of all the Hebrew language to its own end—a process which has occupied the whole of modern efforts, was at length brought to full realization in Spain. The most distinguished paitan of the Middle Ages was Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Qalîr, who lived probably c. A.D. 750 in Palestine; he composed over two hundred well-known poems, which have found a place in the Jewish prayer-books of nearly all countries, though we must note the exception of Syria, which had many famous figures in this field, and where medieval Hebrew poetry attained its highest level between 1040 and 1140. The most outstanding names here are those of Solomon ibn Gabirol, Judah Ben Solomon ben Ezra, and Judah Halevi (qq.v.). Poems by these writers are found in all prayer-books, but such compositions form only a small part of their poetic work; they also wrote voluminous 'divans,' which, it is true, soon fell into neglect, and have come down to us only in recent times; a number of them still await publication. On the piyyût cf. JE x. 65 ff.

While liturgical poetry occupied the place of supreme regard, other branches of the poetic art were by no means neglected. Of these the most widely cultivated was the didactic, which was turned to account in every department of knowledge. The piyyût itself sometimes assumed a didactic form; but, in addition, we find disquisitions in verse relating to the calendar, philology, and Biblical study, the Halâkha, the laws of religion, Talmudic jurisprudence, philosophy and polemics, history, medicine, astronomy, etc., and poems in all these branches of study are extant in large numbers (cf. JE x. 98 f.). Of more importance, as being more closely in touch with the poetic spirit, the didactic post-Biblical poetry, once more, was a great extent lyrical. But the earliest development of the lyric in the ordinary sense, i.e., the poetry that finds its themes in love, wine, and lament, sprang in Spain, where the supreme master of this form was Moses ibn Ezra, where Judah Halevi won renown by his occasional poems and his poetical descriptions of nature, and where Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah al-Harizi (early 13th cent.) found recognition as keen satirists. The greatest Jewish secular poet, however, was Immanuel b. Solomon, of Rome—the contemporary, perhaps a personal friend, of Dante—who combined Oriental fantasy with Italian eroticism, and gave expression to them in highly polished Hebrew verse, writing, indeed, with such audacity that the Shabbat Ârâb could never come up with the Sabbath, while even in our own time Graetz has accused him of having profaned the Hebrew muse. Another lyric writer worthy of mention in Israel was Mendel of Nagara (c. 1830), who, while he sings of God and of Israel, works upon a basis of love-songs and their melodies, and writes with such intensity of passion and such daring anthropomorphism that he too incurred the censure of the Rabbis. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707–47) deserves mention as a writer of great emotional power, and as the first who composed epic poetry in the Hebrew language.

Jewish poetry, like Jewish literature in general, passed through a long period of barrenness, which lasted, indeed, until it was vitalized by the modern renascence of intellectual interests. The majority of the more distinguished poets of the present age are of Russian origin, the most eminent of all being Judah Loeb Gordon (1831–92; cf. JE vii. 471 f.), whose achievement, however, lies more in the field of satire than in that of the lyric. Of living poets special reference is due to H. N. Bialik, whose lyric poetry has already met with the highest appreciation, and whose compositions have already been translated into nearly every European language.

The last few decades have witnessed the rise of a glorious Hebrew literature of general interest.

LITERATURE (Pahlavi).


1. Translations of Avesta texts.—These translations are combined with running commentaries, sometimes of considerable length, but they are handicapped by failing to understand the original, especially in its grammatical relations, since the inflected type of the Avesta language had yielded, long before the translations were composed, the Middle Persian or of which we have any indication, to the analytic type present in Pahlavi, whose grammar differs only in unimportant details from that of Modern Persian and Modern Iranian dialects. At the same time, the Middle Persian translations of the Avesta possess a real value and must be considered in any attempt to decipher the original, particularly in view of the allusions, etc., preserved by Iranian tradition (see, further, Art. INTERPRETATION [Vedic and Avesta]).

2. Texts on Zoroastrian religious subjects.—Of these the longest and most important is the Dinkart (Acts of the Religion), dating from the 9th to the 10th centuries, and the chief varia in this regard is the elucidation of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeanism (qq.v.), since it explains and supplements the data contained in the Avesta (q.v.) and adds materially to the scanty documents of Manichaean literature, besides giving fragmentary renderings of Christian texts. The religious material in Middle Persian falls into three categories: translations of Avesta texts, original compositions on Zoroastrian religious subjects, and Manichaean and Christian literature.


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The Dinkart as a source for knowledge of the religious philosophy of the Sassanid Zoroastrians (and, like the larger work, doubtless embodying a large amount of older material) is what may be termed response literature. Some of these offerings, which we have considered elsewhere in this series, might provide a new province of extreme interest and value. The decipherment of the MSS found by this explorers has only begun. Here it must suffice to say that we already possess Pahlavi versions of somewhat extensive portions of Manichean literature—a fact the more important since this religion had hitherto been known only from the writings of its enemies. The most important collection of these texts thus far is that of F. W. K. Müller (with German translation), *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan*, *ABW*, 1904; revised ed. C. Salemann, *Manicheische Studien, i.* *Mem. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. 10 (1908); Müller, *Zepheliath ann einem manich. Hymnentuch*, *AB A W*, 1913. In the closely allied Sogdian dialect are numerous important portions of NT, perhaps from the 9th or 10th cent. (Müller, *NT Bruchstücke in sog. Sprache*, *SBA W*, 1907, pp. 260–279; *Sog. Texte, i.*, *ABW*, 1913; cf. L. H. Gray, *Ezra*, *Z*, 1913, 53–73, 242–253).

3. Manichean and Christian literature.—Until comparatively recently it was supposed that Pahlavi literature was exclusively Zoroastrian; but the discoveries made in Central Asia by A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot have revealed a new province of extreme interest and value. The decipherment of the MSS found by these explorers has only begun. Here it must suffice to say that we already possess Pahlavi versions of somewhat extensive portions of Manichean literature—a fact the more important since this religion had hitherto been known only from the writings of its enemies. The most important collection of these texts thus far is that of F. W. K. Müller (with German translation), "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan," *ABW*, 1904; revised ed. C. Salemann, *Manicheische Studien, i.* *Mem. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. 10 (1908); Müller, *Zepheliath ann einem manich. Hymnentuch*, *AB A W*, 1913. In the closely allied Sogdian dialect are numerous important portions of NT, perhaps from the 9th or 10th cent. (Müller, *NT Bruchstücke in sog. Sprache*, *SBA W*, 1907, pp. 260–279; *Sog. Texte, i.*, *ABW*, 1913; cf. L. H. Gray, *Ezra*, *Z*, 1913, 53–73, 242–253).

4. Pāzand and Sanskrit versions.—The special problems of the Pahlavi language cannot be discussed here (see F. Spiegel, *Gram. der hōzdīrčerī Barmashen*, Vienna, 1881; P. Sanjana, *Gram. der Pahlavi Lang.*, Bombay, 1871; C. de Harlez, *Manuel de Pahlavi*, Paris, 1880; Darmesteter, *Etudes tran.*, do. 1883; Salemann, *Mittelpersisch,* *GrIrP* i. (1901) 322; E. B. Fisch, *Etudes de gr. pahlavi*, Paris, n.d. (1905); it must suffice to say that, when the Semitic words (or logograms) in Pahlavi are written in Iranian (e.g., ahān bāh, "king of kings," instead of malkūn mukhā), the language is termed Pāzand (Spiegel, *Gram. der Pāzarsprache*, Leipzig, 1851). Many Pahlavi texts already listed are found in Pāzand as well. The great majority of the religious writings of this type are of the 9th cent. (K. E. Kangas, *Inscr. Pahlav.*, *J. Modii, Bombay, 1908, have been edited by E. K. Antia (Pāzand Texts, Bombay, 1909). The Šīkand gānānī-Vijār defends the doctrine of dualism, and in this connexion polarizes in very interesting fashion against Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and—necessarily quite guardedly—Muhammadanism (cf. artt. JESUS CHRIST in ZORASTRIANISM, JEWS in ZORASTRIANISM); the Jāmpād-nāmāk gives a summary of Iranian cosmology, history, and future fortunes of the Iranian religion. Among the texts edited by Antia are dādā (benedictions recited on various occasions), māins (charms, often connected with ethnography), and Jamāṣṭīd, or *Dubt-dāstān ‘Explanations’* (cf. examples with Modii, *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay, 1911, pp. 48, 125–129; K. E. Kangas, in *Canao Mem. Vol.*, 142–145, patēts (confessions); and of texts not included in this collection mention may be made of *A Father instructing his Son and Andarj-dāstān Mart*.

A number of Pahlavi (and Avestan) treatises are found in Sanskrit as well as in Pahlavi and Pāzand versions. Many of these (ed. and trans. in *SBE* and other Pahlavi texts enumerated above, but we must also note the ed. of Nersessian's version of the Yasna by Spiegel (Leipzig, 1861) and the series of Collected..."
Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, ed. S. D. Bhaurocha (Bombay, 1911)."  

5. On Parsi-Persian literature. — Apart from Persian translations of Avesta and Pahlavi texts, there is a large amount of Zoroastrian literature in Persian, which, for the most part, still awaits study. The Zend-Avesta, the oldest part of the Avesta, is so far only partly as translated into English (West, SBE xxiv. 255-361) and Latin (T. Hyde, Hist. religions veterrum Persarum, Oxford, 1706, pp. 433-488). A different work, although along the same general lines, is the Saddarband-i-Hud (or Sud-sar Baudhānī; ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1909). Of worth for study of the methods of Zoroastrian polemic against Muhammadanism is the Utvān-i-Islām, which is found in two recensions, the shorter of which has been edited and translated (ed. J. Mohl, Fragmenta relatīva ad religionem Zoroaster, Paris, 1829; tr. J. Vullers, Fragmenta über die Religion des Zoroaster, Bonn, 1831; Blochet, RHE xxvii. [1885] 23-49). A particularly valuable collection of Parsi-Persian literature in the original language is published in the MS. Bu 39, belonging to the University of Bombay, the second volume of which has been edited by M. N. Unvala (not yet published) and analyzed by Rosenberg (Notices de l'éd. persan, Petrograd, 1906). It contains a large number of śaṅgīta (religious triters) and letters on the most diverse subjects — ritual, cosmogony, exegesis, etc. — the longer recension of Vaisnavī-zādān (pp. 72-80), from the Ābōn-i-Jāmsār (containing the horoscopes of Zoroaster, Moses, Alexander the Great, Christ, Mazdak, etc., as well as cosmology and eschatology, pp. 111-130), Vagī-i-Ambedkarin (tributes of the Ambedkar family, pp. 111-129), Aghāzay-i-dāštān Mazdak va-Sāh Nāthākī' [Ādīl] (on the heresiarsh Mazdak, pp. 214-230), six parables connected with the Barhām cycle (pp. 306-327; cf. art. JOSPHAT, BARLAAM AND), and questions asked of Zoroaster by Jāmsār (pp. 417-422). Among other Parsi-Persian texts, not yet edited, may be mentioned a Discussion on Dualism between a Zoroastrian, and a leading Parsee, and the Sāngvant-nā маршрут, or Book of Oaths.  

The interesting secular works in Pahlavi, Pāzdān, and Parsi-Persian, such as geographical matter, social rules, and tales, do not come within the sphere of religion.  

Finally, it may be mentioned that translations of the Avesta have been made not only into Persian (for specimens see, in addition to works cited above, Darmesteter, Etudes iraniennes, ii. 262 ff.), but also, from the 15th cent., into Gujarati, the vernacular of the Indian Zoroastrians (see the Prolegomena to K. Goldner's ed. of the Avesta, Stuttgart, 1896, pp. vii-xi; Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, i. p. xxii); and the modern religious literature of the Parsis is chiefly written either in Gujarati or in English.  

LOUIS H. GRAY.  

LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit). — I. The language. — The name 'Sanskrit' (sauktā, 'spoke,' and kārta, 'made') is ordinaril applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India. It belongs more properly to that dialect which may be defined more exactly as Classical Sanskrit, the language which was treated by the Hindu mutuans, Pāṇini and his followers. For more than 2000 years, until the present day, this language has led a more or less artificial life. Like the Latin of the Middle Ages, it was, and is, even today, to a very large extent, the medium of communication and literary expression of the priestly, learned, and cultivated classes. The more popular speech upon which it was based is known as bhāṣā (speech, 'language'); it has no direct record. Sanskrit is distinguished more obviously from the phonetically later, decayed dialects, Prākrit and Pāṇi, the second of the two having the language of the canonical writings of the Southern Buddhists. The relation of the Prākrit and Pāṇi dialects to Sanskrit is closely analogous to the relation of the Romance languages to Latin. On the other hand, Sanskrit is distinguished, although much less sharply, than the oldest forms of Indian speech, preserved in the canonical and wholly religious literature of the Veda (Skr. vedā, 'knowledge,' from ved-, 'to know,' connected with Gr. ἴδω 'I know,' Lat. videre, Old English wēdā, 'I know,' Gothic wēd, 'I know,' Old High German wēszen, Germ. wēsen, Eng. wēt, 'to know').  

These forms of speech are in their turn by no means free from phonetic and chronological differences; yet they are comprised under the name Vedic (or, less properly, Vedic Sanskrit), which is thus distinguished from the language of Pāṇini and other Sanskrit epics, whose proper designation is Sanskrit, or Classical Sanskrit.  

Vedic differs from Sanskrit about as much as the Greek of Homer does from that of the New Testament. The Vedic apparatus of grammatical forms is much richer and less definitely fixed than that of Sanskrit. The latter has lost much of the wealth of form of the Vedic language, supplying the proper substitutes for the lost materials. Many case-forms and verbal forms of Vedic have disappeared in Sanskrit. The subjunctive is lost; a single Sanskrit infinitive takes the place of about a dozen very interesting Vedic infinitives. Sanskrit also gave up the most important heiron which the Hindu language has handed down from pre-historic times, namely, the Vedic system of metres. For the last few years the recorded Vedic accents have proved to be of paramount importance in the history of the Indo-European languages. Vedic, however, notwithstanding to a less extent, by somewhat under the form of its archaic character, is not a strictly popular dialect, but a more or less artificial 'high speech,' handed down through generations by families of priestly singers. Thus both Vedic and Sanskrit, as is indeed the case more or less wherever a literature has sprung up, were in a sense caste languages, built upon popular idioms. The grammatical regulation of Sanskrit at the hands of Pāṇini and his followers, however, went beyond any academic attempts to regulate speech recorded elsewhere in the history of civilization.  

Older forms lying behind the Vedic language are reconstructed on the side of Classical Philology. The Vedic people were immigrants to India; they came from the great Iranian region on the other side of the Himalaya mountains. The comparison of Vedic (and to a less extent, Sanskrit) with the oldest forms of Iranian speech, the language of the Avesta and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian Persian kings, yields the rather startling result, that the intransitive paradigms and collectively mere dialects of one and the same older idiom. This is known as the Indo-Iranian or Aryan (in the narrower, and proper, sense) language. The reconstructed Aryan language differs
LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit)

less from the language of the Veda than Classical Sanskrit does from Prákrtik and Páli. The language of the Iranian Avesta is so much like that of the Veda that entire passages of either literature may be converted into good specimens of the other by merely eliminating the ground-bound changes which each has evolved in the course of its separate existence. And the literary style, the metres, and above all the mythology of Veda and Avesta are closely enough related to the theory of either, to some extent directly dependent upon the other. In fact, the spiritual monuments of the Avesta as well as the stone monuments of the Achaemenian kings became intelligible chiefly by the aid of the Vedic language. Since the revival of classical learning there has been no event of such importance in the history of culture as the discovery of Sanskrit in the latter part of the 18th century. There is at present no domain of historical or linguistic science untouched by the influence of Sanskrit studies. The study of this language gave access to the primitive Indo-European period, and originated the science of Comparative Philology in all its bearings. Linguistic Science, Comparative Mythology, Science of Religion, Comparative Jurisprudence, and other important fields of inquiry form the nucleus only by which we owe their very existence to the discovery of Sanskrit or were profoundly influenced by its study.

3. The Veda as a whole.—The word 'Veda' is the collective designation of the ancient sacred literature of India, or of individual books belonging to that literature. At an unknown date, which is at the present time conventionally averaged up as 1500 B.C., but which may be considerably earlier, the Aryan tribes (clans, vid), from which is derived the later name of the third, or agricultural, caste, Váisyá (see Váisyá) gathered to migrate from the Iranian highlands. The better part of the Aryan race migrated into the north-west of India, the plains of the river Indus and its tributaries. The non-Aryan aborigines, called Dasyu, in distinction from Arya ('whence the word 'Aryan'), the name of the conquerors, were easily subdued. The conquest was followed by gradual amalgamation of the fairer-skinned conquerors with the dark aborigines. The result was a not altogether primitive, semi-pastoral civilisation, city kings, and priestly schools rivalling the interests connected with cattle-raising and agriculture. From the start we are confronted with a poetical literature, primitive on the whole, and to which is still clinging its crudeness when compared with Classical Sanskrit literature, yet lacking neither in refinement and beauty of thought nor in skill in the handling of language and metre. That this product was not entirely originated on Indian soil follows from the above-mentioned close connexion with the earliest forms of Persian literature. Vedic literature in its first intention is throughout religious. It includes hymns, prayers, and sacrificial formulæ offered by priests to the gods in behalf of lay sacrificers; charms for witchcraft and medicine, manipulated by magicians and medicine-men; expositions of the sacrifices, illustrated by legends, in the manner of the Jewish Talmud; higher speculations, philosophic, psycho-physical, cosmic, and theosophic, gradually growing up in connexion with these and finally rules for conduct in everyday life, at home and abroad. This is the Veda as a whole.

At the base of this entire literature of more than 100 books, not all of which have as yet been exhaustively studied, lies the ground-work of the Vedas in the narrower sense. These are the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sávávēda, and the Atharvaveda. These four names have come from a somewhat later time; they do not correspond exactly with the earlier names, nor do they correspond completely with the contents of the texts themselves. The earlier names are rahas, 'stanzas of the liturgy,' yajus, 'sacrificial,' yajusmi, 'sacred,' sánmati, 'melodies,' and atharvasváyavasah, 'blessings and curses.' The collection which goes by the name of Rigveda contains not only 'stanzas of the liturgy,' but also 'sacred curses,' as well as most of the stanzas which form the basis of the sánman-melodies of the Sávávēda. The Atharvaveda contains rahas and yajusmi, as well as blessings and curses. The Yajurveda also contains many blessings in addition to its main topic, the liturgy. The Sávávēda is merely a collection of a certain kind of 'stanzas of praise' which are derived with some variants and additions from the Rigveda, but are here set to music which is indicated by musical notations.

3. The Rigveda.—The Rigveda is on the whole the most important as well as the oldest of the four collections. A little over 1000 hymns, equaling in bulk the surviving poems of Homer, are arranged in ten books, called manadās, or 'circles.' Six of them (ii.—vii.), the so-called 'family books,' are considered to form the nucleus of the entire, owing to their importance to the discovery of Sanskrit or were profoundly influenced by its study.

The non-Aryan aborigines, called Dasyu, in distinction from Arya ('whence the word 'Aryan'), the name of the conquerors, were easily subdued. The conquest was followed by gradual amalgamation of the fairer-skinned conquerors with the dark aborigines. The result was a not altogether primitive, semi-pastoral civilisation, city kings, and priestly schools rivalling the interests connected with cattle-raising and agriculture. From the start we are confronted with a poetical literature, primitive on the whole, and to which is still clinging its crudeness when compared with Classical Sanskrit literature, yet lacking neither in refinement and beauty of thought nor in skill in the handling of language and metre. That this product was not entirely originated on Indian soil follows from the above-mentioned close connexion with the earliest forms of Persian literature. Vedic literature in its first intention is throughout religious. It includes hymns, prayers, and sacrificial formulæ offered by priests to the gods in behalf of lay sacrificers; charms for witchcraft and medicine, manipulated by magicians and medicine-men; expositions of the sacrifices, illustrated by legends, in the manner of the Jewish Talmud; higher speculations, philosophic, psycho-physical, cosmic, and theosophic, gradually growing up in connexion with these and finally rules for conduct in everyday life, at home and abroad. This is the Veda as a whole.

At the base of this entire literature of more than 100 books, not all of which have as yet been exhaustively studied, lies the ground-work of the Vedas in the narrower sense. These are the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sávávēda, and the Atharvaveda. These four names have come from a somewhat later time; they do not correspond exactly with the earlier names, nor do they correspond completely with the contents of the texts themselves. The earlier names are rahas, 'stanzas of the liturgy,' yajus, 'sacrificial,' yajusmi, 'sacred,' sánmati, 'melodies,' and atharvasváyavasah, 'blessings and curses.' The collection which goes by the name of Rigveda contains not only 'stanzas of the liturgy,' but also 'sacred curses,' as well as most of the stanzas which form the basis of the sánman-melodies of the Sávávēda. The Atharvaveda contains rahas and yajusmi, as well as blessings and curses. The Yajurveda also contains many blessings in addition to its main topic, the liturgy. The Sávávēda is merely a collection of a certain kind of 'stanzas of praise' which are derived with some variants and additions from the Rigveda, but are here set to music which is indicated by musical notations.
philology as difficult as it is important. In any case, it is known to justify the statement that the keynotes of Rigvedic thought is the nature myth.

4. The Vajuraveda.—The Vajuraveda represents the exceeding growth of the ritualistic, or ascetic, religion. Its jāraṇī, "liturgical stanzas and formulas," are in the main, though not wholly, of a later time. They are partly metrical and partly prose. The narrative hymns are fully developed in them, secondary changes of expression, and without regard to the original purpose and order of their composition. The main object is not a longer devotion to the gods themselves; the sacrifice has become the "centre of the eight"; its mystic power is conceived to be a thing per se, and its every detail has swollen into all-importance. A crowd of priests (seventeen is the largest number) conduct a vast, complicated, and painstaking ceremonial, full of symbolic meaning even in its smallest minutiae. From the moment when the priest seat themselves on the sacrificial ground, strew with sacred grass, and proceed to work out the altar (veda) on which the sacred fires are built every act has its stanza or formula, and every utensil is blessed with its own fitting blessing. Every flaw is elaborately explicated. These ceremonies are often referred to as prayers, not that they, that may, or may not, succeed, but as inherently coercive magic. If the priest chants a formula for rain while pouring some sacrificial fluid, rain shall and must come; if he makes a sacrifice according to this formula, or by means of an enemy, that enemy is surely destroyed. In fact, and in brief, the Vajuraveda means the deification of the sacrifice in its every detail of act and word.

The Sāmaaveda is the least clear of all the Vedas as regards its purpose and origin. Its stanzas, or rather groups of stanzas, known as sāmāṇi, "melodies," The sāmaṇi-system is indirectly derived from the Rigveda, as ordinary poetry, accented in the same way as other Vedic poetry; (2) in the Sāmaaveda itself in a form called śākhati, a kind of libretto composed of a special collection of stanzas, most of which, though not all, occur also in the Rigveda (see above); here also there is a system of accents, peculiar in its notation, but apparently with reference to the mango-stanza (6) in the third section of the pāthas, or songs-books, we find the real sung sāmaṇa; here not only the text but the musical notes are given. Still this is not yet a complete sāmaṇ. In the middle of the sung stanza an exclamation, usually syllables are interspersed—the so-called stobhas, such as oh, hau, hau, hoyi, or hūhi; and at the end of the stanza certain concluding syllables—the so-called niṭhānas, such as adha, di, tu, and sūk. The Sāmaaveda is devoted chiefly to the worship of Indra, who is a blustering, braggadocio god and who has to beseech himself with soma in order to slay demons. It seems likely, therefore, that the sāmaṇa are the civilized version of savage shamanism (the resemblance between the two words, however, is accidental), an attempt to influence the natural order of things by shouts and impersonal divinities. The treatises called kṣatavas, the sāmaṇ, and the Sāmaaveda, are in the main, written in the kind of stanzas of the older hymns called sāmaṇas; it is an ancient and sacred name, a holy charm, or "blessings," the latter with "witchcraft charms," or "curses." In addition to this name, and the more conventional name Atharvaveda, there are two other names, practically restricted to the ritual texts of this Veda: bhāgavatagyān, that is, "Burgus and Angirasas, the ancient family of holy men, the principal fire-priests, take the place of the Atharvans; and Brahmanas, probably "Veda of the Brahmas, or holy religion in general." As regards the latter name, it must be remembered that the Atharvaveda contains a large number of theosophic hymns which deal with the brahma in the sense of the Ne-Patonic ὅλος, as a kind of pantheistic personification of holy thought and its pious utterance. The Atharvaveda is a collection of 789 hymns, containing some 6000 stanzas.

7. The Vedic schools.—The redactions or collections of these four Vedas are known as smāhikas; each of them is handed down in various schools, branches, or recensions, called charasya, sādhā, or bheda, the term sādhā, or 'branch,' being the most familiar of these terms. These "branches" represent a given Veda in forms differing not a little from one another. The school differences of the Rigveda are unimportant, except as they extend also to the other Vedas. The Sāmaaveda is represented by two schools, the Sāmaavedas of these two, the Sānaikyatys and Paippālādas, are published, the latter in an interesting chromo-photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that text in the library of the University of Tübingen. The Yajurveda, especially, is handed down in recensions that differ from one another very widely. There is in the first place the broad division into the White Yajurveda and the Black Yajurveda. The most important difference between these two is that the Black Yajurveda schools intermingle their stanzas and formulae with the prosaic compositions of the Brāhmaṇa (see below), whereas the White Yajurveda schools present their Brāhmaṇa in separate works. The White Yajurveda belongs to the school of the Vajasaneyins, and is subdivided into the Madhyadhivas and the Paippālādas. The important schools of the Black Yajurveda are the Taittiriyas, Maitrāyaniyas, Kāśayas, and Kāśayas. Sometimes these schools have definite geographical locations. For example, the Kāśayas of Madhyadhiva were located in the region around the lower course of the river Nar-madā; the Taittiriyas, at least in modern times, are at home in the south of India, the Deccan.

8. The Brāhmaṇa.—The poetic stanzas and the ritualistic formulae of the Vedas collectively go by the name of mantra, 'pious utterance,' or hymn.' These were followed at a later period by a very different literary type, namely, the theological expositions (Brāhmaṇa) of the Vedas. The Hebrew Talmud. The Brahmaṇas are exegetical and informative, bulky expositions of the sacrificial ceremonial, describing its minute details, discussing its value or reason, speculating upon its origin, and illustrating its potency by ancient legends. Apart from the light which these texts throw upon the sacredness of ancient India, they are important because they are written in prose, and thus are the most accessible of all Indo-European speech. They are especially important for syntax; in this respect they represent the oldest Indian stage even better than the Rigveda, owing to the restrictions imposed upon the
latter by its poetic form. The Brāhmaṇas also were composed in schools, or recensions, of the various Brāhmaṇa recensions of one and the same Veda differ at times even more widely than the Samhitās of the mantra. Thus the Rigveda has three Brāhmaṇas, the Rigveda Brāhmaṇa, or Sāṅkhâyana. The Brāhmaṇa matter of the Black Yajurveda is given together with the mantra of that class (see above); on the other hand, the White Yajurveda has Brāhmaṇas matter which is inextricably mingled with extraordinary fullness, in the famous Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the ‘Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths,’ so called because it consists of a hundred lectures. Next to the Rigveda and Atharvaveda Samhitās this work is the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Two Brāhmaṇas belonging to independent recensions of the Sāṃvaveda have been preserved entire, that of the Tāpālins, usually designated as Pañchiśvāvīsaka Brāhmaṇa, and that of the Talavākāras or Jaiminīyas. To the Atharvaveda is attached the very late and secondary Gopakṣa Brāhmaṇa; its contents harmonize so little with the spirit of the Atharvāna hymns that it seems likely to have been produced in imitation of the ‘school’ conditions in the other Vedas.

9. The Aranyakas and Upaniṣads.—A later development is given by the Aranyakas, or ‘Forest Treatises.’ Their later character is indicated both by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brāhmaṇas and by their partly theosophical contents. Their position in the Atharvaveda is not altogether clear. Either these works were recited by hermits living in the forest, or, owing to the superior sanctity of their contents, they were taught by teacher to pupil in the solitude of the forest rather than in the profane atmosphere of the town or village. The two important Aranyakas are the Aitareya and the Taitleryā, belonging to the two Vedic schools of that name. The chief interest of the Aranyakas is that they form in contents and tone a transition to the Upaniṣads, the older of which are either embedded in them or form their concluding portions (see art. AṆAYAKAS, UṆṆIṆAD).

10. The Srauta-Sūtras, or manuals of the Vedic ritual.—Both mantra and brāhmaṇa are regarded as revealed (śruti, or revelation); the rest of the Vedas are called Shruti. The Sāṃvaveda school is divided into the Vāsishṭha and the Manuṣya, the latter being the oldest. Of this literature there are two Srauta Sūtras, corresponding to its two Brāhmaṇas. The first is the Aśvalyāya to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and the Śāṅkhâyana or Kashāstikin to the Brāhmaṇa of that name. The White Yajurveda belongs the Srauta Sūtra of Kātyāyanī, closely agreeing to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. There are no fewer than six Srauta Sūtras belonging to the Black Yajurveda, but only three of them are published, of which two are composed by the Aṣṭādhyāyins and Baudhāyana, belonging to the schools of the Taittiriya, and the Mānvas, belonging to the school of the Mātirāyānīyas. The Śāṃvaveda has two Śrautas, those of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana, belonging respectively to two schools of the Kā vítinīyas and the Śāṅkhānyāyas; the Atharvaveda has the late and inferior Vātānā.

11. The Gṛhya Sūtras, or ‘House Books.’—Of decidedly greater importance is the second class of Sūtras, the Gṛhya Sūtras, or ‘House Books.’ These are treatises on home life, which deal systematically and piously with the events in the temporary existence of the individual and his family. Though composing essentially a late Vedic period, they contain practices and prayers of great antiquity, and supplement most effectively the contents of the Atharvaveda. From the moment of birth, indeed from the time of conception, to the time when the body is consigned to the funeral pyre, they exhibit the ordinary human activity in the aspect of a devot and virtuous adherent of the gods. All the important events of life are sacramental, decked out in practices often of great charm and usually full of symbolic meaning. For etymology and the history of human ideas the ‘House Books’ are of unexcelled importance. These manuals are also distributed among the four Vedas and their schools, each of which is theoretically entitled to one of them. More than a dozen are now known to scholars. The Rigveda contains only the Gṛhya Sūtras of its two schools, that of Aśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana; the White Yajurveda that of Pāraskara; the Black Yajurveda a large number, as those of the Brāhmaṇa, Aṣṭādhyāyin, Baudhāyana, and Katha schools; the Śāṃvaveda has the Gōhila, Kuḍārī, and Jaiminīya. To the Atharvaveda belongs the unique Kawśika Sūtra, which, in addition to the domestic ritual, deals with the magical and medicinal practices that specially belong to that Veda.

12. The Dharma Sūtras, or ‘Law Books.’—The third class of Sūtras are those Dharma Sūtras, or ‘Law Books.’ They deal also to some extent with the customs of everyday life, but are engaged for the most part with secular and religious law. In one department of law, that of expiation, these are supplemented by the Yajurveda. The Law Sūtras, in their turn also, are either directly attached to the body of canonical writings of a certain Vedic school or are shown by inner criteria to have originated within such a school. The oldest Law Sūtras are those of the Aṣṭādhyāyins and Baudhāyana, belonging to the Black Yajurveda schools of that name; the Gautama belonging to the Śāṃvaveda; the Vaisū leading to the Katha school of the Black Yajurveda; and the Visājīya of less certain associations. The earliest metrical law-books, the so-called Dharmaskārās, written in Classical Sanskrit, seem also to be based on lost Sūtra collections of definite Vedic schools. The most famous of these, the Manuva Dharmaskāra, or ‘Law Book of Manu’ (see LAW [Hindu]), may be founded upon a lost Dharmasūtra of the Manuva or Mātrāyānīya school of the Black Yajurveda, while the briefer ‘Law Book of Yajñavalkya’ is unmistakably connected with some school of the White Yajurveda.

English readers may obtain ready insight into the contents of Vedic literature in all its important aspects through the series of translations edited by Max Müller in SBE (Oxford, 1879 ff.). Paix of the Sāṃvaveda are translated by himself (vol. xxxii.) and H. Oldenberg (vol. xxxi.); the Atharvaveda by M. Bloomfield (vol. xxxii.); the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa by E. Gelling (vol. xxxii.); the Gṛhya Sūtras by Oldenberg (vol. xxxiii. and xxxiv.); the older Dharma Sūtras SBE, XIII. (Bühlcr and J. Buckel, 1915); the Āyur Veda, B, by Max Müller (vol. xxxi. and xxxiv.); and the Law Book of Manu by Bühlcr (vol. xxxi.).

13. Vedic and Sanskrit literature contrasted.—
The form and style of Sanskrit literature differ a good deal from those of the Vedas. As regards the language, it is to be noted that prose in Vedic times was developed to a tolerably high pitch in the Yajurvedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads in Sanskrit, apart from the strained scientific language (śāstra) of philosophy or grammar, or the diffuse and inorganic style of the commentators, prose is nowhere presented itself in genuine literature only in tales, not in romances, and partly in the drama. Nor has this prose improved in literary and stylistic quality, as compared with the earlier variety. On the contrary, it has become more and more literary and ornamental and flabby, long awkward compounds, gerunds, constructions in the passive voice where the active would do, and other artificialities. As regards the poetic medium of Classical Sanskrit, it also differs from the Veda. The bulk of Sanskrit poetry, especially the Epic, is composed in the śloka metre, a development of the Vedic anusṭubha metre of four syllables lines, of essentially banal cadence. But numerous other metres, usually built up on Vedic prototypes, have become steadily more elaborate and strict than their old originals; in the end they have also become more artistic and beautiful.

Notwithstanding the wonderfully unbroken continuity of Hindu writings, the spirit of Sanskrit literature also differs greatly from the Vedic. The chief distinction between the two periods is that the Veda is essentially a religious collection, whereas Sanskrit literature is, with rare exceptions, such as the Bhagavata-Gītā, or the metrical Law Śatapatha, prose. Of the Veda, lyric poetry as well as legendary and expository prose are in the service of prayer and sacrifice; in Sanskrit epic, lyric, didactic, and dramatric forms are all for the purpose of literary panegyric and aesthetic, or moral instruction. In Sanskrit literature, moreover, with the exception of the grand compilations of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the authors are generally definite persons, more or less well-known, whereas the Vedic writings go back to families of poets or schools of religious learning, the individual authors being almost invariable anachronisms.

14. Epic literature.—Sanskrit literature may be divided into epic, lyric, didactic, narrative, and scientific. In epic poetry there is the important distinction between the free, narrative, or ‘ancient legend,’ and the artistic or artificial epic called kavya, ‘poetic product.’ The great epic, the Mahābhārata, is by far the most important representative of the former kind. Of somewhat similar free style are the eighteen Purāṇas (see below), of much later date than the Mahābhārata. The beginnings of the artistic style are seen in the other great Hindu epic, the Rāmāyana. But the finished style of the kavya is not evolved until the time of Kālidāsa about the 6th cent. A.D.

The Mahābhārata, or ‘Great Bhārata Story,’ the greatest of Hindu epics, is a buoyant, authorless compilation for which tradition has devised the name Vyās, ‘Redaction,’ as author. It is written for the most part in the epic metre, the śloka, and contains altogether about 100,000 stanzas of four lines each, about eight times the length of the Homeric poems.

The kernel story of the epic, which is interruped by many episodes and romances of themselves, tells how the ancient and wicked dynasty of the Kuru was overthrown by the piece Pandīthas and Pāṇḍus. At a gambling-match depicted in the next vivid language, Duryodhana, the king of the Kuru, cheats the Pāṇḍu princes, robs them of their kingdom, and exiles them from their homes. But this is but the preparation for the final war, or eighteen days’ battle, between the opposing royal houses and their allies. In this the Kuru are finally overthrown and destroyed.

The heroic story is not only interrupted by episodes, but is in general made the pivot around which philosophical (religious) and ethical discussions of great length revolve. Thus the work has assumed the place in Hindu literature of an encyclopedia of moral and religious instruction.

A Bhārata and a Mahābhārata are mentioned as early as the Katha-Upaniṣad (see 3622). The later Vedic literature, but all dates assigned to the original simple epic which preceded the encyclopedic poems in its finished form are mere guesses, except that it is probably present form in the 4th or 5th cent. of our era.

Among the episodes of the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavata-Gītā, ‘The Song of the Divine One,’ or ‘Song Celestial,’ is the most important and valuable. It is in some respects the most interesting and important book in post-Vedic literature.

When the rival armies of the Kuru and the Pāṇḍu are drawn up against each other, Arjuna, the leader of the Pāṇḍus, ponders over the heroics, hesitates to enter upon the slaughter. Then Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, acting as Arjuna’s charioteer, sends his scuffles by pointing out that action, which is the performance of duty, is the obligation of man in the world, although, finally, abstinent devotion to the Supreme Spirit alone leads to salvation. The poem is conceived in the spirit of ascetic Hindu philosophy or philosophy. The bottom is the Śāktya doctrine of dual master and spirit, and this is tinged with monistic Vedantic pantheism (see Brahma-Gītā).

It is not likely that the poem is the original ‘Bhārata Story,’ but there is no information as to its date and authorship. The Mahābhārata has been translated into English prose at the expense of Pratāpa Chandra Rāy (Calcutta, 1889), and by M. D. N. Dutt.

15. The Rāmāyana.—The Rāmāyana, the second of the great epics, is in the main the work of a single author, Valmiki. Though all parts are not from the same time, however, they are not haphazardly free from digressions, it tells a connected story of great interest in epic invention of the highest order. It is to this day the favourite poem of the Hindus.

The central heroes are Rāma and his devoted wife Sītā; the main event the conquest of Lāṅkā (probably Ceylon).

Dārakāra, the mighty king of Oudh (Ayodhya), having grown old, decided upon Arjuna, his eldest son, as his successor, but his infatuated second queen, Kālēki, succeeded in changing his mind in favour of her son Bharata. Rāma, banished for fourteen years, retires with Sītā to the forest. Upon the death of Dārakāra, his son Bharata refuses to usurp Rāma’s throne, but seeks him out in the forest in order to conduct him back to the throne in his capital city. Rāma in turn refuses to cross his father’s decision, and he offers his gold crown to his son, as a token of his resignation of the throne. But Bharata, on returning, places the crown upon the throne, and holds over him the yellow parasol, the symbol of royalty; his son stands by as the king’s plenipotentiary. In the meantime Rāma makes it his business to procure demons who under the auspices of the forest in their holy practices. Rāvana, the king of the demons, who lives in Lāṅkā, ensnare and kidnaps Sītā. Then Rāma forms an alliance with Hanumān and the other kings of the monkey, who build for him a wonderful bridge across the mainland to Lāṅkā. Rāma twice visits Rāvana, is resisted with Sītā, returns home, and, conjointly with Bharata, rules his happy people, so that the golden age has come again upon the earth.

The story, notwithstanding the fact that it presents itself outwardly as a heroic legend, lies under the suspicion of containing one or more mythic roots. Certainly in the Veda Sītā is the personified furrow of the field, the beautiful wife of Indra or Parājanya (see Vedic Religion). Hence Rāma certainly continues the qualities of Indra, the slayer of demons. The story also seems to typify the advance of Brahmanical civilization southward towards Ceylon.

The Rāmāyana consists of seven books, in about 14,000 stanzas. It exists in three recensions, which differ one from the other in their readings, the order of the stanzas, and in having each more or less lengthy passages passages added from others. The best known and most popular recension has been translated by the Anglo-Indian scholar R. H. Griffith in five volumes (London, 1875).
The word *purāṇa* occurs frequently in the prose texts of the Veda as a designation of the Veda's own cosmogonic and legendary lore; the name is also applied to the *Mahābhārata*. In its most distinctive and the world of primitive beliefs and the Hindu triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva—is recognized, nevertheless the Vaisnavite *Kurma Purāṇa* does not hesitate to say: *Viṣṇu is the divinity of the gods, Siva of the devils.* To Brahmin alike refer only in a perfunctory fashion. According to ancient tradition, the ideal *purāṇa* is divided into five parts: (1) primary creation, or cosmogony; (2) secondary creation, or the reordering of the worlds; (3) genealogy of the gods and patriarchs; (4) manusvātaras, or periods of reigns of the Manu; (5) the history of the dynasties of kings. Through no exact *purāṇa* is so divided, yet their subject-matter roughly follows that order. The entire type of composition is of secondary importance; it borrows its themes very largely from the epic literature, and represents religious belief, practices, and the nation in an exaggerated and often disordered fashion (see Pūrāṇas).

17. The 'artistic epics.'—The Hindus consider six *kāvya*, or 'artistic epics,' entitled to the epithet 'artistic': or, better, artificial, character removes them in reality from the sphere of genuine epic, they are, however, interesting on account of their wealth of descriptive power and delicacy of illustration; they are deficient in the portrayal of strong character or stirring action. Moreover, they are commingled more and more with lyric, erotic, and didactic elements, as well as with bombast and play on words. Nevertheless, no less a person than Kālidāsa, the universal poet and dramatist, is the author of the two best known artistic epics, the *Kumārasambhava*, or 'Birth of the War God,' and the *Raghuvaṇa*, or 'Race of Raghu.' The former consists of seventeen cantos, the first seven of which are devoted to the courtship and wedding of the deities Śiva and Parvati, the parents of the youthful god of war. The real theme of the poem appears only towards the end, in the account of the destruction of the demon Tāraka, the object for which the god of war was born. The *Raghuvaṇa*, in nineteen cantos, describes the life of the famous Kúśāna dynasty. Then in the next six cantos comes the story of Ráma himself, the same theme as that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The remaining cantos deal with the twenty-four kings who ruled as Ráma's successors in Ayodhyā. The remaining *kāvya* deal for the most part with themes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

18. Lyric poetry.—Every form of artistic Sanskrit literature, whether epic, dramatic, or conversely, has a strong lyric cast. At the bottom these three kinds, in the Hindu poet's hands, are but thematically differentiated forms of the same poetic endowment. Ornate figures of speech, varied and varied into literary composition from the gorgeous climate, flora, and fauna of India, subtle detail-painting of every sensation and emotion—these are the common characteristics of Hindu artistic poetry. Lyric poetry can hardly do more than emphasize or specialize these conditions, yet it has its individual traits, the most important of which is the fact that it borrows, from the epic, a part of its underlying composition from continuous composition. In form and name these strophes are infinitely elaborated and varied. In no other literature have poets endeavoured so strongly to harmonize the sentiment of a stanza with its metrical expression. The most elaborate continuous lyrics of India are the *Megha-dīta*, or 'Cloud Messenger,' and the *Ittivikhyākāra*, or 'Cycle of Seasons,' both by Kālidāsa.

The theme of the *kāvya* is a pakṣa, or else, exiled from heaven. The messenger is a passing cloud which shall report to the pakṣa's wife, again, scenes located upon her couch through the dark branches of the night. The pakṣa, or exiled husband, may the cloud, after delivering his message, return with reassuring news, and never himself be separated from his lightning spouse. The *Cycle of Seasons* is famous for its descriptive depiction of India's tropical nature, matched all along with the corresponding human moods and emotions.

The bulk of lyrical poetry, however, is in single miniature stanzas, which suggest strongly the didactic sentiments proverb poetry which the Hindus also cultivated with great success. In fact the most famous collection of such stanzas, that of Bharthari, consists of lyric, didactic, and philosophical poems. Bharthari, who lived in the 7th cent. A.D., is perhaps the most remarkable Hindu poet next to Kālidāsa.

His stanzas, 300 in number, are divided into three centuries— the 'Century of Love,' the 'Century of Wisdom,' and the 'Century of Reconciliation.' There is no action in these stanzas Ever and again, within the narrow frame of a single stanza, the poet pictures the world for what it is, the whole universe is summed up in woman, from whose glowing eyes there is no escape. But, after all, her woman's profession, the stanza finally declares that he has become an altered man. Youth has gone by; his thoughts, freed from infatuation, are all for contemplation in the forest, and the whole world he accosts but as a wise and straw.

The second master of the erotic stanza is Amara, author of the *Vinyūlaka*, or 'Collection of Love Stanzas.' Amara also is a master at depicting all the moods of love: bliss and dejection, anger and devotion. None of the Indian lyricists treats love from the romantic or ideal point of view. It is always sensuous love. But a certain delicacy of feeling and expression, as well as a sensitive appreciation of those qualities of love which attract irresistibly, only finally to repel, lifts their stanzas above the mere *minne-song,* and *minne-strophe,* or 'Way of the Love,' flavoured with the universal, though rather theoretical, Hindu pessimism.

19. Didactic poetry.—Even in erotic lyrics the Hindu's deep-seated inclination towards speculation and reflection is evident. This has not only been the basis of that which is best and highest in their religion and philosophy, but it has assumed shape in another important product of their literature, the gnomic, didactic, sententious stanza, which may be called the 'Proverb.' O. von Böhtlingk (Ind. Sprichw., Petrograd, 1870-73) collected from all Sanskrit literature some 8000 of these stanzas. They are grouped under the titles of the eight *Veda* and are particularly common in the moral essays of the *Veda* literature. Their keynote is again the vanity of human life, and the superlative happiness that awaits resignation. The mental calm of the saintly anchorite who lives free from all desires in the stillness of the forest is the resolving chord of human unrest. But for him who remains in the world there is also a kind of salvation, namely, virtue. When a man dies and leaves all behind him, his good works alone accompany him on his journey into the next life (nirāmâyâ). Hence the practical value of virtue almost over- rides the pessimistic view of the world as the total human action. These gnomic stanzas are gathered up into collections such as the *Sànti-sataaka*, or 'Century of Tranquillity,' or the *Moха-mudgâr*, or 'Hammer of Fool'; but the ethical saw is really at home in the fables of the *Pâtëchântarâ* and *Higapadesâ*. These works are paralleled by Buddhist compositions (see below). In fact, a Buddhist collection of this kind is the *Phâneputra-pada*, or 'Way of the Law,' contains perhaps the most beautiful and profound words of wisdom in all Hindu literature.

20. The drama.—The drama is one of the latest
yet one of the most interesting products of Sanskrit literature. With all the uncertainty of literary dates in India there is no good reason to assume for this class of works a date earlier than the 6th or 5th century. Certain religious hymns in dialogue are all that the early periods of Hindu literature suggest as a possible partial, yet very doubtful, basis for the drama. The Sanskrit word 'nāṭaka' is nāṭaka, 'a dance,' nāṭa, 'to dance' (whence 'naïve, girls,' etc.). The word therefore means literally 'ballet.' It is not doubtful that dances contributed something to the development of the drama. In various religious ceremonies of earlier times dancing played a part; at a later time the cult of Siva and Vīṣṇu, and especially of Siva's incarnation Kṛṣṇa, was accompanied by panomorphic dances. These panomimes reproduced the heroic deeds of these gods, and were accompanied by songs. Popular representations of this sort, the so-called vāyūras, have survived to the present day in Bengal. They are not unlike the mystery-play of the Christian Middle Ages, and their modern continuation, the passion-play. The god Kṛṣṇa and Rādā, his love, are the main characters, but there are also friends, rivals, democracies of the music, dancing, song, and improvised dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separate, and very highly prized. The earliest product of the nāṭaka as it appears in such works as the Sauktalā of Kālidāsa, or the Mṛchhakāti, 'Clay Cart,' of Śūdraka.

The most question, whether Western (Greek) influence, particularly the New Attic Comedy of Menander (as reflected in Plautus and Terence), has not in some measure contributed to the Hindu drama. It is known that Greek actors followed Alexander the Great through Asia, and that they celebrated his victories with dramatic performances. After the death of Alexander Greek kings continued to rule in North-Western India. Brick commerce was carried on between the west coast of India and Alexandria, the later centre of Greek literary and artistic life. Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised a strong influence upon Hindu art and science. The chief points of resemblance between the Hindu drama and the Greek comedies are as follows. The Hindu drama is divided into acts (from one to ten), separate episodes of time; the curtain proper are preceded by a prologue spoken by the stage manager (ṣṭrāthākara). The stage was a simple roof, not shut off from the auditorium by a curtain, but, on the contrary, the curtain was in the background of the stage; it was called yavānākā—that is, 'Greek curtain' (karpē). The characters of the Hindu drama resemble in some respects those of the Attic comedy. There are courtesans and parasites, braggarts and cunning servants. Especially the standard comic figure of the Hindu drama, the vidīqaika, the unfrocked hero of the comic, compares well with the co-religion, the Sophocles of the Greek Roman comedy. The vidīqaika is a lunch-bounded, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though Bāhāman by birth, with maliciously humorous look, he does not speak Sanskrit, but the popular dialect, Prakrit, like the women and the inferior personages of the drama. He plays the unfeeling realist, intent upon every form of bodily comfort, especially at a good dinner, to the hero's sentimental flowery romanticism. Although it is just possible that one or the other feature of the Hindu drama may find its outside echo, the inner matter is certainly national and Indian. The themes are, for the most part, those of the heroic legend in the epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu courts. The themes, at any rate, are not different from that of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign admixtures. It must not be forgotten that the great general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence genuine historical connexion in such matters requires the most exacting treatment.

The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric poetry (see above). Three dramas are ascribed to him: the Sauktalā, the Uruśā, and Mālavākāṃśitra, or Mālavīkā and Agnimitra. From a time somewhat earlier than Kālidāsa comes the drama Mṛchhakāti, the 'Clay Cart,' said to have been composed by king Śūdraka, who is praised ecstatically as its author in the prologue of the play. Similarly, during the 7th cent. A.D., a king named Harṣa is said to have composed three existing dramas: the Bihāvā, or 'String of Pearls'; the Nāgarā, whose hero is a Buddhist, and whose prose in praise of Buddha; and the Priyārdācara. From the 8th cent. A.D. date the dramas of Bhavabhūti, a South Indian poet, and the lesser gṝpoṣṇaka, composed by Śūdraka to Kālidāsa and Śūdraka. His most celebrated compositions are the Mālavākāṃśitra, or Mālātī and Mālinā; and the two dramas Mahāvṛtta-charita and Rāmacarita. The latter are connected with Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyana. Finally may be mentioned Viśākhadatta, the author of the Madhāvās, the 'Seal of the Minister Rākṣasa,' a drama of politics in prose, whose composition also dates from the 8th century. It is a question whether Western (Greek) influence, particularly the New Attic Comedy of Menander (as reflected in Plautus and Terence), has not in some measure contributed to the Hindu drama. It is known that Greek actors followed Alexander the Great through Asia, and that they celebrated his victories with dramatic performances. After the death of Alexander Greek kings continued to rule in North-Western India. Brick commerce was carried on between the west coast of India and Alexandria, the later centre of Greek literary and artistic life. Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised a strong influence upon Hindu art and science. The chief points of resemblance between the Hindu drama and the Greek comedies are as follows. The Hindu drama is divided into acts (from one to ten), separate episodes of time; the curtain proper are preceded by a prologue spoken by the stage manager (ṣṭrāthākara). The stage was a simple roof, not shut off from the auditorium by a curtain, but, on the contrary, the curtain was in the background of the stage; it was called yavānākā—that is, 'Greek curtain' (karpē). The characters of the Hindu drama resemble in some respects those of the Attic comedy. There are courtesans and parasites, braggarts and cunning servants. Especially the standard comic figure of the Hindu drama, the vidīqaika, the unfrocked hero of the comic, compares well with the co-religion, the Sophocles of the Greek Roman comedy. The vidīqaika is a lunch-babeled, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though Bāhāman by birth, with maliciously humorous look, he does not speak Sanskrit, but the popular dialect, Prakrit, like the women and the inferior personages of the drama. He plays the unfeeling realist, intent upon every form of bodily comfort, especially at a good dinner, to the hero’s sentimental flowery romanticism. Although it is just possible that one or the other feature of the Hindu drama may find its outside echo, the inner matter is certainly national and Indian. The themes are, for the most part, those of the heroic legend in the epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu courts. The themes, at any rate, are not different from that of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign admixtures. It must not be forgotten that the great general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence genuine historical connexion in such matters requires the most exacting treatment. The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric poetry (see above). Three dramas are ascribed to him: the Sauktalā, the Urušā, and Mālavākāṃśitra, or Mālavīkā and Agnimitra. From a time somewhat earlier than Kālidāsa comes the drama Mṛchhakāti, the ‘Clay Cart,’ said to have been composed by king Śūdraka, who is praised ecstatically as its author in the prologue of the play. Similarly, during the 7th cent. A.D., a king named Harṣa...
designed as the Jātakas, which seems to mean 'Birth Stories.' Buddha is made to appear in every one of them as the wise or successful person or hero of the fable: he himself points the moral (see JĀTAKA). The two most important Sanskrit collections are the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa. The Pañcatantra, or 'Five Books,' the title is explained as that of this sort, existed at least as early as the first half of the 6th cent. A.D., since it was translated by order of king Khruṣv Anūdhivāna (531-579) into Pali, then into Chinese, and at last into Sanskrit. The Hitopadeśa, said to have been composed by Nārāyaṇa, states that it is a part of the Pañcatantra and 'other books.'

The collection of fairy tales is the most extensive Kathāsrāyās, or 'Ocean of Rivers of Stories,' composed by the Kāshmiri poet Somadeva, about a.d. 1076. This is in verse; three or four shorter collections are in prose. The Subhasya, or 'Seventy Stories of the Parrot,' tells how a wife whose husband is away, and who is inclined to solicit herself with other men, is for several nights severely entertained and deterred by the story-telling parrot, until her husband returns. The Vēlā pañchavimśi, or 'Twenty-five Tales of the Vampire,' is known to English readers under the name of Vikram and the Vampire. The fourth collection is the Siṣkārāna-dāvidhrīshā, or 'Thirty-two Stories of the Lion-seat' (throne), in which the throne of king Vikrama tells the stories. A noteworthy feature of the Sanskrit collections of fairy tales, as well as of the fables, is the insertion of a number of different stories within the frame of a single narrative. This style was borrowed by other Oriental peoples, such as the Arabs and Persians, who influenced the Arabian Nights. A few prose romances of more independent character may be mentioned in this connexion. The Daśakumāra-charita, or 'Adventures of the Ten Princes,' a story of commercial life and a very corrupt society, reminds one of the Simplicissimus of Grimmelshausen. Its author is Dasādīn, and it probably dates from the 8th cent. A.D. The Vīsānadatā by Subandun, and the Kādambarī by Bāpa, are highly artificial romances; the latter narrates, in stilted language and long compounds, the sentimental love-story of an ineffably noble prince and the equally ineffably beautiful and virtuous fairy princess Kādambarī.

These works are known as charita, 'narrative'; the same name is also used for chronicles or quasi-historical literature of inferior grade. The nearest approach to this kind of literature is the Kālidāśa, or the Rājataurangāini, or the Chronicle of Kashmir, by Kalhana, from the middle of the 12th cent. A.D.

22. Scientific literature.—India abounds in all forms of scientific literature, written in colorful but good Sanskrit, even to the present day. One of the characteristics of the Hindu mind is that it never drew the line between literary creation and scientific presentation, so that it is not easy to mark off from one another books letters and scientific literature. The ancient legal books of the Veda (see above) continue in the more modern poetic Dharmasastras and Smṛti. Of these the Law Books of Mann and Yayāvalikya (see above) are the most famous examples; Mann specially enjoys great authority among Hindus. The texts of the Upaniṣads are the śātras, or rules, of the six systems of Hindu philosophy, and their abundant expositions. Grammar, etymology, lexicography, prosody, rhetoric, music, and the like, form a technical literature of wide scope and importance, and the treatment of most of these shows a surprising tendency to assume metrical form. The earliest works of an exclusively phonetic character are the Vedic glosses of Yāsaka, the so-called Naighanyakas and the Nirukta, and the Pratīkākhyas, or phonetic treatises pertaining to the treatment of Vedic text in a given school or Śākha (see above). Later, but far more important, is the Grammar of Panini, one of the greatest grammarians of all times, and his commentators Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Mathematics and astronomy were cultivated from very early times; the so-called Arabic numerals came to the Arabs from India, and were designated by them as Hindu numerals. Indian medical science must have begun to develop before the Christian era, for one of its chief authors, Charaka, was the head physician of king Kaniska in the 1st cent. A.D. The germ of Hindu medical science reach back to the Arabian Bower Manuscript, one of the oldest of Sanskrit manuscripts (probably 5th cent. A.D.), contains passages which agree verbally with the works of Charaka and Charaka, the leading authorities on this subject.

The bibliographical notes at the end of the book are a safe guide to more extensive study. Readable and popular in style is K. W. F. Fraser's Literary History of India (London, 1898). Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (London, 1898) deals only with the Vedic period, and was important in its day, but is now antiquated. A. Weber's History of Indian Literature (from the German by T. Zacharias, London, 1875) is a learned and technical work, not at all adapted to the wants of the general reader; it represents the state of knowledge of a quarter of a century ago. The German work of L. v. Schröder, Indische Literatur und Cultur (Leipzig, 1867), contains a fuller, very instructive, and readable account of Hindu literature; copious translations and digests of the texts themselves render this work very useful. The more recent treatises are H. Oldenberg, Der literarische Stil der alten Indier (Stuttgart, 1898), and V. Henry, Les Littératures d'Inde à l'époque du Bouddha (Paris, 1895). The study of the literature of the Vedic period has continued after his death by F. Erdmann and others (Strassburg, 1895-8), covers the entire domain of Indo-Aryan antiquity, and contains exhaustive and multiform tables and indices of all the authorities and problems of Sanskrit literature.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

LITHUANIANS AND LETTS.—1. Ethnography.—The Lithuanians and the Letts belong to the Aryan family of peoples, and together with the Borussians or Old Prussians, who became extinct in the 17th cent., form a distinct ethnological group. This group, now generally called the 'Baltic,' had already ramified into its several divisions in its pre-historic period, and its unity is now seen only in the word, in the Indo-European family, and in the sphere of language—as regards which, however, the Lithuanians exhibit a much more archaic type than the Letts. The original head of the Lithuanian or Baltic race was probably the land of the lower Niemen, and, as that district is virtually coterminous with the Lithuania of to-day, while the Letts are found in Courland, the adjacent Prussian Rational, the southern half of Livland, the Polish Electoral, and the government of Livonia, it would appear that the Lettish branch had reached its present location.
by migrating to the originally Finnish districts of Courland and Livonia, and that, on the other hand, the Lithuanians remained fast upon their ancestral soil.

A distinguishing, neither member of the group is of great account, nor is it likely that either was ever important. The Lithuanians number some one and a half million, about 120,000 of them being in Latvia. Lettis is rather than mere—towards the east, moreover, they are almost without exception limited to a small state, the area of which is about 19,200 square miles. In size and population, the Lithuanian part of the region, as estimated from various sources, and 20,000,000. In a physical respect both branches are mixed, though the mixture has been in a way detrimental to them, since many individual Lithuanians and Letts still exhibit all the characteristic marks of pure Aryan descent, while the rest, men and women alike, are generally self-reliant and sympathetic, well-formed, and often even handsome.

2. Political history.—The historical fortunes of the two peoples have run in quite distinct courses. (a) Lithuanian.—The history of the Lithuanians opens in the 11th cent. with prolonged frontier wars with Russia, from which, however, they emerged so successfully, and with their integrity still so far complete, that one of their princes, Mendowg (recognized by Pope Innocent IV as king of Lithuania, thus created the foundation of a united Lith-Russian State. This design, however, was frustrated by Mendowg's death (1263) and by internal embroils. Nevertheless, it was tactically efficient, and was followed by the governmental establishment of the Grand-duke Gedymyn (+1341); and then, under the leadership of his sons, Olgiert (whom his brothers recognized as sovereign Grand-duke) and Keistut, the young kingdom extended its sway from the Baltic to the Exunie, and from the Polish Bag to the Ugra and the Oka, though it did not include the western districts (Nadranen, Schalauen, and Sudauen), which the Teutonic Knights had brought under their control during the years 1274-83.

At the death of Olgiert, in 1277, his place was taken by his favourite son, Jagiello, who, however, soon quarrelled with Keistut (+1282) and with his son Witawt, the outcome of the disension being that the latter became the real lord of Lithuania, although nominally the sovereignty of Jagiello was not legally infringed. Jagiello had shortly before (1286) married Hedwig, queen of Poland, thus opening the way for a political alliance between Lithuania and Poland which seriously threatened the independence of Lithuania; for, when, in 13th century, the Telnites, who, the latter thus adding the domain of the former to its own. Taking as its model the Prussian State, in which it alone held the reins of sovereign authority—the bishops themselves being subordinate to it—the Teutonic Order sought to curb the other great powers, and it was all the more successful in this policy as it managed to subjugate the hitherto unconquered heathen districts. The process of subjugation, so far as the Lithuanian portion concerned, was virtually completed by 1290. The Order, nevertheless, did not thereby win reasure, but had constantly to field the against unfriendly neighbours, and, as the fortunes of war was on the whole unfavourable to it, while its powers were sapped by internal dissensions, and the secularization of its Prussian territory in 1625 isolated its Livonian domain, its authority in the latter also was at length completely shattered. In 1629 Livonia became a Polish province, while Courland, as a hereditary feudal duchy of Poland, came into the power of the last Master of the Livonian part of the Order. Gotz, now all the more ready to assume the crown of Lithuania, which, indeed, the Emperor Sigismund, with a view to the complete severance of that country from Poland, had already in 4 years before Jagiello, who, as Queen Hedwig's consort, had at her death (1309) become king of Poland.

In the succeeding period the Lithuanians gained a resolution to assert their independence in relation to Poland, but the Polish kingdom, although it had embraced that faith at his marriage with Hedwig,
and strove with all the zeal of a new convert to propagate it among his own people of Lithuania; they became more and more closely bound to Poland, and the Church of 116

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name, and we must be the more cautious in connecting such beings with the ancient religion because many of the divine names of the Lithuanian-Lettish mythology rest upon the misconceptions or fabrications of later times; there is adequate evidence, however, for an early belief in a number of demonic beings, such as the žmonės (‘fairies’) and the paltis (‘goblin,’ ‘flying dragon’), and it is equally certain that the Lithuanian-Lettish religion was dominated from primitive times by the conception of a devil (Lith. Welniešas; Lett. Welns). While that conception never became perfectly distinct, it nevertheless formed so definite an antithesis to the idea of ‘God’ that we cannot doubt the presence of a dualistic element in the Baltic cult. Corresponding to the belief in demonic beings, superstition of a more general kind was, and still is, very prevalent. It manifests itself in a belief in witches (vėjagala, ‘seeress’), in the practice of casting lots (Lith. būrė; Lett. burtī), in notions regarding countless occurrences of daily life, and not least in the idea that the spirits of the dead (Lith. vilčiai; Lett. voltī) continue to move about among the living—an idea that is undoubtedly very ancient, as it is attested not only by distinct historical evidence but also by the modern folk-songs (as, e.g., the notion that disembodied spirits marry), and, above all, by graves dating from heathen times, which often contain the remains of both rider and horse, and are furnished, and are furnished, with weapons and implements, thus pointing conclusively to the belief that the dead continue to exist in a condition not unlike that of their earthly life. As the majority of these graves contain skeletons, not ashes, they likewise show that the Lithuan-Lettish peoples believed in the resurrection of the body. As to the situation of the Lithuanian-Lettish abode of the dead, there seems to have been no general agreement, some data suggesting the sky, others a nether world. In various localities we find traces of a doctrine of metempsychosis. Whether the cult had a special class of priests cannot be made out. It had certainly no temples in the proper sense, and the ‘edes sacre’ of which we hear should probably be regarded as slight erections in which fire was kept burning. Sacrifices were common, and were offered not only by way of petition and thanksgiving, but also as propitiation; to judge from the Lithuanian designation, fedė (‘blossoms’), the offerings would seem to have consisted originally of flowers and fruits, but we have historical evidence that the Lithuanians, like the first other kinds of sacrificial gifts, while, if not among the Letts, yet among the Lithuanians and Borussians, we find traces even of the practice of human immolation.

4. Early religion.—The religion which prevailed among the Lithuanians and Letts prior to the introduction of Christianity was a developed nature-worship. Besides the worship of gods and women, of trees, stocks, and stones, of fire and household snakes, we find a belief in the personality of the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, as also in the existence of a number of divine beings who control all created things. Pre-eminent among these divine beings was ‘God,’ designated by the primitive Aryan name deva (Lat. deus). He was regarded generally as the highest supramundane power, but sometimes, like Zeus in Homer, he was a distinct mythological figure, and as such probably identical with Perkūnas (Lett. Pērkoņains), the thunder-god, who presided over the heavenly bodies, and was regarded as armed. An ancient folk-song tells us that, when the moon was unfaithful to his wife, the sun, and became enamoured of the morning star, Perkūnas cut him in pieces with a sword. According to Lithuanian belief, Perkūnas washed the weary and dust-covered sun, who was once called the daughter of God, and who herself had sons and daughters; in popular songs these play a great part as mystic powers, but are always represented as human in all respects. We hear frequently also of the ‘children of God,’ and it would seem that the mythological imagination did not distinguish between the latter and the ‘children of the sun.’ The sun, nevertheless, was not regarded as the wife of deva (or of Perkūnas), as appears not only from what has been said, but also from a Letts folk-song which tells how, when Perkūnas set out to find a wife beyond the sea, he was attended by the sun, bearing a dowry-chest. The Letts, again, believed that Perkūnas was a polygamt, and in another of their folk-songs he is said to have as many wives as are leaves of the oak, while none of them plays an independent part in Lithuan-Lettish mythology.

We need have no hesitation in assuming that the ancient religion of the Lithuanians and of the Letts was a compound of various divine beings, and the way in which these are associated shows that they originated in the observation of nature and human life. But, with the exception of Poland, the countries of Lithuania come down to us under a common Lithuan-Lettish

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4. Early religion.—The religion which prevailed among the Lithuanians and Letts prior to the introduction of Christianity was a developed nature-worship. Besides the worship of gods and women, of trees, stocks, and stones, of fire and household snakes, we find a belief in the personality of the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, as also in the existence of a number of divine beings who control all created things. Pre-eminent among these divine beings was ‘God,’ designated by the primitive Aryan name deva (Lat. deus). He was regarded generally as the highest supramundane power, but sometimes, like Zeus in Homer, he was a distinct mythological figure, and as such probably identical with Perkūnas (Lett. Pērkoņains), the thunder-god, who presided over the heavenly bodies, and was regarded as armed. An ancient folk-song tells us that, when the moon was unfaithful to his wife, the sun, and became enamoured of the morning star, Perkūnas cut him in pieces with a sword. According to Lithuanian belief, Perkūnas washed the weary and dust-covered sun, who was once called the daughter of God, and who herself had sons and daughters; in popular songs these play a great part as mystic powers, but are always represented as human in all respects. We hear frequently also of the ‘children of God,’ and it would seem that the mythological imagination did not distinguish between the latter and the ‘children of the sun.’ The sun, nevertheless, was not regarded as the wife of deva (or of Perkūnas), as appears not only from what has been said, but also from a Letts folk-song which tells how, when Perkūnas set out to find a wife beyond the sea, he was attended by the sun, bearing a dowry-chest. The Letts, again, believed that Perkūnas was a polygamt, and in another of their folk-songs he is said to have as many wives as are leaves of the oak, while none of them plays an independent part in Lithuan-Lettish mythology.

We need have no hesitation in assuming that the ancient religion of the Lithuanians and of the Letts was a compound of various divine beings, and the way in which these are associated shows that they originated in the observation of nature and human life. But, with the exception of Poland, the countries of Lithuania come down to us under a common Lithuan-Lettish
times. It was, in fact, only when the Christian Church began to make use of texts written in the native languages—long after the invention of printing—that literary documents were at length produced. A Lithuanian and a Latvian translation of the Lutheran Catechism—the former by Martin Mosvidius, subsequently a clergyman, and published at the latter by Ignatius Pitkîlevicz (1589), are the earliest known writings in the Lithu-Lettish languages. Like most of this earlier literary work, the further development of Lithu-Lettish literature was long due to clerics, and thus, naturally enough, that literature, even when it is not of a distinctively religious character, is in its earlier stages largely pervaded by Christian feeling and moral earnestness. Among the Letts the most outstanding feature of the earlier secular literature was Pastor G.F. Stender (1714–96); among the Lithuanians, Pastor Christian Donalius (1714–80), the distinguished author of a poem entitled 'Das Seeleum.' As contrasted with this earlier stage, contemporary secular literature is entirely modern in its point of view, as it not only bears the impress of the social revolutions of last century, but is formed on the spirit of a national consciousness, and aims at the independence and enlightenment of the Lithuanian and Lettish peoples. This progressive movement, which proceeded at first but slowly, has within recent decades become very vigorous, and alike in the field of politics and in that of letters has produced great, if not always good, results. Not a little of the poetic production of Lithuanian and Lettish writers is worth the attention of foreign readers. Yet even the best of it is not to be compared in poetic quality with the lyrical survivals of the earlier eras, falling far short of the beauty of many Lithuanian folk-songs (dainas), and also of the charm of the countless Lettish lyrics in quatrains (affreesans).


LITTLE VEHICLE.—See HINAYANA.

LITURGIES.—See WORSHIP.

LOCKE. 1. Chief dates in his life.—John Locke was born on 29th August 1632, at Wrington, Somersetshire. Brought up at home till the age of fourteen, he was then sent to Westminster school, from which he passed in 1652 to Christ Church, Oxford. He found little satisfaction in the scholastic kind of training then given. In 1662 Locke went to Leiden, where he devoted himself to scientific studies. To him, however, this medical practice happened in 1669 to bring him into contact with the French-speaking people of Leiden, who figured so prominently in the politics of Charles II. He went to the University of Göttingen, where he figured so prominently in the politics of Charles II. He then called to the University of 1895, and the following year Locke went to London to take the double capacity of confidential adviser to Shaftesbury himself and tutor to his son, while he was also engaged in political work and held some appointments. Shaftesbury was dismissed from office in 1673, for his part in the Popish plot, and he retired to his health. He remained abroad for four years, staying chiefly at Montpelier, Paris, and in 1677 he returned to England. Shaftesbury once more. The two years that intervened before the statemen packed, and in 1685 Shaftesbury was again imprisoned, but was released in 1689. The two years 1689–90 saw the publication of the great Essay and two others of his principal works, and thus constitu- the whole life of Locke, and it is a shrewd estimate of its reach as a human faculty. Moreover, although Locke was so eminently representative and exercised an immense influence on European thought, he cannot be ranked very high as a philosophical thinker. His thinking, though patient, laborious, and candid, is fatally deficient in the two qualities of thoroughness and system. The deficiency is partly, but not wholly, due to his occupation with practical affairs, which interfered with continuous philosophical reflection. Yet, despite this, Locke may be regarded as the direct practical aim of much of his writing; but the practical aim of his aims is itself characteristic. Locke's 'discontinued way of writing' goes also to explain his great faults of style. All his words are not always repetitions with which he wears his readers. In the 'Epistle to the Reader,' with which he prefaced the Essay, he admits frankly that he has not been at great pains to correct the faults, and at times he certainly seems to let his pen run on almost as it pleases. But his faults are not unconnected with real virtues—his interest in expressing his whole thought fully and clearly, his desire to drive home his point and to gain the full assent of the reader. When he writes with any care, his plain style is as excellent as it is appropriate, and, when he is moved to earnestness, he writes with frankness and real impressiveness. His faults are seen at their worst in his controversial writings. Although he professes his eagerness to be shown his errors, he seems in point of fact to have been rather shy to have his errors shown to him. He is too much taken up with exposing the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of which his critics have been guilty to try to penetrate to the real motives of his errors. He is too much taken up with the work of others to do much harm in the way of criticism. Locke can do much harm much further, even when as polemics they have their defects. For, although Locke can be very effective both in direct retort and in irony,
he is too apt to weaken his case, not merely by over-elaboration, but also by an insistence on the letter of his own and his critics' statements which the reader feels to be petty and unprofitable.

3. The Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690).—In the preface 'Epistle to the Reader' Locke tells us how he started upon the line of inquiry which resulted, after some twenty years of interrupted labour, in the publication of the Essay. He was driven into it, not with a few friends on a subject which he does not specify, but which we know from another source to have been 'the principles of morality and revealed religion' (see Fraser's ed. i. p. xvii.). The baffling character of the difficulties which arose in the course of the discussion caused Locke to ask himself whether, before entering upon such subjects, it was not rather 'necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were, or were not, fitted to deal with.' He took up the task of this examination, and found it expand far beyond his first expectations. The aim of his whole inquiry, however, remained the same throughout, viz. that determination of the certainty, extent, and degrees of human knowledge which is the theme of bk. iv. of the Essay, and to which Locke is more than once referred.

But before this theme could be dealt with effectually certain preliminary matters had to be cleared up. To know is to have ideas about things—this is the premiss of all ideas. If we arrive at right conclusions about the scope of knowledge, we had best begin by examining this medium in which alone it exists; i.e., we had better try to take stock of our ideas, and see how we come by them. To Locke it was plain that we come by them only through experience. To convince the reader that our knowledge and our ideas have no other source, Locke devotes bk. i. of the Essay to showing that there are no 'innate' principles or ideas, unless we understand the term 'innate' in some sense which makes the assertion of such innate knowledge either insignificant or misleading.

If there are no such innate ideas, then we must look to experience and experience only for the origin of all our ideas, and must try to trace them back, one and all, to their source therein. It is easy to underestimate the importance of this point, but it really constitutes one of his claims to be regarded as the founder of modern psychology.

Yet it was hardly as a psychologist that Locke has been regarded, if indeed he has been regarded in the source and origin of our ideas; it was rather because he thought that, by seeing how, and at what point, our ideas emerge or are formed in the course of experience, we should be better able to measure the knowledge which we get by means of them. We should know, in short, what the actual experience is from which the ideas are derived, and on which, therefore, the knowledge which we have by means of the ideas is based. The results of Locke's stock-taking of our ideas in bk. ii. can be here only summarized.

He finds that all our ideas may be traced back to three sources: sensation, which gives us the ideas involved in our knowledge of the external world, and 'reflexion,' which is the perception of the operations of our own mind, and which gives us concepts such as those of reason, believing, willing. The ideas derived from (one or both of) these sources may be either simple—such as the ideas of yellow, thinking, pleasure, unity—or complex. The complex ideas are subdivided (ii. ch. xii.) into ideas of modes, substances, and relations. By 'modes' are meant 'such complex ideas which, however compounded, contain not in them the supposition of subsisting by themselves, but are considered as dependences on, or affections of substances: such as are the ideas signified by the words triangle, gratitude, murder.' They may be either simple (= unmixed) or mixed, according as they are merely variations or combinations of one simple idea, or of such diverse simple ideas; e.g., the different numbers are simple modes of number or unity, whereas ideas like gratitude and murder are mixed modes.

Under the above heads Locke proceeds to survey and examine the most important ideas or classes of ideas that enter into our knowledge. The classification is open to criticism in various ways, but where it principally fails is in dealing with the more abstract and general categories, such as existence, power, unity, substance. The first three of these are said in ch. vii. to be simple ideas derived both from sensation and from reflection. But it is obvious that they are not really comparable with simple ideas like yellow or hot; they are not sensible qualities. Locke himself speaks of the ideas of existence and unity as 'suggested to' the mind by an 'organic' principle; in ch. xxi. the idea of power seems to be reached by a process in which inference, as well as direct experience, plays a part. The general idea of substance seems to be arrived at as a result of inference, if we are to give that name to a process and a result which Locke describes in terms so halting and dubious that it is not surprising that his critic Stillingfleet took offence at them. This mind, we are told (ch. xxiii. § 14), takes notice that its simple ideas go constantly together in groups (the qualities that make up a single thing), and, not imagining how these simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accordingly suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result; which therefore we call substance. So that if any one will examine himself concerning his notion of universal, in general, he will find he has no other idea of it at all, but only a supposition of he knows not what support of such qualities, which are capable of producing simple ideas in us.

It was the analysis of ideas into something like power and substance that gave an opening for Hume's sceptical criticism. Throughout the long analysis of ideas which occupies bk. ii. the modern reader, who is accustomed to the provinces of logic, psychology, and metaphysics, is perplexed by the difficulty of giving any one consistent interpretation of Locke's procedure. The analysis is not simply a logical dissection of ideas into their simplest constituents. Yet it is too much influenced by the point of view of logical analysis to be a truly genetic or psychological account of the growth of our ideas. Finally, both interests are crossed by the further interest in the knowledge-value of our ideas, though the last point of view takes us over to the theme of bk. iv. Thus the discussion of primary and secondary qualities, and the dissection of ideas into substance, and identity in the chapters so named, are as definitely concerned with the knowledge-value of our ideas, and with the nature of the realities known by means of them, as any part of bk. iv.

In bk. iii. ('Of Words') Locke applies his analysis of ideas to the interpretation of words by which they signify. The most striking feature of the book is the way in which the distinction of real and nominal essence is applied to the names which signify mixed modes (e.g., moral ideas) and substances respectively. When we define man as a rational animal, we lay down a certain abstract definition of what a man thinks, by reference to which our application of the term 'man' is determined. This abstract idea is the 'nominal essence' of
man. The nominal essence, then, is for Locke nothing more than the statement of the meaning in which we intend to use the general name, whereas the 'real essence' of a thing is the real quality or constitution of the thing itself. Now Locke's view is that the ideas of mixed modes are ideas which we ourselves through a process of thought create for ourselves. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, nominal and real essence coincide, and there is nothing, unless the complexity of the ideas prevents us from realizing their essence exactly and completely. But in the case of substances we are dealing with things which have a real essence, and, since in Locke's view their real essence is not known to us, we have in their case no guaranty by which we can draw by means of our abstract ideas or nominal essences will truly represent the real lines of division among the things themselves. In fact, by assuming the notion of essence at all we are assuming that there is a real division of things into species, and this assumption is liable at any point to turn out untrue. The lines of division which we suppose to exist may be found to break down. Hence Locke concludes that in the case of substances our general names express merely the nominal essence.

'The boundaries of species are made by men,' though, of course, we are guided in making them by those superficial likenesses among things which nature presents to our view.

In bk. iv. we come at last to those conclusions regarding the nature and extent of knowledge—or, where knowledge fails, of probability or probable judgment—to which the rest of the work had been subsidiary. Knowledge is defined by Locke as 'the perception of the connexion of and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas.' It is not less than this; he distinguishes four sorts: (1) identity or diversity (e.g., 'blue is different from yellow'), (2) relation (e.g., geometrical equality), (3) co-existence (of a man and a horse), and (4) real existence 'agreeing to any idea' (e.g., 'God is'). Further, our knowledge of the agreement and disagreement of our ideas has different degrees of evidence. It may be (a) immediate or intuitive, and all certainty goes back to such intuition—or (b) demonstrative, i.e., reached by a series of steps, and therefore in Locke's view not quite so clear as immediate intuition, even though each step has, or ought to have, intuitive evidence. Lastly (c), there is 'sensitive knowledge,' our knowledge of the particular existence of external things when they are actually affecting our senses. The last degree of knowledge Locke regards as inferior to the other two, though not open to serious doubt. Whatever falls short of these short degrees of evidence is matter, not of knowledge, but at the most of probability. From these preliminary determinations Locke proceeds to a series of dimensions in which three problems are intertwined in a way that is rather confusing to the reader: (1) the problem how the things which is real in the sense of being authentic or valid, and not a mere imagination, (2) the problem how far this real knowledge is also general or universal, (3) the problem how far knowledge which is real in the first sense is also real in the further sense of being a knowledge of real existence, i.e., a knowledge of things which have a substantive existence or reality. The clue to Locke's answer to all three problems lies in the sharp opposition which he makes between our knowledge, e.g., of mixed modes, where we are dealing with (complex) ideas which are 'archetypes of the mind's own making,' and our knowledge of real existence, where our ideas refer to archetypes beyond themselves. In the former case our knowledge (of relations among our ideas) can be at once real (in the sense of Locke) and true (in the language of logic); in the latter case, however, we can have what is real and not further claim to be a knowledge of real existence (or things) or co-existence (or attributes in things). In the latter case our knowledge makes this further claim, and is therefore more restricted. Our knowledge of the properties of a triangle or of the wrongness of murder is real and general, even though no perfect triangle could be drawn or no murder had ever been committed. But our knowledge of real existence and co-existence can never be thus general. As regards real existence, we have, according to Locke, an intuitive knowledge of our own existence, a demonstrative knowledge of God's existence, and a sensitive knowledge of that of external things.

That this knowledge is a knowledge of existence and not of substance, for on Locke's view we do not know the inner nature either of spiritual or of material substance. In fact, he offered his orthodoxy рецептum to which, as we may believe, we cannot know, that the soul (of man) is immaterial. The inner nature (or real essence) of material bodies he assumes to consist in a certain atomic constitution free and, since he regards this as inaccessible to our knowledge, he denies the possibility of physical 'science,' in the strict sense of the term 'science.' Such 'knowledge' as we have of material bodies is only of the co-existence of their superficial properties, and does not go beyond probability, though it may be extended and improved by experiment.

The subsequent development of philosophy and science has made many of Locke's positions seem strange to us. Our confidence in physical science is far greater, our reliance on abstract demonstrations of the existence of a God, culminating in his laws. Above all, we are all the more careful about the relation of 'ideas' to real existence and less ready to separate and unite them alternately as suits our convenience. The weaknesses of Locke's compromise between rationalism and empiricism have been made so abundantly evident by later criticism that it is hard to be fair to his merits. And yet it is to the suggestiveness of his treatment of the problem of knowledge that later criticism owes the advance that it has made on his positions.

4. Ethics and politics.—Locke's contributions to ethics are scanty and of little value, unless we credit to him the discussion of the problem of evidence, which he put in the chapter on power (bk. ii. ch. xxv.). Certain this discussion, in spite of the perplexities which Locke candidly reveals to the reader, is full of interest and instruction alike for the moralist and for the psychologist. But in ethics proper his notion that morality is no less capable of demonstration than mathematics is an eccentricity, which can be explained only by his theoretical views about our knowledge of mixed modes, which certainly matches ill with his doctrine of moral obligation, which recognizes no higher motives than those of pleasure and pain, reward and punishment.

Nowhere is the whole of Locke's thought displayed more characteristically than in his political doctrine. Published early in 1690, the Two Treatises of Government had a direct reference to current politics. The first was a refutation of Filmer's plea for the unlimited (paternal or hereditary) right of kings, the second a defence of the Revolution. Concerned only about the right of the people to resist oppressive and arbitrary rule, Locke is more than usually careless about thoroughness and system. He accepts with easy credulity the literal truth of a social compact, with the subsidiary doctrines of a state of nature, natural rights of the individual, real existence of mixed modes, and, it certainly matches ill with his doctrine of legislative, yet that the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or control it. He denies the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them.' He tells us (xi. § 134) that the legislative is 'sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community have once placed it,' yet admits that, as a result of historical changes, the legislative
may cease to be representative and may therefore stand in urgent need of reform (xiii, §167). And then, to complete the reader’s confusion, he assigns the task of reforming the legislative to that royal prerogative whose arbitrary exercise he elsewhere denounces. In view of such incoherences we must be content to take Locke’s treatise primarily as a pamphlet for his own time; it has all the weight and authority which history ascribes to forms of worship, so he condemns those who ‘upon pretence of religion’ arrogate to themselves any peculiar authority in civil concerns: ‘I say these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate’ (p. 46). But it seems strange that, with the recent history of his own country in view, he should not have recognized that an assertion of authority in civil concerns was almost certain to be made by the dominant religious sect, whatever it might be. The magistrate who was not to tolerate such ecclesiastical pretensions would hardly be able to avoid meddling in matters of religion. Nor was it to be expected that any religious sect, whether Catholic or Puritan, which was firmly convinced that it alone taught the true way of life and that its rivals were spreading pernicious errors would quietly acquiesce in its exclusion from the use and the control of the civil power. As in other cases, so here, Locke’s argument makes a great show of robust common sense, but does not go very deep, and involves large tacit assumptions.

5. Toleration.—Locke’s writings upon toleration serve as a link between his political and his religious doctrines. In 1680 he published in Holland a Latin Epistola de Tolerantia, which was translated into English in the same year. Criticisms (attributed to one Jonas Proast of Queen’s College, Oxford) drew from Locke A Second Letter concerning Tolerance and A Third Letter for Tolerance in 1690 and 1692 respectively, and twelve years later he had even begun a fourth, of which, however, only a fragment was written. The original letter is a businesslike piece of argument, the second is longer, the third is very long and very tedious. Locke can see nothing at all in his critic’s arguments, and it must indeed be admitted that the people with whom he was asked to defend were anything but strong—viz. that, in the case of those who will not embrace the true religion, the magistrate ought to employ force, in the shape of measures and laws, to prevent such from considering the error of their ways. Against this position Locke shows again and again that compulsion can produce only outward conformity, not inward conviction, that what was punished was therefore really dissimulated rational submission, that any end which justified moderate penalties would equally justify the severest persecution where moderate penalties failed, that ‘the true religion’ must for practical purposes mean the magistrate’s own religion, and that the arguments by which the critic sought to escape from these conclusions were either circular or question-begging. The practical force of Locke’s argument lies in this, that in matters of religion there is no certain (or demonstrative) knowledge, and that we must be content with ‘a persuasion of our own mind, short of knowledge’ (Works, vi. 144). But he says, and this is characteristic of the religious ground that it is ‘in the inward and full persuasion of the mind’ that ‘all the life and power of true religion consists’ (p. 1). ‘I cannot be saved by a religion that I distrust, and by a worship that I abhor’ (p. 28).

It can hardly be said, however, that the constructive argument of the original letter is in itself satisfactory. It is based on Locke’s narrow conception of the State as concerned with little but the security of life and property, and as limited in its functions by the supposed consent of the individual. His argument is qualified, too, in ways which make its consistency doubtful. Thus it refutes toleration to atheists, because ‘promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist’ (p. 47), and, in effect, to Roman Catholics, because their religion requires them to submit themselves to a ‘foreign jurisdiction’ (p. 46). And this refusal does not square very well with that ‘absolute liberty of conscience equal and impartial liberty,’ which, the reader was assured at the outset, ‘is the thing that we stand in need of.’ Locke wants to separate sharply and completely the spheres of the civil power and the Church. As both the magistrate and the Levellers had a right to preserve articles of faith in forms of worship, so he condemns those who ‘upon pretence of religion’ arrogate to themselves any peculiar authority in civil concerns: ‘I say these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate’ (p. 46). But it seems strange that, with the recent history of his own country in view, he should not have recognized that an assertion of authority in civil concerns was almost certain to be made by the dominant religious sect, whatever it might be. The magistrate who was not to tolerate such ecclesiastical pretensions would hardly be able to avoid meddling in matters of religion. Nor was it to be expected that any religious sect, whether Catholic or Puritan, which was firmly convinced that it alone taught the true way of life and that its rivals were spreading pernicious errors would quietly acquiesce in its exclusion from the use and the control of the civil power. As in other cases, so here, Locke’s argument makes a great show of robust common sense, but does not go very deep, and involves large tacit assumptions.

6. Religion.—One of these assumptions, no doubt, was that latitudinarianism of his own religious views which found expression later in his Reasons of Civil Government. Locke’s own religious views are perhaps less consistent than is generally supposed, but he does not seek to show, by a great array of Scriptural evidence, that the one and only gospel-article of faith is this, that Jesus is the Messiah, the promised Saviour. To prove this he must consider the circumstances of the time, and the religious dissents which were spreading, and which, he says, ‘are to be found in the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles.’ Locke anticipates the objection that belief, on the strength of reported miracles, in the statement that Jesus is the promised Messiah is merely a historical, and not a saving, faith; but it can hardly be said that he sees the real force of the objection. He speaks, it is true, of the ‘oblation of a heart, fixed with dependence on, and affection to God’ as ‘the foundation of true devotion, and life of all religion,’ and describes faith as ‘a steadfast reliance on the goodness and faithfulness of God’ (Works, vii. 129, 131), but he does not explain sufficiently how this religious faith arises out of the historical belief. He insists on the inability of plain people, ‘the day-labourers and tradesmen, the spinsters and dairy-maids,’ to follow abstract reasoning, and objects to the use of authority in matters of religious belief, and to the ‘simplified Christianity, or is even quite consistent with it, is not so clear. Among other advantages of an authoritative revelation he speaks of the support which it affords to morality, and he leaves us in no doubt as to the kind of support he has in view.

‘The philosophers, indeed, showed the beauty of virtue; they set her off so, as drew men’s eyes and approbation to her; but leaving her undowered, very few were willing to espouse her. The general consent could not be accounted for by any commendation; but still turned their backs on her, and forsak her, as a match not for their turn. But now there being put into the scales of the moral weight the “supernatural weight” of the grace of God; interest is come about to her, and virtue now is visibly the most enriching purchase, and by much the best bargain’ (p. 100).

It has to be remembered, however, that appeals to self-interest—‘the favourite passion,’ as Butler calls it—were characteristic of the age.

7. Education.—Locke’s views on this subject are contained in his Thoughts concerning Education (1693) and the posthumous Conduct of the Understanding. The Essay, and was originally designed to form a
chapter of it. It has been highly praised, but, like other writings on the general education of the intellect, seems often to be elaborating truths of a somewhat obvious kind. Perhaps its main value, after all, lies in the mere illustration which it affords of Locke's own intellectual attitude and temper of mind. The other work makes a much more definite contribution to the art of education. The method of reasoning is clearly emphasized by Locke himself, viz. to set forth "how a young Gentleman should be brought up from his infancy." As a medical man he does not disdain to give detailed advice as to bodily training. The characteristic feature, however—and the conspicuous merit—of the book is the paramount importance which it gives to the training of character.

That which every Gentleman . . . desires for his Son, besides the Estate he leaves him, is contained (I suppose) in these four Things, Virtue, Wisdom, Breeding, and Learning (§ 12).

The order expresses Locke's deliberate estimate of the relative importance of the qualities named, and this estimate governs his treatment of the subject consistently throughout the book. No reader of the Thoughts is likely ever to confuse educational questions generally. In the age of intellectual education itself, Locke insists, in his Conduct of the Understanding, that the business of education—in respect of knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all or any one of those sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits, that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge be shall apply himself. Locke is careful to go into details, of course, expose himself to criticism. Locke's advice as to bodily training is in some points certainly not such as medical authority would give, and some of his views on moral training are at any rate open to question. But there can be little question about this, that Locke is at his best in dealing with such matters. His fresh and independent judgment on his subject, his steady insistence on character as all-important, his own kindness and affection for young people, and his practical common sense combine to make him an admirable exponent of the spirit in which the educator should go about his work.

LITERATURE.—The best ed. of Locke's works is, according to A. T. Cross, that of the Royal Society, 1877. The references in the text are to Works (vols., London, 1859). The Essay has been edited by Fraser, 7 vols., Oxford, 1844. The Life is by Bourne, 7 vols., London, 1855. There are short accounts of Locke's life and philosophy by Fraser, Edinburgh, 1855; by Bower, London, 1857; by A. S. Alexander, The Life of Locke, 1865; and B. Fechter's John Locke: ein Bild aus dem geteilten Königreich Englands im 17ten Jahrhundert, Stuttgart, 1855, is a work of similar character. In addition to the histories of philosophy, the chapters on Locke in the following works may be referred to: H. Adamson, The Development of Modern Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1903, i. 1; L. Stephen, History of English Thought in the 18th Century, London, 1897, both vols.; The Cambridge History of English Literature, Cambridge, 1907-15, viii. ch. xiv. (W. R. Sorley). Of more special works those of G. von Hertling (John Locke und die Schule von Cambrio, Freiburg, 1892), G. Geil (Ueber die philosophischen Lehren Locke's von Descartes, Strassburg, 1893), and R. Sommer (Locke's Verhältniss zu Descartes, Berlin, 1897) deal with the difficult question of Locke's relation to his predecessors; that of J. A. Martin (Die Logik Johns Locke's, Berlin, 1914) with the philosophy proper.

H. BARKER.

LOCKS AND KEYS.—Before the invention of bolts or later, of locks and keys, a variety of devices were in use to secure safety. Many peoples at a low level of culture live in shelters or huts, one side of which is quite open (Tsamians, Seminoles, Indians of Guiana, etc.), and others live in a house only for occasional purposes—sleeping, birth, sickness, death, etc.—so that the house is not inhabited in other instances, even where no doors exist, attempts


are made to render the entrance secure. The huts of the Eskimos are approached by a narrow winding passage along which one must creep on all fours. Kumi villages are stockaded, and the house is approached by a door which is quite open (Canadians, Seminoles, Indians of Guiana, etc.), and others live in a house only for occasional purposes—sleeping, birth, sickness, death, etc.—so that the house is not inhabited in other instances, even where no doors exist, attempts


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LOCKS AND KEYS

(cf. § 3 (d)). A conqueror in Egypt sealed the doors of the temple of Rē after having bolted them.1

1. Primitive locks and keys.—In some of the instances cited above a bar set against the movable door, without a bolt or lock, of various names is found. Doors and gates swinging on hinges were also held with bars of wood, bronze, or iron, set across from one doorpost to the other, the ends being set in holes in these (cf. § 5, No. 27). Is 45, Jg 16). In the temple of Ptah (Babylonia, Egypt). In Homer, Il. xii. 455 ff., two bars are pushed out from square holes in the doorposts and meet in dovetailed fashion in the centre. A bolt or wedge keeps them in position. The primitive bolt, at first of wood, then of metal, slid into a staple on the doorpost.2 Where folding doors were used, probably a vertical bolt above or below held one leaf, and a horizontal bolt fixed both in the centre. The bolt might be shot backwards or forwards by means of a cord from outside, secured to a catch by a series of knots. Or such a cord might lift a latch, the bar of which turned on a wooden pin.3 Before the use of locks and keys a simple method of sliding a bolt was used in Greece as well as in central and northern Europe, in the shape of a bent lock or sickle-shaped rod. This was passed through a hole and driven into the bolt or on a projecting knob. Such "keys" have been found in archaeological remains. A similar key about 2 ft. long made of iron with a broad blade at one end and a narrow end, is known in India as the "chief's door-key," is in use in N. Nigeria.4 Another method was to hold the bolt in place by means of a peg also worked from outside by means of a string. A further development, implying the use of a key, consisted in using pegs which fell from an upright into corresponding sockets in the bolt. These pegs might be fitted in different ways according to the type of lock in use. In one type two pegs fell into notches in the bolt when it was pushed home, and held it in place. To raise these a T-shaped key was used.5 It was pushed vertically through a hole in the door, given a quarter turn, bringing the arms into a horizontal position, and then pulled slightly back so that the returns of the T fitted into holes in the pegs, which could now be raised. The bolt was then pulled back by means of a string.6 In the second type a number of small pegs drop into holes in the bolt and are then flushed with its lower surface. The key consists of a rod bent at a right angle with teeth cut about one end.7 When inserted below the bolt, the teeth raise the pegs flush with its upper surface, and the bolt can then be pushed back by the key. Innumerable varieties of this type of lock are known, and the key is probably that known as "Laconian" with three teeth, the invention of which was attributed to the Laconians. Locks and keys of this type were used in Egypt, among the Romans (often of an elaborate pattern), Greeks, Scandinavians, and possibly the Celts.8 Both of these locks are of the,tumbler, type, as is also the third, the tumbler being a "bolt of a bolt." In this the pins drop into holes in the bolt and are collared, until they are flush with the upper side of the hole in which the bolt could be pulled back. In this case the key, which is sometimes of very large size, was put through a hole in the door large enough to let the hand pass through with it, but in some cases the lock is fixed on the outside. This type of lock was used in Egypt (perhaps not earlier than Roman times), and is still common there, in Oriental countries generally from early times—Syria, Arabia, Palestine—in Scandinavia, in Scotland, where it is still found in remote parts of the W. Highlands, among the Negroes of Jamaica, in British Guiana (where it may have been introduced by settlers), and among the Zulus (perhaps of Moorish origin).9

1 The first of these types is supposed to be the kind of lock which Peneleos opens in Odyssey, xx. 46 ff. Diels, however, regards the strap as fastening the lock to the door with a latch, which loosens it (probably it was tied by a secret knot) then through a hole in the door she inserts a bar of metal bent twice at a right angle; its end strikes the bolt, driving it out of its staple. If there were two bolts, both, connected together, could be shot at once. A large key of this kind is often represented on monuments as a hieratic survival, carried by priestesses.10 It is akin to the sickle-shaped key already described. In Benin a key and bolt working somewhat on this principle are in use. The bolt has a knob; the key is a metal rod, to the end of which is attached another piece bent twice at a right angle; at the other end is a ring-shaped handle. This key is inserted through a hole in the door, the keyhole being at a height above the bolt corresponding to the size of the key. The end of the key impinges on the knob, and, when a turn is given to it, the bolt is slid along. The bolts in the king's palace were of carved ivory.11 Locks and keys more or less of this type, but of other wood, are used by the Wamba of British Central Africa. The key has teeth of 2 or 3 inches in length. When it is turned, it moves a wooden bolt into place.12 Among savage tribes generally civilized influences are introducing the use of European or American locks and padlocks—e.g., among the Barangon and elsewhere in Africa.13

1 Amsch. Them. 41 ff.; Diels, p. 144; Wilkinson, l. 354; Brit. Mus. Guide to . . . Cer., and Rom. Life, p. 163 f. A key of this type might consist simply of a bent rod to lift one peg. This kind is used in Egypt, Persia, India, Turkey, etc. (Pitt-Rivers, p. 9).


4 Pitt-Rivers, passim; Diels, p. 141; Darmereburg-Seghlo, s. e. "Sera" and "Jen." 1866, 51 ff.

5 Diels, p. 123 f.; Darmereburg-Seghlo, loco. citat.


8 T. E. Bowdich, Madag. 1831, l. 30.


10 Du Chaillu refers to native locks used for chests and doors in Gombe, Equatorial Africa, but does not describe them. Among savage tribes generally civilized influences are introducing the use of European or American locks and padlocks—e.g., among the Barangon and elsewhere in Africa.
LOCKS AND KEYS

In another type, used mainly in padlocks, the key thrust into the lock compresses springs, thus permitting the shackle to be withdrawn. Such padlocks were used in Egypt, and are still known in W. Africa (possibly of Egyptian origin). They were also known by the Romans, and are still extant in China and India (the so-called puzzle padlocks). The Romans had flat keys for raising latches, similar to those in use to-day. Both the Greeks and the Romans had the lock with wards through which the key passes, thus moving the bolt backwards or forwards. Keys of a simple type to suit such locks are represented on vases. More elaborately keys are often small circular or oval, a part of finger-rings, the key lying flat upon the finger. False keys were also used by Roman robbers.

While locks of the primitive types here described were used in different parts of Europe and are indeed still used in remote districts, the ward system, with obstacles to prevent any but the proper key from turning the bolt, was much used during the Middle Ages. The principle of the tumbler lock was applied to locks during the 16th century. Roman keys terminated in a flat or perforated handle; others were of an open lozenge, ovate, or round shape. Until the 13th cent. keys bore a handle as late as the 15th to 16th centuries they terminated in a lozenge, trefoil, or quatrefoil. After this, and especially in the 16th cent., they had elaborately decoration and became wondrously complicated. The tumblers forming the stem were often filled with ornament, the stem itself was ornamented or took the form of an animal or human figure, or stem and bow took the form of a female Even the webs were sometimes ornamental.

2. The key as symbol.—The importance of the key, as that by which doors guarding treasure, stores, etc., are opened, was marked in ancient times. This doubtless originated in the period when locks and keys of a primitive type were first invented and their value made plain to all.

(a) Frequently the wife as Hausfrau bears the household keys symbolically. She is the key-bearer for her husband. Among the Romans the newly-married wife was given the keys of the storerooms. The divorced wife was to surrender the keys; hence the formula in the Twelve Tables signifying divorce:—claves ademit, exspect. The wife who separated from her husband sent him away with these words:—claves ademit, exspect. Among the Centaurs and Scandinavians the bride was decked with keys at her girdle. Here also at divorces she had to give up the keys, and 'taking away' or 'giving up the keys' became a formula of divorce. Among the Greeks a widow placed keys and girdle on the corpse of the dead husband as a sign of renunciation in participation of goods—a custom found elsewhere, and also signifying that the widow was free of obligation. Slaves carried keys of various parts of the house, and the janitor bore the house-key. In the Christian Church the church-treasurer who carried the keys of the treasury was called key-bearer. Is 22:2 laying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder signifies transference of the supremacy of the kingdom, and the imagery is taken from the large keys opening tumblers locks carried on the shoulder in the East. In Equatorial Africa, as chests containing treasure are a synonym for property, and as they are kept locked with either native or American locks, the richer a man has the richer he is. Hence keys in large numbers are worn as a symbol of wealth.

(b) Since many divinities were key-bearers, their priestesses bore keys symbolically, signifying that the divine powers were theirs, or that they were guardians of the sanctuary of the gods. Priestesses are often represented carrying on their shoulder a large key of the rectangular type, already alluded to as an archaic survival; a key represented on a grave-stone signifies the burial-place of a priestess.

Iphigenia is called ἀλέθεας ('key-bearer') of Artonia, and Ιο ηλιόδορος of Hera. Cassandra bore the keys of Hecate, and in the mysteries of the goddess the priestess was κλείσιδος, while the priestess of Ceres was κλείσιδος ιυκίδας.

(c) As has been shown in the art. Door (vol. iv. p. 851 ff.), heaven and the underworld were believed to be regions or abodes with doors and gates. These doors and gates had bars and bolts as well as locking or opening devices. The doors and gates made to the heavens and attached secure bolts to them. Some is said to open the bolt of the bright heaven, and to Ishtar's supremacy is said to belong the opening of the gates of the district, whether its seven gates has also bolts. Over these dust is scattered, and Ishtar threatens to break the bolts when she descends thither. The gates of Pluto's realm are closed with iron bars and bolts. The Hebrews had similar conceptions. Sceol has bars (Job 17:7; cf. Ps. 107:16; Hades and the Abyss have locks and keys (Rev 14:8; 20:9). These conceptions were still retained in the Christian Church. Cybele is represented with a key—that of earth, which is shut in winter and opened in spring. Eros has keys of sea and earth as well as of heaven, and has a key with which he has kept his own presses (πτερνον θεον). The Egyptian Sarapis has keys of earth and sea.

In Hebrew thought the sea has doors and bars, and the earth has bars. In Breton folklore is found the curious idea that menhirs are keys of the sea. Should they be lifted, the sea would rush in. They are also keys of hell. Fairlyland likewise has its doors with locks and keys, and the key is sometimes given to a favoured mortal in order that he may obtain treasure.

(d) It is not surprising, therefore, that some gods were represented with keys, those of the region which they guarded. Is 2:7. Is 22:2 laying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder signifies that that key was a symbol of power—the power which was represented in the opening or closing of doors. Is 22:2 laying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder signifies transference of the supremacy of the

1 Cuming, op. cit. p. 131; Welis, op. cit. p. 385; Pitt-Rivers, p. 36. Specimen a to be seen in most ethnological collections.
3 Diels, p. 140 ff.
4 Salust, Bellum Jugurth. 12.
6 Giener, Philipp. ii. 28; Ambrose, Ep. 68 (Ps. xvi. 98); Duraugio, 4th Cent. Claves remissi
9 Durango, 4th Cent. 'Claver.'
LOCKS AND KEYS

The power of keys as an element of religious belief has long been recognized. In Greek and Roman mythology, the keys were symbolically associated with various divine powers and aspects of the afterlife. The names of the keys were often used as passwords or amulets, believed to possess magical properties.

1. **Sacred Keys**
   - **Pindar** refers to three keys: the keys of fate, love, and the divine keys. The act of guarding the gates of heaven with keys reflects the importance of these keys in religious contexts.
   - **Celsum** mentions the closing of doors with keys, indicating the symbolic and practical use of keys in maintaining order and protection.

2. **Historical Context**
   - In ancient Greece, keys were used to symbolize the protection of the divine realm. The keys of Hades, held by **Pluto**, were associated with the underworld and the afterlife.
   - The key of **Hecate** was said to possess magical properties, allowing access to the underworld.

3. **Magical Uses**
   - The ritual of the **Keys of the Universe** is depicted in the work of **Carvaccio**, symbolizing the power to control the spiritual world.

4. **Divine Keys**
   - **Thesmophoria** and **Festivals** were occasions when keys were used to open and close gates, reflecting their importance in religious rituals.

5. **Locks and Keys in Culture**
   - The use of locks and keys has persisted throughout history, serving various religious, magical, and ritualistic purposes.

6. **Rabbinic Literature**
   - **Rabbinic texts** highlight the association of keys with the Afterlife, emphasizing the importance of these symbols in religious practice.

7. **Historical Significance**
   - The use of keys and locks in religious contexts is paralleled in other cultures and time periods, reflecting a universal human tendency to utilize symbolic objects for protection and control.

In summary, the power of keys and locks is deeply ingrained in human culture and religious tradition, symbolizing control, protection, and access to the divine.

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2. *Ovid, Fasti*, i. 10, 117 ff.; *Macrobius*, i. ix. 7.
5. *Dios., p. 29 f.
9. For a more detailed account of the use of keys in religious contexts, see *Aristoph. Thesis, 976*; *Juden, Jt. in. 39*. 
LOCKS AND KEYS

In the island of Zaeithyos a key is placed on the breast of a corpse, because, being of iron, it will scare away evil spirits, though the popular explanation is that it will open the gate of paradise. According to a belief in Poitou, when a wervol is struck between the eyes with a key, the enchantment ends, and the human form is resumed.

(c) Another magical use is the silver and key. A large key, sometimes an ancient or hereditary key, is placed flat between the leaves of a Bible, which is then closed and bound with cord. The handle of the key projects and is held in the hand or on the fingers of one or two persons, while some formula is being said. At the psychological moment it twists and turns, thus indicating whatever is desired to be discovered. This has superseded earlier methods—e.g., with a silver—

but Reginald Scot already mentions the use of a psalter and key. (1) They are used as a cure for nose-bleeding. Here the patient turns the Bible and key round, while the wise man repeats a charm. Then the latter removes the key and places it down the patient’s back, while the patient holds the Bible. This is supposed to cure the bleeding entirely. The latter part of the charm is often used, but seldom now in a magical way. A similar use of Bible and key is for the purpose of **unwitching** a patient. (2) It is also used in divination, usually by making the cimereion (see below). The names of the suspected persons are repeated with the formula, ‘Turn Bible, turn round the key, turn, key, turn, and show the name to me.’ At the right name the key twists and the Bible drops from the hand. Within recent years such a use is known to have actually led to an arrest. (3) The Bible and key (or the key alone) are used in E. Anglia to divine with, and also to help a vessel entering or leaving port. To assist it to enter port, the key is turned towards oneself, and, to leave port, away from oneself.

(4) The keyhole, as an opening by which fairies, spirits, and the like may enter the house, is often magically protected. Thus in the Sporades it is stopped with a skin of flax to prevent vampires from entering. They would require to count all the threads in the skin before going so. In Cyprus, on locking up, the cross is signed with the key over the keyhole. (5) In Germany the keyhole is stopped up in order to outwit the Mar (‘nightmare’) which enters thereby to say, ‘In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,’ when locking a door, as a protection against genii. The door cannot then be opened by them. (6) In Aude a vase is filled with boiling water, placed before the door to prevent visits from a spirit, and in Savoy a watch-glass. The spirit broke the latter and then left in disgust. Stables, cow-houses, etc., are sometimes protected by tying charms to the key—usually a perforated stone (the key-stone which keeps off the demon Mara) and a horn. (7) In Babylonian demons were said to slip into houses through bolts, etc., ‘gliding like snakes,’ and it may have been to prevent this that libations were poured over these ($ r$; for other precautions taken see Door, vol. iv. p. $40^b$).

1. L. L. Lewchrest, Zur Volksmund, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 398; —. 'Chinno','
3. F. E. Thompson-Dyer, English Folk-Lore, London, 1878, p. 225; —. Notes from Notes and Queries, vol. 1399, p. 117; cf. Scott, Guy Mannering, ch. 71, 'And who ever heard of a door being barred when a man goes in? how do think the spirit was to get a-aw’ through bolts and bars like that.'
4. FL xlvi (1901) 122; on. vol. xix (1898) 218, 222, 223, 469; Cuming, loc. cit. on. 127; cf. also, for additional data, Erich. Ev., vol. v. F 31.
5. FL xvi (1894) 191.
6. —. The Folklore of China, London, 1876, p. 58; FL x (1904) 208; FL xxi (1909) 725; cf. iii. 315; cf. ERB ii. 436b.

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4. The key-flower.—Medieval legend and later story had much to say regarding certain mysterious or magical properties of the Locust flower. It could neither make locks fly open nor cause a rock to move in a mountain to swing open and so admit the seeker to obtain treasure hidden there. The flower was blue, red, or white, and was said to resemble the flower of the Lobster (Sclatulatumblume); similar properties were also ascribed to the *Springforsiel*, or ‘explosive root,’ usually obtained from a woodpecker whose nest had been closed up with a wooden block. She flies off to seek the root, returns with it, and applies it to the bung, which is forced out with a loud noise. It is then taken by the treasure-seeker, who uses it as the flower is used in other instances. 2

Alian and Pliny knew of this legend, but speak of a plant, and the latter elsewhere refers to a herb by which all things closed can be opened. 3 This is the shadim of Rabbinitic legend, a kind of worm or stone in possession of a magician. 4 In connection with these stories of mountain treasures obtained by the wonder-flower, there are usually mysterious white ladies who guard the secrets of these flowers. She is given a bunch of keys which also give access to the treasure. 5

There is a German belief that where the rainbow touches the earth a golden key falls, which gives its name to the flower. 6 In the story of ‘Ali bābā, the rock that would not open, the hero obtains a bunch of keys which also give access to the treasure.”

2. Among the miracles of the Christian world is the ability of the Locust flower, formerly classified as *Acridium pergrinum*. *Pachypus migratorius*, formerly *Eipodopa migratoria*, also appears in the Levant. They belong to the family of the Grasshoppers, the other important species of which are inhabitants of Africa. 7 The locust-like insects of entomologists are the European grasshoppers. The OT has nine different names; it is improbable that these refer to different species. That most often employed by them was *râbâh*, probably connected with נַרָע, multiply. 8

1. The larva, not the perfect insect, is the destructive form. This blackish larva, which moves by hopping, resembles the imago very closely, but the wings are immature. The perfect insect walks until after a sixth change, when it is able to fly. Three to four inches in length, the larva, as it advances to the imago, passes from black to brown and green.

While we must distinguish the absolutely destructive larvae from the relatively harmless winged insects, some accounts of the flights of the latter are collateral, having been brought together in the popular imagination. It is curious that modern observers have described the march of the larvae, as terrible in its completeness of destruction as that of the vultures of Africa. But possibly such OT writers as Joel were familiar with the phenomenon, however vaguely they may refer to it. As will be seen from the account cited, it is far more impressive than the flight.

2. The locust flight.—Darwin’s account has a typical value:

*... a ragged cloud of a dark reddish-brown colour. At first we thought that it was smoke from some great fire on the plains; but we soon found that it was a swarm of locusts. They were flying ... at a rate of ten or fifteen miles an hour. The main column filled the air from the height of twenty feet, to that, as it appeared, of two or three thousand above the ground. The swarms were 'like a turbid cloud' when seen from the rigging of the ship. They were not, however,  

1. OED, s.v.: ‘Lobster’ and ‘Locust’. Old Cornish has *logost*, and Fr. langouste: cf. Triv. Coll. Brit. 2(230 a.): ‘wild life of the sea and in the land, and in the woods and in the mountains’. The word appears to mean originally the ‘springer’ (the ‘grass-hopper’; cf. also Fr. sauterelle; sauter), and to be connected with Gr. άναλογον, Leech *.sauter*; spring. (A. W. W. Lat. etymology, Wettstein, 1610, p. 438 f.) The Beers term their ‘locust’ *vögtezburger*; this is the larva, and is called in the Portuguese by the Italians *scaglieri*, and by the Italians *scaglieri*, with which Gr. *Hippokratos* may be compared. Cf. 224, and *stier* 251 repeat this analogy of form and movement with the locust.  

2. HN xxxviii, (39).  

3. F. E. Shipley, ‘Locust’ in *EB*; E. Gauthier, art.  

4. G. E. Post, art. ‘Locust’ in *HDB*.  

LOCUST

so thick together, but that they could escape a stick waved above them. Indeed, they were so thick and the wind so
powerful as to resemble the patterning of a heavy rain—
towards midnight they light— they often break the branches
of the trees, and even large houses are overwhelmed by its
flight as soon as the sun has warmed a little—it has not time to
destroy all the vegetation.1

In 1888, a swarm over the Red Sea occupied 2000
square miles; its weight was calculated at 42,550
million tons.2

Mauro, writing of locusts in S. Africa, states that, when
driven into the sea, they may 'lie on the beach as
a bank from three to four feet thick and from fifty to
one hundred yards in length, and the stench from the corruptions
of their bodies, it is affirmed, is sensibly perceived for a
hundred and fifty miles inland.3 He describes the movements of
the flying locusts as 'curious, interesting, and pretty.'

All observers agree with the Psalmsman (Ps 10530)
that locust swarms follow the course of the wind.

18. A few species of flying insects do injure here and there...
but they do not destroy everything before them, like
the army of the larval stage or jumpers.4

3. The locust march.—After the flight
the females lay their eggs in the soil, each oviseous
containing about a hundred eggs.

When the tiny creatures issue from their nest... the
very dust of the ground which was so still before, now
seems to weigh as much as the earth itself, a process of twisting
or rolling over one another, so that for the first few days
they receive the name of swimmers (South Africa).

Within eight or ten days, however, can numerously jump four or
five times, and at the age of three or four weeks a new characteristic
makes its appearance to the dismay of all who come
in contact with these insects. The whole company moves in a body
in one general direction, and more or less in a straight line, as if
by some common instinct, without apparently having any recognised
leader or commander.5

Marching thus over the country, they eat every-
thing that comes in their way, even the bark of
trees; they enter houses and 'eat the very clothes
and curtains at the windows'; they even eat the
wood off the sheep; and, 'last stage of all that
enters the locust army,' they eat one another.

When the very gangers are on their way, they
resemble and receive from the Boers the name of
an 'army on the march.'

It is in this marching stage that the very gangers do enormous
damage and eat every edible thing in their path, and completely
destroy the valuable trees and crops.6

The passage is eloquent testimony of the
size and destructive power of these insects.7

The tree is covered, the leaves and flowers are eaten,
and the locusts are disposed to leap with a perfect
harmony; but when the larvae hatch out, in
fifteen or twenty days, they enter the trees or, if they can,
are carried off by the wind.8

The only successful method of exterminating locusts was adopted in
Cyprus in 1881. Since 1900 the island had been
a wilderness. Matthew, conversant with the habits of
the larvae, erected an insurmountable wall of
carob and leather round the main area. Unable
to pass the smooth leather, the locusts fell into the
trench dug beneath. At the same time 3,000 tons of
eggs were destroyed. The plague has been ob-
soluted ever since.

4. Supersition and metaphor. —Among the
Dravidians of Mirzapur, when locusts threaten the
gardens, the natives catch one, decorate its head with
red lead (in accordance with ceremonial customs
there), and let it go. The whole swarm is then believed to depart.9

Similarly in Syria, when caterpillars invade a vineyard or
field, a certain number of them are gathered, and the head of the
caterpillars

was taken and a girl made its mother. Then they bewailed
and buried it. After it was buried, it came to the place where the
caterpillars were, consoling her, in order that all the caterpillars
might leave the vineyard.10

It is not unlikely that the 'caterpillars' mentioned in this account
are the locust larvae. The concordant method of expelling pests and vermin
is a fact well attested, and Shaftesbury, in his
adduced by Frazer to explain such titles of Greek
deities as Locust Apollo, Locust Hercules, and
Muse Apollo.1

Such worship were originally addressed, not to the high
as the protectors of mankind, but to the beneficent
things themselves, the mics, locusts, midge, and so forth, with
the intention of flattering and soothing them, of obtaining feet
malignity, and of persuading them to spare their worshippers.12

In Hebrew literature, and thence to a certain extent in European,
the locust is a symbol of de-
structive agencies.13 The OT also employs it to
illustrate number and combination.14

5. Locusts as food. —Since the time of Herodotus
the use of locusts as food has been known.

Thomson limits it to the Bedawin of the frontier, and
observes:

'Locusts are always spoken of as a very inferior article of food,
and regarded by most with disgust—to be eaten only by the
very poorest people.'15

They are roasted and eaten with butter, after
the head, legs, and wings have been removed.

They are also dried and then beaten into a powder,
as a substitute for flour.16 According to Burckhardt,
they were roasted and kept in sacks with salt.
He says the Bedawin never used them as a dish,
but would take a handful when hungry.17

Van Lennep states that they resemble shrimps in
flavour. Horses and camels are often fed with
them, and they are exposed for sale in the markets of
Baghdad, Medina, and Damascus.18

The Law forbade Israel to eat 'creeping things';
'yet may ye eat of all winged creeping things
that go upon four, which have legs, four
in number, that leap upon the earth.'19

The exception includes the locust. The gospel account of locusts
forming part of the diet of John the Baptist is
accepted by most writers.20 But Cheyne argues in
favour of the ancient tradition that the ἄρμπα is
the beans or pods of the carob tree. This is a
definite meaning of the words ἄρμπα and 'locust,'
and the latter is even applied to the similar bean of
the cassia tree. The resemblance between the insect
and the bean is the reason for the identity of
name. The carob beans are the 'husks' referred
to as food for swine in the parable of the Prodigal
Son, and they are still sold for food in Syria.21 In
medieval literature these beans are St. John's
bread. In ancient Palestine there was a proverb,
'Israel needs carob beans to do repentance.'22 They
were a type of the food of the poor, and the
connexion is between poverty and repentance, the
1. From the Chrones of Jacob of Edessa, quoted by J. G. Frazer,
JPG, pt. iv., Spirits of the Corn and of the Wind, London, 1912,
ii. 215 f.

2. 2b. Lxx 31 f.; Stabro, XIII. 4; Psalms, xxxvi. 9; Estabina,
Baphe. ii. 33, p. 24; cit. also O. Gruppe, Griech. Mythik.

3. 1 Peter, op. cit., p. 283.


5. Bib. Eber, xvi. 4; Proverbs, xxvi. 6; Psalms, xxxvi. 9; Estabin,
Baphe. ii. 33, p. 24; cit. also O. Gruppe, Griech. Mythik.


7. From the Chrones of Jacob of Edessa, quoted by J. G. Frazer,
JPG, pt. iv., Spirits of the Corn and of the Wind, London, 1912,
ii. 215 f.

8. 1 Peter, loc. cit.; H. J. Van Lennep, Bible Lands, London,
1873, p. 391; T. W. Wilson, Travels in Egypt and the Holy
Land, 2, 1880, p. 330; S. R. Driver, Joel and Amos, Cambridge,
1897, p. 330;

9. J. L. Burckhardt, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,

ii. 301.

11. L. B. Sturtevant, loc. cit.

ii. 301.


15. Lk 10:35, 37; 15:21; 21:35; 24:27; 1 Cor. 15:38; 2 Peter
1:6; Rev. 14:19; 18:21. The word "locust" is the Aramaic
name for the tree, Ceratonia silique (Cheyne, loc. cit.).

LOGIC

LOGIC.—I. DEFINITION.—Exceptional difficulties lie in the way of a general description of logic, because the definite increment of knowledge which is undertaken by primary sciences is not claimed here in a sense that is comparable. In logic we merely 're-traverse familiar ground, and survey it by unfamiliar processes. We do not, except accidentally, so much as widen our mental horizon' (B. Bosanquet, Essentials of Logic, p. 2). And exceptional pains may be necessary in explaining how it is possible to make no unfamiliar objects amount to knowledge and science.

A knowledge of knowledge cannot be proposed with quite the same assurance as a knowledge of specialized natural sciences, and, even, of beauty or goodness. Some writers have proposed an art, rather than a science or even a philosophy; and others, a science of a special kind of mental processes, or a method of relations of our personality to the universe. Mansel collects the following varied descriptions of the subject (Introd. to Aldrich, Artis Logicae Compendium, p. 316).

Logic is a part of philosophy (the Stoics). It is not a part, but an instrument (Peripatetics). It is both a science and an art (Petrus Hispanus and others). It is neither science nor art, but an instrumental habit (Greek commentators). It is a science and not an art (Albertus Magnus and others). It is an art and not a science (Ramus and others). It is the science of argumentation (the Aristotelians), of the operations of the mind so far as they are dirigible by laws (Aquinas), of the syllogism (Scotus), of the directions of the cognitive faculty to the knowledge of truth (C. Wolf), of the universal and necessary laws of thought without distinction of its objects (Kant), of the processes of the understanding concerned in the estimation of events (J. S. Mill). It is the art of thinking (P. Gassendi, Arnauld), of reasoning (J. Amyot), of the art of reason (J. Clauberr, Watts), of dissertation (Ramus), of teaching (Machmuth), of directing the mind to any object (George Beaumont), of forms of instruments for the discussion of the facts (Burgersdijk, E. Sanderson, Aldrich).

Underneath such summary phrases as 'laws of thinking', 'forms of knowledge', which have become common in the more modern definitions, there still lie very varied suggestions as to scope and method.

The following are influential examples:

"A collection of precepts or rules for thinking, grounded on a scientific investigation of the requisites of valid thought" (Mill, System of Logic, 1843, p. 487).

"If we analyse the mental phenomena with the view of discovering ... the laws by which our faculties are governed, to the end that we may obtain a criterion by which to judge or to explain their procedures and manifestations ... we have a science which we may call the Psychology of Mind. Pure Logic is only an artificiate development of the various modes in which they [the primary conditions of the possibility of valid thought] are applied and as such, the whole of our logic (Hamilton, Lectures, Edin. and London, 1859-60, 1122, 1123, 1124).

"The conditions under which thought can arrive at propositions which are certain and universally valid. ... and the rules to be followed accordingly" (C. von Sigwart, Logic, Eng. tr., London, 1888, § 3.1).

1. The doctrine of the regulative laws, on whose observance rests the realization of the idea of truth in the theoretical sciences. The primary distinction is that of 'the true' and of the 'false' (op. cit. and Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences, Eng. tr., i, 11); or in co-ordinating cognitive life with

1 Cheyne, art. 'Husks' in E.B.
other moments of cosmic existence, that the "value" which is the object of philosophical Logic is logical reality and fact itself." (J. Croce, ib. p. 203). Logical consciousness reinforces this similarity, though the doctrine is essentially neither description of the experience nor discrimination of the faculty nor perspective of the event, but expression of the aim.

3. Independence—in analogy with Kant's celebrated criticism of knowledge, that it all begins with experience, but does not all spring from experience, we can say that logical consciousness begins with knowledge, but does not spring from it, or wait for a licence from it in the same way that empirical science has to wait for its special data. Even the borrowings from psychology and metaphysics are not for the purpose of conferring authority on logic, but are methodical devices for making it precise, for "unfolding an inward conviction," as Butler claimed to do in regard to conscience. The logical rule is neither more nor less nor there is conscience in science. It is indifferent to the manifestations of personality in feeling or action, and even in so much of cognition as escapes control.

4. Discipline—Thus the motive of logic is not furnished by the world of objects, but by the aims of personality; if an art, it is a cognitive art, if a science, a disciplinary science; and it is sustained by our solidarity for intellectual self-government. The historical beginnings of logical theory are to be found in those racial dispositions and social conditions which gave occasion for the deliberate control of our trains of thought. In India it appears to have originated with rules in ceremonial gatherings:

"From the Brahmanic decisions on disputed points arising in the theory of individual intellectuality there is no arguing with him" (Windelband, loc. cit. i. 25). All we can do is, in the words of Kant, to "make the rule followed by the understanding a separate object of thought" (Introd., § 7).

5. Disciplined—Thus the motive of logic is not furnished by the world of objects, but by the aims of personality; if an art, it is a cognitive art, if a science, a disciplinary science; and it is sustained by our solidarity for intellectual self-government. The historical beginnings of logical theory are to be found in those racial dispositions and social conditions which gave occasion for the deliberate control of our trains of thought. In India it appears to have originated with rules in ceremonial gatherings:

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And with Gotama the inwardness of logical concern has outworn its ceremonial form.

"The end proposed is the escaping from liability to transmigration, and the attainment of tranquil and eternally un-interrupted bliss" (Aptratna, tr. J. B. Ballantine, Introd. p. 25).

In Greece it originated with canons of public debate and scientific instruction; the propaganda of plausibility by the Sophists, the challenges to the complacency of popular beliefs issued by Socrates, the polemics of Zeno.

Some of Aristotle's predecessors, he records, 'had given natural, others interregna, discourses to learn—since they imagined that they should instruct their pupils by delivering, not logic but the effects of art' (Soph. Elench. ch. 31). The art which constituted deepening belief—Gotama's, into pure reflection and self-consumption, for 'dialectic (the art of discussion), being investigative, holds the way to the principles of all methodical thought' (Topics, i. ch. 2, Soph. Elench. ch. 3.2).

But in the Greek, unlike the Hindu, logical illumination, reflection fastened upon conviction at the point of intellectual intelligence, is essential neither to the intelligence of humanity at large—just as in Greek ethics the good of the individual merges in that of the State. The Greek forms of proposition and syllogism serve to symbolize a world of intelligences, where a common record of conviction can be main-

tained amid determinations of experience and fore-sight varying and changing with the individuals; the Greek analysis of demonstrative science idealizes the inner coherence of such a record, whereby it demarcates the individual intellect, while the Greek dialectic is the interplay through which vitality, welling from the latter, streams into the record.

The motive of logic being disciplinary, its method must be adjusted to the intellectual forces which are permanently constitutive of civilization; and its general scope cannot change to the extent to which other sciences change, where any advance may open up new vistas of inquiry. Kant is able to say:

"Since Aristotle's time Logic has not gained much in extent, as indeed it is never at home in that department of knowledge which we are now discussing, and which is comprehended under the name of the demonstrative sciences. The mediator of this transition, which has only been propagated step by step, is the history of the human mind, and the kind of synthetic ideas that it has produced [as well as the like]." (Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, B. 1000).

Nevertheless, it must share the vicissitudes in fortune of civilization as a whole. And the more influential of these, since Aristotle, have been the period set on the range of free judgment during medieval centuries, the value set upon personality by modern man, and the scientific regulating progress of physical sciences in the most recent times—three influences which have some connexion with a certain exaggeration in value which has been the lot of the three departments of doctrine successively in scholastic, modern, and recent years, and has transformed at least the dialectic almost beyond recognition. For the contrasts and controversies between the historic schools are questions of emphasis and balance in what might be called the 'dimensions of logical discipline, to borrow a conception from geometry; or in the fundamental 'ideas' used in forming our conceptions, to borrow from Whewell's philosophy of all scientific discovery whatever.

In almost every science 'controversies' have turned upon the possible relations of Ideas, such questions as 'the actual relations of Facts' (Phiilosophy of Discovery, p. 265).

The dimensions or ideas in which the historic schools have formed conceptions for logical value may be distinguished as explicitness, consistency, relevance, and system.

II. PRINCIPLES—Parallel with what Whewell says as to the progress of physical sciences, we have the sentence: "the critical science requires at this time: that it is to be able to reduce the objects and events of the world to a conformity with ideas which we have in our minds—i.e. the Ideas, for instance, of Substance, Numerical Composition, and the like . . . the Idealization of Facts," (Whewell, as cited in the preceding).

We may expect for logic also that:

'the exhaustive solution of the great aggregate of logical problems can only grow out of the union of all the different methods of treatment to which logic has been subjected in virtue of the inner essential multiplicities of its nature' (Windelband, loc. cit. i. 9). But the different 'methods' must be such as are grounded, if not in the systematic continuity of a philosophical theory of knowledge, as Windelband requires, still in the unity of dimensions in consciousness of logical value. The 'principles' of logic must be these dimensions.

1. Explicitness.—The earliest of such dimensions to be utilized in the formation of logical conceptions was that of explicitness. We must be conscious of the definite germinal organization within our judgments or inferences, whenever occasion arises to make an individual sentence, or propositions as 'the only postulate of Logic which requires an articulate announcement . . . to be allowed to state explicitly in language all that is implicitly contained in the meaning of a proposition.' (Gott.). And Gotama inaugurated the history of the science by detailing sixteen conceptions for our guidance in the analysis of this 'content,' as 'standards of right notion.'

'Proof (ie. the faculty of a right notion): the object of a
right notion; doubt; motive; familiar fact; scholastic tenet; sophisms; hypotheses; fallacies; controversy; fallacies; discursive fallacies; the truth in regard to these (sixteen things), there is the attainment of supreme good. 

The logical consciousness became more sensitive to the contact of individual thinking with this 'static formulation' of the theorems and theorems. Most essential for forming conceptions suitable to the spiritual emergency is that of consistency. It is not the consistency between thought and thought which in modern times became the ideal of Hamilton and the subjectivity formal, logicians, but that which makes possible the allegiance of individual intellects, with varying perceptions, memories, and premonitions, to common formulations of knowledge.  

(a) Interpretative.—In recent psychology the paradoxical tenet is held, that while a 'permanently existing idea' appearing in consciousness 'at periodical intervals' is a mythological entity, 'the mind can always intend...to think the same.' (W. James, Text-book of Psychology, London, 1882, chs. xi. and xiv.). Similarly, we may say that, while a judgement identical in many respects to the mind is mythological, varying acts of judgment may give allegiance to the same spiritual truth, and join in the same inferential trend. It is such truth and trend, and not any range of individual experience and foresight, that allow Aristotle to postulate: 'the proposition of the same thing about the same thing' (de Interpretatione, vi. 1), and the continuation of the same section within the same collection, of actual or possible objects of thought. The actual variability within this mythical identity is veiled by the indefiniteness of the form of proposition named 'particular'; and the actual poverty of human foresight, by the human proposition, distributing possibilities, as though on a more chart, to an infinite range. That 'some men die willingly' cannot be the same thought for you and for me, and that 'all men die' is beyond the intellectual concern of either of us. Yet we consent that death is not the supreme terror, and we foresee it widespread as far as our imaginations can have any concern. Aristotle's Prior Analytics must, be translated from the logical into the other kind of logical, or, the way to express, the 'idea' (b) (the question, or predetermined void in the system of our knowledge, which brings faculty and reality into the co-operation in the inferential synthesis; there must be (a) the probandum, defined by doubt and motive; (b) the reason, appealing to a sign; (c) the example, verifying a principle of signification; (d) the application, investigating the reason with the significance of the example; and (e) the conclusion, establishing the probandum as a sign. 'Shall I not die, seeing that I am but human, as my fathers died because they were human? For I am as human as they, and consequently I, too, must die.' It is the transition from the problematic to the assertory phase of thought that sunders the application and conclusion from the reason and probandum—a transition which disappears in all the Western schemes of explicitness, because it disappears in proofs and static formulations, as distinct from the processes, of knowledge. The remainder of the sixteen topics are adjustments imposed on a conviction by its entrance into an environment of other convictions on the same question, by its encounter with convictions current in the world of other persons, and by the entrance of its motive into a manifold practical nature, an organism where cognition, after all, is only one of the forces constituting its life.

2. Consistency.—Under the more complex social and intellectual conditions of life in Greece, the logical consciousness became more sensitive to the contact of individual thinking with this static formulation of the theorems and theorems. Most essential for forming conceptions suitable to the spiritual emergency is that of consistency. It is not the consistency between thought and thought which in modern times became the ideal of Hamilton and the subjectivity formal, logicians, but that which makes possible the allegiance of individual intellects, with varying perceptions, memories, and premonitions, to common formulations of knowledge.
according to order of terms (Kant); and pursile that inductive conceptions should be referred to their own list of instances (Bacon) ; and an error that syllogism is an estimate of evidence (Mill); and a refutation that the formalities of deduction should be limited to syllogistic, and to propositions with two terms only, and to terms that are clearer than others, and to relations, and to the logical relation only of inclusion and exclusion (L. Couturat, in Ensev. Philos. Sciences, i. 167-169).

(b) Conceptual.—A second direction in which consistency is sought is when the thought of the moment and an identity or permanency of personal knowledge, hardly distinguishable from 'meaning the same,' as described in psychology, but quite distinguishable from the impersonal truth or universally human trend assumed by Aristotle.

The mythological world of the super-personal is replaced by an equally mythological content of the personal microcosm, a static conceptual structure to which our ever variable thoughts conform. The 'subjectively formal' or 'conceptual' logic is the canon for the stability of this. It originated with Kant's discrimination between the section of his Critiques, the Critique of Pure Understanding which he named 'Transcendental Logic,' where the 'forms' of knowledge appear as contributions of the mind to the constitution of its objects, and the 'General Logic' in which 'academic' reasonings are relations of cognitions to each other (Critique, bk. ii. Introd. § 2, Logic, Introd. § 1). Once more, then, as in the Hindu discipline, knowledge is referred to personality; but personality comes back not as an isolated centre of itself, but as disciplined for its high destiny, but as a realm of mere abstracts, namely cognitions outside the world of natural sciences, yet factiously evolved through the course of transcendental reflection. Kant himself, not forgetting of this origin, found in knowledge a dimension of 'relevance' as well as one of consistency. In the living thought he found an interplay corresponding to the revealed formations of the transcendental 'object'. And, while accepting the law of non-contradiction as the principle of such inference as is merely possible, he added a law of reason and consequence, for the cogency of any actual inference (Logic, Introd. § 71); and in applying this second law we encounter transcendental distinctions, such as between 'logical' or a priori universe, and 'quasi-logical' or inductive. And the neo-Kantian school of logicians better their instruction by re-introducing the detailed conceptions of intellectual synthesis framed in transcendental logic. To others, however, still following the disciplinary motive, and unconfined with the origin of the new realm commended to them for study, only the dimension recognizable independently of every physical or primary object, in which cognitions could be related to each other, appeared to be consistency.

The stricter followers of the Kantian logical idea, e.g., Mansel and Spalanzani, recognize, as sole principles which can be invoked universally in the action of thought, the laws of identity, non-contradiction, and excluded middle, and in their hands logic becomes merely the systematic statement of these laws, and the exposition of the conditions which they impose upon notions, judgments, and reasonings'' (Anderson, p. 15).

(c) Symbolic.—More recently, a third direction in which consistency might be followed has been taken, which seems to presuppose, if not the fact, the abstracts of transcendental logic, yet still the reflective valuations of general logic. Given there a number of data, relations and relations between them, algebra renders a similar service to arithmetical, but without raising any doubt as to the scientific priority of the latter. Symbolic logic is a less elastic kind of consistency when we make logical reflexions. Whether it is also a direct discipline in scientific knowledge, as the older formal logic is, and so may supersede or absorb it, is as yet controversially obscure.

But on the hypothesis of consistency, however judiciously its pretensions may be restricted, one critical comment may be made: 'I do not deny the scientific convenience of considering this limited particular system as the smaller Logic, which only concerns itself with the conditions of consistency, ought to be the last, at least, study, preceding another which embraces all the general conditions of the ascertainment of truth (Mill, Essays, of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, p. 177).

3. Relevance.—The larger logic was inaugurated by Aristotle through the addition of his Posterior Analytics to the Prior.

No demonstrative proposition (e.g., about numbers or ideas) is taken to mean a 'universal' or 'universal.' He would say "or any straight line you may know of," but to the entire subject—to every possible number or line (Post. Anal. i. 2).

Relevance is that in the things we know of, which we possess or receive a demonstration, relieves us from the need of similarly "knowing of" the entire subject. It is what Bosanquet describes as "an intimate character" of the content of knowledge, 'as revealed by the structural relations in which it is found capable of standing' (Essentials, p. 40). Aristotle conceives relevance as embodied in the "formal" or "universal" logic of the school of logicians (Digna, Divákara [c. A.D. 630], and Nandi [c. A.D. 800]) taught the intervention of 'secondary ideas' or 'abstract conceptions' in the process of inference, and authorizes the syllogism for self in which this dispensed with the analogy between 'example' and 'application' still required in the syllogism for instruction." But Aristotle elevated this secondary idea into an authoritative 'principle,' dominating our knowledge, whether personal or racial. The authority was conferred by the faculty of reason.

From experience, or from the entire universe which is retained in the soul, the single unit apart from the manifold of sense, which is identical in all particular cases, comes the elementary basis of the art of science and of logic. As we look at the world, we see the world as it is in itself, and this is the object of our interest, as Plato's metaphysics might imply, but inferential. 'It does not follow, if demonstration is to exist, that there must be ideas,' says the Unity outside the experience, but it does follow that some unity must be truly predicable of the many" (Post. Anal. i. 19).

The universal as a principle assures applications that might escape the 'secondary idea.' 'Man is mortal,' therefore 'I, too, must be mortal,' although men instinctively may 'think all men but themselves.' The inevitability was not objective, as Plato's metaphysics might imply, but inferential. 'It does not follow, if demonstration is to exist, that there must be ideas,' says the Unity outside the experience, but it does follow that some unity must be truly predicable of the many" (Post. Anal. i. 19).

The predicable unities appear in judgment as predicates that are 'genera' and 'definitions,' and as subjects that are 'second substances'; and in demonstration as the 'essences' of the things which we seek to explain, the 'natures' of the things whose destiny we wish to forecast, the 'reasons' for what we experience, and the 'causes' for what we infer. And, although these conceptions in the dimension of relevance still influence the texts of modern logic, philosophical progress has displaced the static, self-sufficing constitution, which seems to spring arbitrarily from the flat of reason. The achievements of reason must themselves become conscious under the guidance of logical conceptions more liberal, such as 'conditions of a rule,' 'laws of connexion' between attributes (Mill), 'coherence' of conceptual content (Lotze), or 'identity' of relational system (Bosanquet). Two distinct operations of reason must be traced: that which explains the comparison, the classification, the precision, the 'equivalence of terms' of and formulae of equivalence between them. Algebra renders a similar service to arithmetical, but without raising any doubt as to the scientific priority of the latter. Symbolic logic is a less elastic kind of consistency when we make logical reflexions. Whether it is also a direct discipline in scientific knowledge, as the older formal logic is, and so may supersede or absorb it, is as yet controversially obscure.

The definite logic of the first begins with the art of arithmetical, and that of the second with Bacon. The interest of modern mathematicial
science supplied to Descartes the 'doubt' and 'motive,' to use Hindu logical conceptions, which brought to an end the Aristotelian superstition of 'second substances,' and suggested a scheme of rational constructiveness, proceeding from which Lotze afterwards named 'first universals' to a vast Platonic hierarchy, the 'world of ideas.'

These natures which we call composite are known by us either because they are presented to us, or because we ourselves are responsible for their composition ('Rule xii.). . . . The signs which are presented to us are pure and simple sensations, existing per se, not as depending on any others ('Rule vi.); essences which are presented to us are more distinctively known ('Rule xii.). . . . Intuition is the unclouded conception of an unclouded and attentive mind; . . . it is more certain than deduction itself, in that it is of primary, or by virtue, for example, 2 and 2 amount to the same as 4 and 1 ('Rule iii.). . . . Deduction proceeds by the continuous and uninterrupted action of a mind that has a clear vision of each step in the process ('Rule vi.). . . . It is presented to us (as a complete movement) by itself, and is not clouded by the name of enumeration or induction (when it is complex), because it cannot then be grasped as a whole at the same time by the mind, and its certainty depends to some extent on the memory ('Rule xii.); Descarte's Works, tr. E. S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, vol. i., Cambridge, 1811, pp. 7-14).

(b) Inductive.——It was a parallel but slower development of the scientific spirit, in observation and experiment, that inspired a complementary scheme of rational insight as to 'the experiments shows the natures that are composite.' The field for unclouded intuition is here fenced off by the indefinite multiplicity of constituents in an actual experience, and, however complete and simple may be the 'ultimate essences,' the steps in their synthesis are beyond either complete intuitive penetration or memory. All that Hindu logic here had achieved was to classify the 'constant associations' between form and signification, as, in our word, the names of Nandi, the 'signs' are either positive or negative, perceptible or imperceptible; and are related to their significates (a) constitutively, (b) as results, (c) identically, (d) in a primary, or by virtue, simple, or by plurality, or by simplicity, or by sequence, or by simultaneity (Vidyabhusana, p. 30 f.).

Aristotle, in his Topics, when not presupposed by the conception of second substances, moves more deeply into the indicia of relevance, by suggesting comparative analysis of instances that are exceptional towards each other or contrary in their consequences, or are negative, reverse, privative, or relational to each other, or are homogeneous in what is part, or vary methodically in quantity, time, place, or other relation. But these broken lights still left darkness of principle over the plans of manifestation for an 'essence' or 'nature,' and how to classify it into the indications. It is in this indication which Bacon appears to have been first in conceiving. The Baconian conception is:

Observation presents to us complex natures which are the results of simpler or more general forms or causes. . . . The form which is sought can be detected only by examination of cases in which the given complex effect is present, in which it is absent, and in which it appears in different degrees or amounts; . . . a process of exclusion or elimination. The method of exclusion can never be perfectly carried out; but all additional aids have significance only as supplying in part the place of exhaustive enumeration (Advances, p. 80).

Thus, were our experience divined precisely on the perfect plan of reason, we should, in the words of Descartes, 'know what these natures are,' though we could not regard their constitution. J. S. Mill articulated the principle of exclusion or elimination in five experimental methods, with symbols and canons, and explained these as a primary method for inductive research. In his complete survey of logical doctrines is intended to commend and defend. But the ideal plan for the manifestation of universals in experience is as much the work of a priori reason as is the unclouded intuition of the Buddhists. Experiments are to be avoided, and the march of merely experiential sequences eternally withholds that definiteness and exhaustiveness of constituents which might thus be more purely the issue of relevancy. The non-Kantian logicians can accept the canons of elimination as living expressions of the aspirations of thought, in such an intellectual nature as displays the 'categories of relation,' substantiality, causality, and reciprocity. But the rationalism of any given experimental sequence must be approached through a further dimension of logical value—that of system. In this we may conceive the 'additional aids' which transform aspiration into accomplished science. Relevance is a selective principle, system a comprehensive.
have been done upon them, from the Jain scriptures, that an unwritten and unelaborated body of normative principles and methods of thought had long existed in India. The early medieval logics are exogenic, expounding and elaborating the logical categories applied in earlier works. These categories included classifications of propositions, doctrines of terms and propositions, methods of induction, fallacies, etc., possibly, in the Jain. Of the later categories themselves the early works say little or nothing. These works are the expression of the greater or constructive stage of the Buddhist and Jain movements. The Buddhist logic-mongers try to correct the misuses of the field, rather than the principles and methods of deduction and induction of their day.

Two passages in the Suttas afford an apparent exception to this assertion. In these, certain matters are declared to be 'not in the sphere of takka,' rendered by A. Ksya Davis and R. Otto Franke 'more logic' *(tarka-dhara, or rules of thought),' one of the technical Indian terms for logic. And logic-mongers (takka) and pedants (*vimana-mano), failing to grasp them, are said to arrive at false conclusions. The Buddhist, at any rate, offers no criterion of the merits of a religious doctrine, the Buddha is said to have excluded such criteria as authority, tradition, etc., and both *takka and *rayana. These again, belong to the 'categorical' or anachronistic conception of the two Suttas quoted above, in the light of the sober intellectual method prevailing in the great majority of the Suttas, brings us to a very different conclusion. In the latter passage the soundness of any ethical doctrine or gospel is held to be rightly tested, not by metaphysical dialectic, but by a utilitarian calculus. In the former passage the 'logic' that is condemned as inadequate is as much as often finds critics among ourselves, when we 'feel' rather than discern that deductions are being made from outworn, outgrown terms, from wrong data, from words analogously used. Only at a later period, has a logic of recreated inductions will condemn such misuse of deduction as 'mere logic.' It is one of the penalties induced by such effect: reasoning that the noble formulation of right thinking should, in popular usage, incur reproach, as if it had failed in general.

The Buddhist Sutta and Abhidhamma Pitaka afford uncontestable evidence of (1) the existence of a current logical doctrine, (2) misuse of the same by dialecticians or 'sophists,' deducing from confused terms and wrong premises, and (3) a constant faith in the appeal to judgment and argumentation, i.e., to logical faculty, and to logically premissed. The Suttas, or discourses, were in great part addressed to relatively immature minds—to the 'man in the street' and to the average bhikkhu or siddha (learner in the Order). But the proportion of discourses filled by categorical assertions is very small. Most of them seek to capture thelistener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than *Tana *kissat *hetu. This is the reason of the deductive method of the Buddha in his replies to

1 Diya *Nikaya, l. 12; 2 *Rajha *Davidia, Dialogues of the Buddhist, Oxford, 1899-1910, l. 53; 3 *R女士, Dialogues of the Buddhist (in Aus-

2 Diya *Nikaya, p. 16. 3 *Aggutara *Nikaya, l. 189. 4 *Vidyabhushana, op. cit. p. 4. 5 *Ch. eq., 4. p. 66.
interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness' (to ad
datory, 'mountain'). And  
and the word in the oldest Indian logical works, is used 
ne, 'truth', and forms 'intellect' and kusa (good'), the threefold foundation on which the perfect man should be established.2 In 
the somewhat later collection called Abhidhamma Pi\(\mathrm{k}\)as\(\mathrm{a}\), where doctrines, put forward ad 
Aristotle rated the (Greek) laws of thought, so for the 
its materialities discounted, present so varied an 
its age the distinction is not 
lished if one result of the propagation of Buddhist culture was to yield a harvest, not only of psychological, but also of logical, analysis and systematization. A still greater field of material for the history of logic will possibly be opened up when (1) the original Jain scriptures are all edited, and (2) the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit treatises on logic, as well as (3) the orthodox Therav\(\mathrm{a}\) philosophical works in Sinhalese and Burmese MSS, become accessible. A comparison of the conclusions gleaned from these sources, and from the \(\mathrm{P}\)\(\mathrm{i}\)\(\mathrm{k}\)\(\mathrm{a}\) materials as yet accessible, with the conclusions from logical investigations of deeper philosophical importance than may appear likely to those who see in logic only an academic exercise. By intellectual procedure, according to the norms of logic is the interpreter rather than the "footnotes." The two important early classics, the M\(\mathrm{i}\)\(\mathrm{l}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)-\(\mathrm{p}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{h}\) (see \(\mathrm{M}\)\(\mathrm{i}\)\(\mathrm{l}\)\(\mathrm{h}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{h}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)) and the Nett\(\mathrm{j}\)\(\mathrm{o}\)\(\mathrm{h}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{k}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{h}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{k}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{h}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{a}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{n}\)\(\mathrm{r}\)
Logos, the least satisfactory, perhaps, of the three. The word has a history both in Greek philosophy and in Jewish-Alexandrian theology. But, whereas in Greek philosophy the word means the divine Reason regarded as immanent in the cosmic process, the authors of the Septuagint felt it to translate the Hebrew Memra and its poetic synonymus, which mean primarily the spoken word of the Deity.1 Hellemized Jewish thought attempted to fuse these two formally distinct Deity-words; and so arose the Christian use of the word as a name for the Second Person of the Trinity, incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth. It will be convenient to consider in succession the growth of the idea in Greek philosophy, in Jewish-Alexandrian theology (the use of Memra in the Hebrew sacred literature hardly belongs to our subject), and in Christian theology.

In Greek philosophy.—The history of the Logos-idea begins with Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 535–475 B.C.), who, as F. M. Cornford has rightly maintained,2 represents a mystical reaction against the materialism of the Ionian philosophers. For him the visible world is a symbolic system which half conceals and half reveals the reality. This truth or reality is the divine soul of the world, whence proceeds all the endless cycle of birth and death, of becoming, change, decay, and renewal. There is one Logos, the same throughout the world, which is itself homogeneous and one with its own in actu, and is at the same time searching within us all: "it is open to all men to know themselves and be wise." The divine soul is 'Nature,' the cosmic process; it is God; it is ψυχή, the life-principle, which is Logos, the divine law, or will of God. All human laws are fed by the one divine law. It prevails as much as it will, and is sufficient and more than sufficient for all things. This Logos is the immanent reason of the world; 'it existeth from all time; yet men are unaware of it, both before they hear it and while they listen to it.' The Logos, like Wordsworth's 'Duty,' keeps the stars in their courses. It is the hidden harmony which underlies the discord and antagonisms of existence. There is no trace in Heraclitus of a transcendent God, whose reason or will just the Logos could be. The system is rather a form of pantheism. However, there is a strong mythological element. Anaxagoras, however, the Logos, or νοῦς (he preferred the latter term), is intermediate between God and the world, being the regulating principle of the world and the divine intellect. In Plato, though he was the founder of a philosophy in which the Logos-idea was to find a congenial home, there is but little that bears directly on our subject. The world, he says in the Timæus (p. 29.4.), is created by a fusion of mind and necessity; it is itself a living and rational organism, the 'only-begotten (μωροτέρώ) son of God,' itself a God, and the 'express image' (εἰκῶς) of the Highest.

In Stoicism the philosophy of Heraclitus received a new life and fresh developments. Like Heraclitus, the Stoics regarded Fire as the primordial substance, the material principle of the divine. Endowed with various different products of activity, it is the 'seminal Reason' (λόγος σπερματικός) of the world, which manifests itself in all the phenomena of nature. These phenomena, or, rather, the active principle which creates them, are often called λόγος στηρίγματος, in the plural. Christian writers like Justin Martyr laid hold of this doctrine to connect Greek philosophy with their religion, and so it was brought into the universal Reason, which he identifies with the Johannine Logos which 'lighteth every man.' Accordingly, he argues,3 beheaths like Heraclitus and Socrates, in so far as they lived μετά λόγου, may be claimed as Christians, and may be saved. The seminal Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of as a single Power, is God Himself as the cosmic principle, the thing which He brings into beings, and by which He directs to a rational and moral end. This power is not present in all creatures equally; only man participates in it so fully that he may be regarded as a real offspring of the world, a being which is distinguished between the λόγου ἐκδότων, the potential, unmanifested Reason, and the λόγος συμπληρωμάτων, the thought of God expressed in action. This distinction led to a new emphasis being laid in other meanings of λόγος, as 'word' or 'speech'; and in this way Stoicism made it easier for Jewish philosophy to identify the Greek λόγος with the half-personified 'Word of Jehovah,' Words and thoughts, according to the Stoics, were the very same things regarded under different aspects. The same λόγος which is Thought as long as it resides in the breast is Word as soon as it comes forth. The distinction between ἐκδότης and συμπληρωμάτων, often used by Philo and the Greek Christian Fathers, is really identical with that drawn by Aristotle between ἡ λόγος λόγος and ἡ λόγος τεχνή. The seminal idea in the Stoic doctrine that, since the one Logos is present in many human souls, men may have communion with each other through participation in the same Logos, Christ might be expounded Stoica as the indwelling revealer of the Father, with whom He is one; as the vital principle of the universe; as the way, the truth, and the life; as the inspirer of the highest morality; and, last but not least, as the living bond of union between the various members of His 'body.' The world, for Stoicism, is simple and unique (εἷς ἦς μονετίς); it is homogeneous (οὐκ έξ οὐκοίκτος). The Spirit (δύναμις) goes through all things, formless itself, but the creator of forms. The Logos, as World-Idea, is also single and simple (εἷς ἔστιν ὁ λόγος), though it assumes manifold forms in its plastic self-unfolding. It is identified with Fate (οἰκουμένη); and Stoikus says:

1. Fate is the λόγος of the κόσμος, or the λόγος of those things in the universe which are directed by providence (οἰκουμένη). 2. The world, in which the Logos is present, is the supreme God, for the Stoics hold God in the second place. But the opponents of Stoicism are too harsh when they say that the Stoics bring in God only in order to be in the fashion. It was their religious need that made them bring Him in. Perhaps they could not consistently find room for any God above the Logos, but in fact they did ascribe to the Deity more personal attributes than could properly belong to their Logos. They were certainly able to feel enthusiastic devotion to the Logos as the principle of law and righteousness. This is shown by the famous hymn of Cleanthes:

"Thee it is lawful for all mortals to address. For we are Thine offspring, and all things created came to life and walk the earth moulded in the image of the All. Therefore I will ever sing Thee, and celebrate Thy power. All this universe, rolling on around the earth, obey Thee. And to Thee alone is every Thy command. . . . O King most high, nothing is done without Thee, neither in heaven nor earth, nor in the wicked do in their foolishness. Thou makest order out of disorder, and things that strive find in Thee a friend; for Thou dost sustain all things, and bring good and evil into order with one Reason (λόγος) that hast for ever. But the wicked fly from Thy law, unloving ones, and though they desire to possess what

2 From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1913, p. 184 f.
3 Apol. 1. 46. 7. Anab. Post. 1. 10. 76.
is good, yet they see not, neither do they hear, the universal law of God, ... But O God, giver of all things, who dwellest in dark clouds and rulest over the thunder, deliver men from their foolishness, and grant them to obtain wisdom, for by wisdom dost Thou rightly govern all things. For as we have been created, we may regard nothing with honour, unless Thy works without ceasing, as we ought to do. For there is no greater thing than this, for mortal men or for gods, to actualize the essence of universal law in things.

In fact, this conception of a germinative principle of Reason which manifests itself in the universe, and which is the unique being in members of a universal community, prepared the soil on which a world-religion might grow. And at the same time the individual was brought into a closer relation with the divine than had been contemplated in any earlier system of religious teaching.

2. In Jewish-Alexandrian theology.—Hebrew thought about the 'Word of the Lord' does not enter the subject of the present article until the tendency arose to personify the self-revealing activity of Jahweh. The earlier books of the OT connect theoperations of the Memra with three ideas—creation, providence, and revelation. God spake the word, and the worlds were made; then at once His spirit, or breath, gives life to what the Word creates, and renewes the face of the earth. The protecting care of God for the chosen people is also associated with the activity of the Memra. Besides this, the 'Word of the Lord' inspires prophecy and imparts the Law. The tendency to personify the activities of Jahweh is seen in the expressions used about the Angel, the Name, the Word, the Light, the Logos, and the Memra. Similar language about the Word is found in the frequent phrases 'the Word of the Lord came unto me,' and in such passages as Ps 147:4, Is 55:12, Ps 33:6, Jer 23:28. Nevertheless, the personification is throughout poetic rather than metaphysical, except in writers completely under Greek influence. On the whole, in the later books the conception of Wisdom has been developed out of this—'a change which really brings the Jewish idea nearer to the Greek.' Wisdom in Job is the hidden purpose which God is working out in man's existence—the grand secret of life known only to God. In Proverbs Wisdom is the cardinal virtue; she stands at the corners of the streets, and invites men to walk in her ways. God created or prepared her before the world was made; she was by His side when He was preparing the world-order; she was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him. Therefore He assures those who listen to her of life, blessedness, and the favour of God. In Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, being hoaxed, and Wisdom is immanent in God, belonging to the divine essence, and yet existing in quasi-independence side by side with God. Wisdom was the active principle of the Wisdom of Solomon, selecting among the divine ideas those which were to be actualized in the created universe. She is an emanation from God, pervading all things, and passing 'more rapidly than any motion' among them. The teaching of Wisdom, that the teacher is not only of every virtue and of all theological knowledge, but of all the human arts and sciences.

The identification of 'Wisdom' with the Greek Logos is almost explicitly made, as is the identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit of God. This book, in fact, marks a transition from the OT doctrine to that of Philo, and is of much importance in the history of Jewish-Alexandrian thought.

Philo not only blends Greek and Jewish ideas about the Logos; he achieves a syncretism of divergent Greek conceptions. His Logos is a combination of the two main ideas of universal causality. He takes over the main Stoical conceptions, but detaches it from materialism, and tries to harmonize it with the Platonic theory that visible things are only types of realities laid up in the intelligible world. His Logos is much like Plato's idea of the Good, except that it is regarded as creatively active. Philo found this conception useful, because he wished to conceive of the divine activity Hellenically, without ceasing to believe in the OT Jahweh. Jewish thought had been in danger of separating the Creator so completely from His creation as to produce an intolerable dualism. This tendency had been mitigated by poetical personification. Philo fixed these poetical symbols, and turned them from poetry to metaphysics by identifying the Memra with the Stoical Logos Platonizing and giving the Jewish idea of the Word, Philo's Logos is an intermediary between God and the world; he is the principle of revelation. Philo is fertile in forms of expression to convey the relation of this principle of revelation to the Logos, respectively. In the former aspect, the Logos is declared to be the first-born Son of God, the first of the angels; in the latter, He is the Man who is the immediate image of God, the prototype of man in whose image all other men are created. The Logos dwells with God as His vice-gerent; He is the eldest son of God, and Wisdom is His mother. In contrast with Wisdom, he is the idea of ideas, the whole mind of God going out of itself in creation. He represents the world before God as High Priest, Intercessor, Paraclete. He is the Shekinah, or glory of God; but also the darkness or shadow of God, since the creature half conceals and half reveals the Creator. He is the intelligible world, the archetypal universe of the Platonists, or of the heavenly order; and the real like of the world-order. Philo expresses the type of the Logos, the 'second Deity'; no mortal could be formed in the likeness of the supreme Father of the world, or ever brought into comparison with Him. But elsewhere the Logos appears to be only an attribute of God. As an orthodox Jew (or one who wished to pass for orthodox), Philo cannot have thought of affirming two divine agents. And yet the Platonic doctrine of a transcendental unknowable God required a divine vice-gerent, while the Stoic Logos had been an independent immanent world-principle, very different from the Hebrew Jahweh. The amalgamation of these divergent philosophies in Philo is rather external and superficial. The Philonic Logos is a dynamic principle, but also a cosmic principle, who accounts for the existence of the world. The latter is all the more tolerable in Philo seems to suggest that the Logos is 'the God of us the immediate', as if from the highest point of view the Logos were only an appearance of the Absolute. So in a thoroughly Platonic passage he says: 'God appears in Him, without His being perfect; and having transcended all multiplicity, not only the multiplicity of numbers but even the void which is nearest to unity, passes on to the unity which is unmixed, simple, and complete in itself' (De Abrahamo, 2).
But this is not a common line of speculation in Philo.

In the NT the technical use of the word Logos is found in the Fourth Gospel (unless we should add John 1:1 and Rev 19:13) only. But it is important to observe that St. Paul, especially in his later Epistles, gives us almost the whole of the Logos-doctrine which we read in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. The conception of Christ as a cosmic principle is even more emphasized in Colossians 1:15, where we read of Paul the Pauline Christ that He is the image (skê) of God, that in Him the Pleroma of the Godhead dwells in bodily form, that He was the agent in creation, and the immanent Spirit—"through whom all things," that He pre-existed in the form of God, that He is the first-born of all creation, in whom and through whom to whom are all things, that all things are summed up in Him, that He is all in all, that His reign is co-extensive with the world's history, that He is life-giving Spirit, abiding in the souls of His disciples, forming Himself in them, and transforming them into His likeness, enlightening them and uniting them in one body with Himself, it does not seem that a candid criticism can deny that the elements of a complete Logos-theology are to be found in Paul in Titus and in 2 Corinthians. Without assuming any direct influence of Philo, it is perhaps improbable that the Jewish-Alexandrian Logos-philosophy had a great and increasing influence upon St. Paul's doctrine of the Person of Christ. In proportion as the apocalyptic Messianism which we find in Thessalonians lost its importance for him, he approximated more and more to the type of Christology which we associate with the Gospel of St. John. It must not be supposed that this statement stands or falls with the authenticity of Colossians and Ephesians. The Epistles to the Corinthians contain similar language.

The large obligations of the author of the Fourth Gospel to the Philonian school cannot reasonably be denied, though they have often been questioned. It is clear from the tone of the Prologue that Philo's conception of the Logos, or something akin to it, was already familiar to those for whom the Evangelist wrote. No explanation of the word Logos is contained in any verse in the Prologue might be paralleled from Philo. Technical terms from Philo (σφραγίς and παρακλήτος are examples) abound in the Gospel. Indeed, the whole treatment of the Evangelist that he knew of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion, and would be unintelligible without it. Nevertheless, it is true that the identification of the historical Jesus with the Logos, and of the Jewish Messiah with the Logos, makes a great difference. Philo had never thought of identifying the Logos with the Messiah—a figure in whom he took very little interest. The chief differences (which have often been exaggerated) between the Philonian and Johannine Logos are these: (1) the Evangelist defines far more clearly the relation of the Logos to God, as a second Person in the Godhead, than Philo allows Him to be; (2) the notion of God as the Father as a transcendent unapproachable Being, to be known only through an intermediary, is foreign to the Gospel, in which God the Father acts directly upon the world; it is in consequences of the activity thus attributed to God the Father that the creative function of the Logos loses its interest and is not referred to after the Prologue; (3) in the Gospel the conception of the Logos is more than that of a Wisdom, because of the greater unity of Logos with God; (4) the Logos-Christ is the complete revelation of the character of God rather than of His nature; (5) the revelation of the Divine as self-sacrificing love is an idea not to be found in Philo; (6) it follows that the conception of life, which implies growth, change, and development, has an importance for the Evangelist which it could not have for Philo; (4) could Philo have accepted the Incarnation? The difference between the two writers here has often been magnified by orthodox critics. Philo believed in theopoeiancs, and could have easily accepted a docetic theory of the Incarnation. The Fourth Evangelist is no docetist; but for him it seems that we read of the Johannine Christ as a fleshly being that we might 'behold his glory,' and learn what could only thus be taught. But a real Incarnation of the Logos would no doubt have been inconceivable to Philo, for whom no historical event seems to have any importance as such. The Logos-doctrine of the Prologue may be briefly summarized as follows. From all eternity, before time began, the Logos was. He is supra-temporal, not simply the Spirit of the World. He did not become personal either at the Creation or at the Incarnation.1 The Logos was 'turned toward' (προσώπον) God. The proposition indicates the closest union, with a sort of transcendental subordination. The Father alone is the πρωτόσωμα. The opening words of the Prologue do not (with Meyer, Weiss, etc.) suggest that the Evangelist referred to His eternal relationship to the Father. Deification was to the Jews blasphemy, to the Greeks a light thing. The Evangelist shows that the principles of deification lay in the Word of God Himself. 'All things came into being through the Logos,' who is the mediator Agent in creation,2 'Apart from him nothing came into being. That which has come later being was, in him.'3 Bosonnet, following Augustine, comments rightly: 'Everything, even inanimate things, were life in the eternal Word, by his idea and eternal thought.'

The Logos is the light of man as life; that is to say, revelation is vital and dynamic. God reveals Himself as vital law to be obeyed and lived. The cosmic process, including, of course, the spiritual history of mankind and of the individual, is the sole field of revelation. 'The light shineth in darkness.' As the first step in the first creation was to divide the light from the darkness, so the new creation effects the same division in the moral and spiritual sphere. 'And the darkness arrested (φανερῶς) it not.'

This is the genuine light, which lighteth every man as it comes into the world.'4 He was (always) the light of the world, the Son of God, the Logos. 'And the Logos became flesh and tabernacled among us.' Here (v.14) the Evangelist mentions the Incarnation for the first time. The Logos, who from all eternity was fully divine (θεός), became flesh (assumed visible humanity) at a certain time.

It is not easy to say whether the Evangelist conceived of the Logos existing before the Incarnation as 'true man from all eternity';1 but 3:18 and 6:6(1. cf. I on 16) suggest that he did. It is certainly in accordance with Johannine ideas to hold that the Incarnation, and the Passion as the sacrifice of the divine self-sacrifice, were part of the counsels of God from all eternity. The Logos before the Incarnation was, according to this thought, ἀρχηγὸς, though not πρωτόσωμα. The Prologue thus leads up to the Incarnation of the Logos, 1There was nothing strange in this doctrine. The book of Proverbs (9:5) had asserted the same of Wisdom: 'I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was created.'
2This is also Philonic; cf. de Cherub. 35: σφραγίς γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸν σφραγισμὸν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν, 'ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὸ πρωτόσωμα καὶ τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητά του.'
3De Origo bonae voluntatis, probably rightly.
4This is exactly what Heracleitus also says about the Logos.
5T. H. Green, Works, London, 1885-93, II. 208 f.
which is the theme of the whole Gospel, though the historical form precludes any further discussion of creation. Minucius Felix 2 equates the Christian Trinity with 

Mens, Ratio, Spiritus. This is to be noted, because, later, under Platonic influence, a principle above Noēs (Mens) was asserted, and this, with Christian speculation, was identified with the Father, with the result that Noēs was now equated with the Logos, and Ratio (the will and thought of God transmuted into vital law) had to be subordinately assimilated to the Holy Ghost. This led to confusion. The Alexandrians continued to call the Father Noēs, feeling probably that the Neo-Platonic Absolute in no way corresponds to the Christian God the Father. Thus they introduced a distinction resembling that between the Godhead and God in Eckhart; a sublimated conception of Noēs was introduced between the Absolute and the Logos.

In Clement of Alexandria the Logos-doctrine is a doctrine of Immanence. The world is an organic whole, moving on to some exalted destiny in the harmony of the divine order. Humanity has its life and being in Christ. The Incarnation is no abrupt break in the continuity of man's moral history. Christ was in the world before He came in the flesh, and was preparing the world for His visible advent. Thus the Logos, in the Incarnation, entered into the organic process of human history. The history of man's redemption is, for Clement, the education of the human race under its divine 'Instructor.' As Instructor, the Logos has always been with the world through Moses, and through Greek philosophy. He even gave the sun and moon to be worshipped, that men might rise from the lower worship to the higher. 2

Salvation is not a physical process, but a moral growth through union with God; knowledge is not merely speculation, but a growing sympathy and insight into the character of God and His laws. The union of the Logos with God is so intimate that we cannot hold (with the Gnostics and some Platonists) that the Father is passive in the work of redemption. The Incarnation is in itself the Atonement by which the Logos reconciled the Human with Himself. For Clement, as for other Greek theologians, there is properly only one dogma—the Incarnation.

For Origen's Logos-doctrine see art. ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY, vol. i. p. 316.

There were two schools which opposed the Logos-theology—the rationalistic Unitarians, who regarded the 'divinity' of Christ as a mere power bestowed on Him by God, and emphasized the humanitarian aspect of His Person, and the modalistic Monarchians, such as Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius. These maintained the old alliance with Stoicism, after the Catholics had adopted Neo-Platonism as their mistress in philosophy (see, further, art. MONARCHISM). Hippolytus's anti-Sabellian treatises show the line of argument used by the orthodox—Christ, who was more regarded as not wholly satisfactory. Methodius, 4 a Platonist but not an Origenist, argues that the Incarnation was the necessary complement of the Creation, the imperfection of Adam being natural. There is a double development—in the race and in the individual, both due to the immanent Logos. The 


1. Magn. S.
2.\\n\textit{Novat. S.}

\textit{Second Person} was Noēs.

\textit{Orat. S.}

B. 10.

\textit{Strom. vi. 14.}

\textit{S. Conviv. il. 6.}

\textit{Hom. iv. 8 f.}

\textit{10.}

\textit{Oct. v. 10.}

\textit{8.}

\textit{Homo. 18.1}
The Arian controversy drove orthodoxy into something like a conflict with materialism. The text-word ὄρασις gave the Monarchists most of what they wanted, and its adoption soon ended the hostility of this school. The Arian Christology is of some philosophical value and the great opponent Athanasius, though he writes much about the Logos, does not add anything significant to the doctrine. It was, in fact, no longer thoroughly acceptable to the Catholic Church, but was not allowed to appear in the Nicene symbol; and the Synod of-folder (A.D. 451) condemned the doctrine of the ἴδια τέλος, or the Logos. Other terminology, and to some extent other ideas, displaced it. It was never acclimatized in the Latin-speaking countries.

The Logos-doctrine has an obvious affinity with mysticism, and with types of religion which emphasize the divine immament. It was revived by Eckhart in the Middle Ages, and has been a living article of faith with religious idealists, Christian Platonists, and speculative theists. It belongs to a period and an important type of religious thought, and can never lose its value, though there are now many who (like Max Müller) are ardent supporters of the Logos-ideas in religious philosophy: while they cannot accept the Johannine identification of the Logos with a historical individual.

For an evolution in Indian philosophy somewhat similar to the development of the Logos-doctrine see art. VACH.


W. R. INGE.

LOKAYATA.—This word, which denotes properly 'belonging to the world of sense,' is the Indian name for the materialistic system whose adherents are termed Lokayatikas or Lāukāyatakas, or more usually Chārvakas, from the name of the founder of their doctrinal system. There are clear indications of the presence in India, as early as pre-Buddhist times, of teachers of a pure materialism; and undoubtedly these theories have had numerous adherents in India from that period to the present day.

Although two authorities bear witness to the former existence of text-books of materialism, viz. the Bhāgavata and the Sūtras of Dharmapati, the mythical founder of the system, yet materialistic doctrines have never gained any further place in the literature of India. In order to understand these theories, therefore, we can only have recourse to a few passages of the Mahabharata, to the polemic which was carried on against materialism in the text-books of the other philosophical schools, and to the doctrines of King Rāma in the philosophical drama Prabhādatḥaramadraśa. This last work was written in the 4th cent. A.D., and aims at setting forth in allegorical style the superiority of Brāhmanical orthodoxy to all other theories of the universe. The principal source of our knowledge, however, is the Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, which is the greatest of all the philosophical systems of India, composed in the 14th cent. of our era by Mādāvāchārya, the celebrated Veda-priest of the Brahma-sutra. The majority of the doctrines of Indian materialism are set forth in the greatest detail. Mādāvāchārya begins his exposition with an expression of regret that the majority of the men of his day follow the materialism represented by Chārvaka.

The Lokayatikas allow only perception as a means of knowledge, and reject inference. It recognizes as the sole reality the four elements, viz. matter, and teaches that, when a body is formed by the combination of the elements, the spirit also comes into existence, just like the intoxicating quality from the mixture of special materials. With the destruction of the body the spirit returns again to nothingness. The soul, therefore, is only the body's attribute of existence, since the existence of a soul distinct from the body cannot be established by perception. Supersensuous things are, of course, also wholly denied, and are dismissed at times with a mere jest. Hell is earthly pain, due to earthly causes. The Supreme Being is the king of the country of whose existence the whole world affords tangible proof.

Emancipation is the dissolution of the body. The post-operative force of merit and demerit, which, according to the belief of all other Indian schools, determines the lot of each individual down to the smallest detail, is here denied by the Lokayatikas, because this conception is reached only by inference. To the objection of an orthodox Philosopher, that those who reject this controlling force in the universe leave the various phenomena of the latter without a cause, the materialist replies that the essential nature of things is the cause from which the phenomena proceed.

On the practical side this system exhibits itself as the crudest Eudemonism; for it represents the gratification of the senses as the sole desirable good. The objection that sensual pleasures cannot be the highest aim for mankind, since they are always mingled with more or less pain, is met by the remark that it is for us to secure by prudence enjoyment as little alloyed as possible with pain, and to shun as far as is in our power the suffering inseparably connected with pleasure. The man who would have fish for his skin and bones, and he who wants rice cannot exclude the husks from his bargain. Let him not then from fear of the barren remuneration of the pleasures which we instinctively feel to be congenial to our nature.

The Vedas are declared to be the idle prating of knaves, characterized by the three faults of untruthfulness, partial contradiction, and useless repetition; and the professors of Vedice science deceivers, whose doctrines are mutually destructive. To the Chārvakas the ritual of the Brāhmans is a fraud, and the costly and laborious sacrifices are useful only for providing with a livelihood the cunning fellows who carry them out. 'If an animal sacrificed at the Jātisjōma (the original form of the soma offering) rises to heaven, why does not the sacrificer prefer to slay his own father?' No wonder that in the view of the orthodox Hindū doctrine the Chārvaka is the worst of all heresies.

It is natural to conjecture that the Lokāyata system was based by its founder upon deeper principles, and developed upon more serious philosophical lines than the information which has come to us from their opponents allows us to understand. The conjecture, however, cannot be established.


LOLLARDS.—See Wycliif.
LONGSUFFERING.—Longsuffering is alike a divine attribute and a human virtue. In both its uses its meaning is well represented by 'long-suffering,' for the frequent occurrence, and not altogether obsolete.

The earliest example of 'longsuffering' quoted in the O.F. (cf. Col. 3:12; Sir 24:4) is, 'though he be long with them:' but RV 'and he is long-suffering over them.' A. Plummer (I.C.T., Edinburgh, 1838, in loc.) grants that 'et 3' 3'10 may refer to the enemies of the elect, but prefers to understand it to apply to the elect. The meaning, then, would be: 'And shall not God deliver His elect who cry day and night to Him, while He is slow to act for them?' But the analogy of Jer 15:18 (cf. Sir 59:9) suggests that the main thought is of God, in the fulfillment of His promises to those who are at once His enemies and the oppressors of His chosen ones. J. Moffatt renders: 'And will not God see justice done to his elect who cry to him by day and night? Will he be tolerant to their opponents? If you who love him can only see justice done to his elect?' (The New Testament: A New Translation, London, 1913).

The uncertainty in regard to the interpretation of this passage is increased by the diversity which the translators serve to emphasize what Plummer rightly insists upon, namely, that, although μακροθυμία is usually means 'is slow to anger,' yet 'it sometimes means 'to be slow, be backward, tarry,' and is almost synonymous with βραδύς.' So also μακροθυμία may mean 'slow persistence' as well as 'slowness to anger.' Comp. 1 Mac. vii. 4 (op. cit. p. 414).

The RV recognizes this wider meaning, and renders 'longsuffering' as equivalent to 'patience,' in He 6:12 and Ja 5:18. The corresponding verb is applied in Ja 5:19 to the husbandman's patient waiting for the harvest. But 'patience' is more frequently the translation of μακροθυμία, 'the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering,' while μακροθυμία is the self-restraint which does not hastily retaliate a wrong (J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paulus's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, London, 1879, on Col 1:16). To the 'long-suffering' of God reference is made in Lk 18, Ro 2:5, 1 P 3:2, 2 P 3, and to the 'long-suffering' of Christ in Ti 19 and probably 2 P 3. In Ro 2: 'forbearance' (διαχώρισις) is linked with 'longsuffering.'

The distinction between these two words is that the διαχωρίσις is temporary, transient, and we may say that, while it ascribes its own temporary, transient character. . . . This, it may be urged, is true of μακροθυμία no less. . . . But as much does not lie in the word; we may conceive of a μακροθυμία, though it would be worthy of little honour, which should never be exhausted; while this latter implies the concept of a permanent, provisory character (J. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, London, 1860, p. 193).

As a moral attribute of God, 'longsuffering' is a manifestation of His grace. In 'the riches of His goodness' He waits long and patiently for the sinner's repentance (Ro 2:4), and in loving-kindness He tolerates those who deserve His wrath (Ro 9:33).

Yet 'patience and long-suffering yield not merely to the suspension of punishment, but to the love which never tires till it has exhausted its last resource. Opposed to the contrast between the apparent impotence of long-suffering and the mystery of true providence, this is an attribute which excites special reverence' (T. H. Hasting, The Christian Faith, London, 1916, ii. 625).

'Longsuffering,' as a Christian grace, is a 'fruit of the Spirit' (Gal 5:22). Though a passive virtue, it is the manifestation in the human character of spiritual power received in answer to prayer from Him by whom believers are 'strengthened with all power, according to the might of his glory, unto all patience and longsuffering with joy' (Col 1:11).

In his earnestness, many Christians may feel that they may have the mind of Christ, for he obtained mercy, that in him, as chief of sinners, 'Jesus Christ might show forth all his longsuffering, for an ensample of things which are to be written afterwards concerning eternal life' (1 Ti 1:18). In 1 Co 13 'longsuffering' is said to be an attribute of the 'love' by which we are made partakers of the divine nature. Tertullian (De Patentia, 12) and other Fathers 'explain it to mean greatness of soul or magnanimity, but μακροθυμία differs from μεγαλομορφία, the high-mindedness of Aristotle:—

'First, it is not a condescending greatness, but a largeness of conception. Second, it is not the lowness of spirit that great men alone possess, but a moral and godly frame of mind to be exhibited in the life of every Christian. And it becometh more and more every day that they may have the mind of Christ, for he obtained mercy, that in him, as chief of sinners, 'Jesus Christ might show forth all his longsuffering, for an ensample of things which are to be written afterwards concerning eternal life' (1 Ti 1:18). In 1 Co 13 'longsuffering' is said to be an attribute of the 'love' by which we are made partakers of the divine nature. Tertullian (De Patentia, 12) and other Fathers 'explain it to mean greatness of soul or magnanimity, but μακροθυμία differs from μεγαλομορφία, the high-mindedness of Aristotle:'

Literature.—The word 'longsuffering' is best studied with the aid of commentaries on the passages in which μακροθυμία occurs. There is an instructive and comprehensive article in Eikon xil. (1900-01) 290 ff.; the following bibliography is given: H. Cremer, Bibl. Thol. Lexikon, Edinburgh, 1856, p. 388 ff.; J. Taylor, Works, London, 1845, iv. 452 ff.; R. W. Dale, Week-Day Sermons, 1883, p. 297 ff.; F. Temple, Royal Sermons, 1883, ii. 1728 ff.; C. J. Vaughan, University and Other Sermons, 1907, p. 399 ff.; A. Macalister, Psalms and Proverbs and Other Sermons, 1885, p. 217 ff. See also J. Hastings, art. 'Longsuffering' in EIB iii. 198 ff.; H. C. Lees, art. 'Longsuffering,' in DCG ii. 341.
in the miracles of healing supposed to be wrought there, describes the town as "containing few in-
habitants except those who serve the needs of the
religious devotees" (Journal of Travels, Eng. tr.,
London, 1903, ii. 191-209). The great basilica,
The shrines of which is visible from afar, was begun
in 1468 and was completed in 1536 and has since received
many additions and modifications. Of its artistic
merits an excellent account is given in A. Cola-
santi (Loreto, Bergamo, 1910). But the basilica was
built to enclose a shrine of the Virgin Mary, which is the real
object of pilgrimage. The Holy House is believed
to rest on the surface of the ground without
foundations, and this fact seems to be authentic. It
measures roughly 31 ft. by 15, and its walls are
built of hewn stones, from their shape and colour
often mistaken for brick, but externally they are
hidden from view by a casing of marble richly
adorned with sculptures, a ancient statue of the
wood, of Byzantine representation, the
Madonna and Child, now voluminously draped
and also crowned, occupies a niche inside the little
house on some height from the floor, and beneath
it stands a altar at which Mass is said. Countless
votaries are suspended all round, but these probably
represent only a small part of the rich gifts which
blessed the shrine before Napoleon rilfled it
in 1797. On that occasion the Emperor himself
visited it, and on his return to Paris, in 1801 the
First Consul returned to the niche that it had
formerly occupied. The words 'Ilie Verbum caro
factum est, et inhabitavit nobis et domus eius'
indicates the site of the shrine's official claim to the veneration of
the faithful, for the story is more fully told in a Latin
inscription set up in the basilica by Pope Clement
VIII (in 1600). In 1900 the approved English rendering of
which runs as follows:

'Christian Pilgrim, you have before your eyes the Holy
House of Loreto, venerable throughout the world on account of
the many miracles accomplished in it and the great
miracles herein wrought. It is here that the most holy Mary,
Mother of God, was born; here that she was saluted by the
angel; here that the eternal Word of God was made flesh.
Angels conveyed this house from Palestine to the town Terenzo,
in the region of the Etrurians, where, having changed its
station three times, it finally fell into the hands of the
pilgrims. Then, the will of God, it took up its permanent position on this spot three
hundred years. The holy House of Loreto, through the
power of God, was in the year 1296 raised up from a simple
structure to the power of a basilica, a benefaction which has
since attached to the shrine ('nde acceptu tunc iste ecclesia nomen
"santa Maria de Loretah ab illis domina que erat illius silice
domina et patrona'). Here, however, there was
such a concourse of pilgrims that the wood was
infested with robbers and murderers.

For this reason, 'the Basilica Terranese goes on,' 'the Holy
House was once more taken up by the hands of angels, and
it was carried to the Mount of the Two Brothers, and on this
same mount by the hands of angels it was set upon the
ground. The which brothers, on account of the immense revenue and gain
of money and fame, were much displeased, and
thereupon dis-
cord and strife. Wherefore the angels, in the same manner as before, carried it away from the said place on the
mount and brought it to a spot in the public road and there
they made it fast.'

The legend also relates how the Blessed Virgin in 1296 appeared to
her devot to her, and in this way made known the whole story. Therupon sixteen good men and
true journeyed to the Holy Land to measure
the foundations of the Holy House at Nazareth.
They discovered that these exactly agreed with the
dimensions of the Santa Casa, and also that
a stone tablet commemorated the disappearance of
the little building which had formerly been
vener-
ated there. Furthermore, in the time of Tera-
nanus himself two old men came forward and
teach testified that his grandfather's grandfather
had confirmed from personal knowledge the ac-
to
The story which, with further ampli-
Sabina, to the present day. Al-
though such as B. Karel and G. A. Vogel betrayed their misgivings, they
did not venture to throw doubts upon the
sub-
stantial truth of the narrative. It was only in 1906 that W. Chevallier, following in the wake of
the less elaborate criticisms of H. Grisar (at the
International Catholic Congress of Munich in 1897),
A. Bondikin (in Revue du clergé français, xxii. (1900) 241), and L. de Felice, (Nazareth, Florence, 1905),
published a systematic refutation of the whole legend (Notre-Dame de
Lorette). Since then an energetic and
often acrimonious controversy has been carried on, both
in magazine articles and in separate books, be-
tween the assailants and defenders of the
legend;
but, even among the organs of Roman Catholic
opinion, the more weighty and critical reviews
without exception have all ranged themselves
on the side of Chevallier.

Apart from the intrinsic improbabilities of the
legend itself, two lines of argument have
been pressed home against the legend with irresistible force.
The first, namely, negative, lays stress upon the
fact that a shrine of Our Lady had existed at
Loreto a century before the date of the supposed
translation, that nothing whatever is heard of
this translation until the middle of the 15th cent.,
and that, even when first spoken of, the accounts
of the transportation by angels do not suggest
that it was the house of the Holy Family at
Nazareth which was so transported. Curiously
enough—and this is a point which all the many
writers on the subject seem to have missed—the
earliest known mention of a miraculous translation by angels occurs in the narrative of an English
pilgrim, William Wey, one of the original fellows of
Eton College. His account, which is probably
not of later date than 1462, runs as follows:

'Also twelve miles from Ancora solemnly as it
Recanati, is a hamlet which is called Loreto, where there is now
a stone chapel of Blessed Mary which of old was built by St.
Helen In the Holy Land. But because the most Blessed
Mary was not honoured there, the chapel was lifted up by the
angels, and the most Blessed Virgin Mary sitting upon it
was carried away from the Holy Land to Areatum, while the country-folk
and shepherds looked on at the angels bearing it and setting it down in the plain where there now is what is called the
most Blessed Virgin Mary is held in great honour' (Wey's Pilgrimage,
Boroughs Club, London, 1876) assigns it to the
early years of the 14th cent., but it seems to be mentioned
in documents of the year 1353, and other authorities attribute it
to the 13th or 14th century. The legend declares it
has to be carried by St. Luke the Evangelist,
other hand, the first papal document which gives any indication of the special sanctity attaching to the Loreto shrine is the bull of Paul VI. in 1470, which speaks thus:

1. Desiring to show our veneration for the church of Blessed Mary of Loreto, which is so closely connected with the life of the Virgin, it is established that it is truly the place where the Holy Virgin was conceived. The Loreto shrine is thus under the protection of the most holy church of Nazareth outside the walls of Eisenstadt, in which, as the statement of persons worthy of credit attests, and as all the documents of the Casts for themselves demonstrate, are the remains of the glorious Virgin, through the wondrous mercy of God, has been deposited. The site is further dedicated to a troop of angels, and the church, by reason of the countless stupendous miracles which the Most High through her intercession has worked for all who devote themselves to her and humbly seek her aid in their necessities, etc.

Here again not the least suggestion is conveyed that the building, even if believed to exist miraculously without foundations, was the actual house of the Holy Family of Nazareth. On the other hand, the terms of this notice lend great probability to the opinion, supported by Hüffer and others, that it was the statue, showing, as we have noticed, Byzantine characteristics, and consequently known to have come from a distance, that was at first supposed to have been brought to Loreto by the hands of angels. Then the fact that the chapel had no proper foundations seems to have given rise to the further development that the whole building had been miraculously transported from the East. And, finally, a reason was found for this exceptional Providence by assuming that the building was the actual Holy House of Nazareth. Considerable support is lent to this hypothesis by a curious parallel in the case of a chapel erected without foundations in the 15th century by A. Fortunato in his Cronichetta del Monte San Savino (Florence, 1583, pp. 9-11). In the year 1116 a little wayside chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Assisi belonged to a certain lord, who at his death left it to his two sons. They quarreled over the division of the offerings and were on the point of fighting a duel when, during the night, the angels took the chapel and bore it to a place about 14 miles off, called Colle di Vertighe, near Monte San Savino. G. B. Mittarelli, a really serious and critical antiquary of the 18th cent. (see his Annales Camaldulenses, Venice, 1755-73, iii. 89-92), bears witness to the existence of the chapel in his time and also to its great antiquity. Here again, just as at Loreto, the chapel was without foundations, and a great church had been erected under it to protect and enshrine it. Whether the Loreto legend or that of the Colle di Vertighe is really the older it is difficult to decide. In the case of Loreto the negative evidence is stronger, showing that in the beginning no idea existed of the chapel having come from Nazareth is emphasized by the large number of documents of the 14th and 15th centuries which have been unearthed concerning it. It is incredible, as Hüffer shows in his very patieni discussion, that the supremely sacred character of the building could have been ignored, as it is, in almost all of them, if men had then believed that this was actually the Holy House in which God had become incarnate.

The second line of argument, developed by Chevalier and other critics, claims to show that at Nazareth nothing was known to have happened in 1291, when the Holy House is supposed to have been transported westwards; no pilgrim comment on the disappearance of a shrine which was known to have been venerated by their predecessors in the 12th and 13th centuries, nor do the accounts of what was venerated at Nazareth as the abode of the Holy Family apply in the least to such an edifice as we now see at Loreto. It may be noted that the measurements and proportions of the chapel of the English shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, which happen to have been accurately preserved to us, do not agree with those of the Santa Casa, while, according to legend, the English Walsingham chapel reproduced exactly the dimensions of the Holy House as measured by a pilgrim about the year 1000.

By the time of Pope Julius II. the legend of the Santa Casa had fully established itself in public favour and it is incorporated in a bull of 1507, but with the qualification 'ut pie creditur et fana est.' In 1518 Leo X. identifies himself with the whole marvellous story of the miraculous procession of the picture, and the witness of Thomas Duchie or Doughie of Musselburgh made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and brought back that image of the Italian shrine for which he afterwards built a chapel on the land now occupied by Loreto School. Other pontiffs, notably Sixtus V. and in modern times Pius IX. and Leo XIII., adopted the tradition without any question, and Innocent XIII. permitted the celebration of a special feast of the translation of the Holy House with a 'proper' Mass and Office. In the latter part of the 16th cent. the story of the miraculous translation was so authorized and endorsed by the local traditions of Nazareth itself were modified to suit it. It should, however, be remembered that none of these papal bulls or other similar acts of ecclesiastical authority is regarded in the Roman Church as having the actual status of building, but that consequently all Roman Catholics are free to accept or reject the legend according to their own judgment of the historical evidence. The defenders of the tradition still hold that, quite apart from the examination of the materials, particularly the stone of which the Santa Casa is built, and it is claimed that experts have declared that such materials are unique in Italy, but it had been more honestly admitted by Doughtie of Nazareth (see D. Bartolini, Sopra la Santa Casa di Loreto, Rome, 1881). But these experiments were carried out in 1857, and it may be doubted whether their conclusions can be regarded as rigidly scientific. Let us also notice that the frescoes at Gubbio and in one or two other places, said to be of early date and representing angels carrying a house (the date and details are nearly always matters of controversy), cannot be assumed to refer of necessity to the Loreto legend. It is clear from the Monte San Savino chronicle quoted above that there was at least one rival tradition of the same kind in Italy. These facts cannot be appealed to as a conclusive argument in favour of the early date of the Loreto story in particular.

Loreto.—The most voluminous bibliography of the subject has been very fully, though not quite exhaustively, dealt with by J. Faurax, Bibliographie lorettaine, Tournai, 1913, and also by G. Hüffer, Loreto, Loreto (see below), pp. 2-9. Of books and articles can be mentioned here. The text of the early writers who elaborated the legend into the form which ultimately prevailed, viz. Teramanni, Gereon Antiqua, Raphael Riera, and Horacio Turrusellini, will be found printed at length in the voluminous work of P. V. Martorelli, Teatro historico della S. Casa Nazarena, 3 vols., Rome, 1722-35. Besides this, we may note, among older works, the important treatises of G. A. Vogel, de Ecclesia resanmatcl et laetaverae oraeumqve episcopi commentarius, 2 vols., Recanati, published in 1593, though written in 1541; and M. Leopardi, La Santa Casa di Loreto, Lupano, 1841. Both these works give proof of much research among monastic archives and local documents. In the modern controversy, after U. Chevalier, Notre-Dame de Loreto, Paris, 1866, by far the most important contribution to the subject is that of G. Hüffer, Loreto, eine geschichtskritische Untersuchung der Frage des heiligen Hauses, Münster, 1913 (so far only in German, but a second edition has appeared). A. Boudinon, La Question de Loreto, Paris, 1910; C. Bouchard, La Verite sur le Saint de Loreto, dè, 1910, and The Month, July 1912. Of the various attempts made to reply to Chevalier's criticisms we may note the work of Eschbach, La Eccoli di Loreto, Paris, 1910; F. Thomas, La Santa Casa dans ses Religions, Lyons, 1896; G. Poiesis, Loreto, in Bullettino storico, 1908; M. Falcioni Pulignani, La Santa Casa di Loreto secondo un affresco di Gubbio, Rome, 1877; J. Rineri, La Santa Casa di Loreto, 2 vols., Rome, 1911; and G. Kreusch, Das Loreto Quartalschrift, Lübn, 1897, p. 786-800, and 1911, pp. 608-
LOTUS (Egyptian)—LOTUS (Indian)

LOTUS (Egyptian).—I. Name.—First we must dismiss entirely the modern botanical name 'lotus,' the 'Lotus Arabicus' is a small leguminous plant resembling a vetch ('Prose. Ray. Soc. ii. [1890] 223). As plants more or less confused together, being all water-likeys, and popularly called 'lotus,' there may be specified (1) rose lotus (Nelutumum speciosum), distinguished by imbricated petals on the bud; (2) white lotus (Nympharum lotus), distinguished by ribbed petals on the bud, rounded when opened; and (3) blue lotus (Nympharum corrales), distinguished by smooth, pointed petals. The two Nympharum lotuses cross, and any intermediate form may occur naturally.

(1) Rose lotus.—This is at present an Indian plant unknown in Egypt, except as a cultivated race. It was unknown in Roman times, being found in the cemetery at Hawara (W. M. F. Petrie, Harv. 1899, p. 62), and described by Athenaeus:

"T'us grows on marshes ... one like that of the rose, and it is the garlands woven of the flowers of this colour which are properly called the garlands of Antinous; but the other kind is called the lotus garland, being of a blue colour' (xv. 21). It was known earlier to Herodotus:

"There are also other flowers like roses that grow in the river, the fruit of which is contained in a separate pod ... in this there are many berries-fit to be eaten' (ii. 99).

There does not seem to be any proof that this plant was indigenous with any instance of it was represented in Egypt. It cannot, therefore, be reckoned as of importance in religion or art. Various instances have been alleged, but incorrectly. Loret states that the lotus-flower supporting Horus is a rose lotus; but the petals are equal-ended and striped as white lotus. He also states that the flower supports the head of Nefertum; but that flower appears rather to be a Nympheae. He agrees that it is not shown on monuments. The capital found at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, London, 1892, xvii.), like other early capitals, is white lotus, and not rose.

(2) White lotus.—This is characterized by the sepals and petals being ovoid with rounded ends. It is frequent in canal scenes of the early kingdom; as a capital at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, xii.), and on capitals of canals (Zwicky, Abhydla, viii. dyn.; El-Bersheh), xith dyn.; El-Bersheh, xith dyn.; see E. Prisse d'Avenne, Hist, de l'art égyptien, t. vi, 1879), as a garland (F. E. Newberry and F. L. Griffith, El Bersheh, London, 1893) it was placed upon the mummies of Aahmes, Amenophet 1., and Rameses II. It is represented as the flower upon which Horus is seated, shown by the strong ribbing of the sepals (R. V. Lanzoni, Dizionario di egyptologia e critica, Turin, 1888, xix., l., fig. 1). The figure is entirely of late date, 8th cent. B.C. and onward. Loret attributes this to the rose lotus; but J. G. Wilkinson emphatically states that it is the 'Lotus of the Egyptians' (447). It is still called in Egypt (Egyptians, London, 1878, i., 132 f.) the ribbing would indicate that it is, as a matter of fact, the white lotus.

(3) Blue lotus.—This is the most usual lotus-flower of all periods, with straight-edged pointed petals. It is found commonly in the toms, and is the origin of the regular lotus-capitals. The Egyptian name of the blue lotus is variously equated. Loret puts the neheb, nekheb, or neshub to the rose lotus, seshmi to the white lotus, and serpet to the blue lotus. But we have seen that probably the rose lotus was a Persian importation, and could not therefore have a usual name dating from the VIth dynasty. (Papyrus, i. 499). A certain Nefertum is said to have been given authority for the seshni being a blue flower (Pl. Porcar, p. 116), and the khehnum (which in the Scale = seshni) being also blue. It seems probable that seshni is the blue lotus. The seeds of all three lotus-plants were eaten (Herod. ii. 92), and seshni was gathered in the IIrd dyn. (see a seal in Petrie, Royal Tomb, London, 1891, pl. xxxi., xxii. 171). The blue lotus was eaten and used by the Egyptians. The commonest name neshub is the white lotus. The name serpet is more fully spelled out like a Syrian word, as saripeta. It seems obviously connected with sarpet of Is 55, where it stands in antithesis to myrtle, and is therefore probably a bush rather than a herb or water-plant. It does not appear to have any connection with a lotus.

2. Meaning.—Though the lotus is so abundant naturally in Egypt, and so incessantly represented in decoration, yet it seems to have singularly little contact with the religion or writing. Its use as a vocal sign is rare and of late period, and before that it appears only as a determinative of the names of such plants. It is not associated with any early god. Nefertum, who wears the flower on his head, is a late deity, the figure first occurring in the VIIIth dyn. (A. B. Cook, draughts of Paris, 1890-95, i. 38c), where also is a portable shrine with the lotus-flower of the god, clearly the blue lotus. Usually he is not represented till the Greek period. Horus, who appears seated on the lotus-flower, is first represented only in the Egyptian and later ages (G. Colonna-Cecchaldi, Monuments antiques de Chypre, etc., Paris, 1852, pl. viii.; G. A. Hoskins, Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert, London, 1894, p. 129). In view of this, it says of the lotus, 'there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship' (iii. 133).

Versions.—The principal books are V. Loret, La Flore pharaonique, Paris, 1892, for the botany; G. Foncarter, Histoire de F'Evro, lotamenti, do 1897, for Egyptian architecture; W. H. Goodyear, Grammar of the Lotusi, London, 1901, for general art connections, but overstrained.

LOTUS (Indian).—To the Indian taste the lotus has always been the fairest flower: it has enjoyed an unparalleled popularity throughout the length and breadth of India from the earliest times down to the present day, as is shown by its dominance in literature and art. Beginning to be mentioned in the oldest Veda, it plays a prominent part in the mythology of Brāhmaṇism. To the later Sanskrit poets it is the emblem of beauty to which they constantly compare the faces of their heroines. The lotus, moreover, enters into Indian art of all ages and all religions as a conspicuous decorative element. It appears thus on the oldest architectural monuments of Buddhism as well as later on those of Jainism and Hinduism all over India. With the spread of Buddhism to the countries of the Farther East, its use as an ornament in religious art has extended as far as Japan.

1. In literature.—The lotus is already named in the Rigveda and is mentioned with increasing frequency in the later Sūtras. Two varieties occur in the Rigveda. The Missaka (later known as a white variety of the Nelutumum speciosum) is once referred to (X, exilii. 8) as a water-plant. In the Atharvaveda (X, viii. 43) the humān heart is compared with this lotus, and the Padhārīni (XVIII, ix. 6) speaks of its flower as 'born of the light of the constellations.' The Taittiriya recension (i, viii. 2, 1) of the Black Yajurveda mentions various names for the lotus (pundrā-sūtra). The blue variety named pañcakra occurs several times in the Rigveda (VI, xv. 3, VII, xxxii, 11, VIII, lxxii. 11) and still often in the
LOTUS (Indian)

After Buddha began to be represented in sculpture, from about the beginning of our era, his image constantly appears sitting cross-legged on a lotus seat, occasionally also standing on a lotus pedestal. In this form it occurs, for instance, at Rajgir in Behar, in the Kanheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandharan monuments of the North-West. From the latter region this type spread beyond the confines of India, reappearing in Nepal, Burma, China, and Japan. Even when the seat is not seated with its various edible parts, in the Atharvaveda (IV. xxxiv. 3). The flower meant in the so-called white edible lotus (Nymphea lutea), denoted by this name in later times.

In the Brahmaṇas the lotus first appears associated with the Creator Brajapati in cosmicognic myths. Thus the Taittiriya Brahmaṇa (t. 3. 3. 6) tells how Brajapati, desiring to evolve the universe, which in the beginning was fluid, saw a lotus-leaf (pūsvana-paraṇa) standing erect out of the water. Thinking that it must rest on something, he dived in the form of a bear, and, finding the earth below, broke off a fragment, rese with it to the surface, and spread it out on the leaf. Again, the Taittiriya Aranyaka (t. xxiii. 1) relates that, when the universe was still fluid, Prajapati-alone among gods—stood erect.

Later, in the epic poetry of the Mahābhārata, the Creator, under the name of Brahmā, is described as having sprung from the lotus that grew out of Viṣṇu's navel, when that body lay absorbed in its circle. How the navel of the Creator of Brahmā is 'lotus-born' (abja-ja, abja-yoni, etc.). The lotus is thus also connected with Viṣṇu, one of whose names is accordingly pāda-mahābhūka, 'lotus-navel.' It is further associated with Viṣṇu's wife Lakṣmī, goddess of fortune and beauty, in the Mahābhārata, where the myth is related that from Viṣṇu's forehead sprang a lotus, out of which came Śrī (another name of the goddess), and where one of Lakṣmī's epithets is pada, 'lotus-ised.' The Mahābhārata, in its account of Mount Kailasa, the abode of Kubera, the god-king, is described in his lake Vaṭāla and his river Mandalā as covered with golden lotuses.

In art.—As regards its application in religious art, the lotus figures, with the rise of that art in India, on all the Buddhist monuments which came into existence after the 1st century B.C. and onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular ornament in the sculptures at Sanchi, Bhārhat, Amāravati, and Bodh Gaya, as well as in the rock-cut Buddhist temples of Western India, being introduced as a decoration on pillars, panels, and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half-lotuses sometimes appear thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semitranslucent stones at the base of staircases. Lotuses growing on stalks also occur in the sculptures of Gandhāra and of Mathurā, and often figure in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sānci or the panels of Amāravati.

The lotus is further found from the earliest times conventionalized either as a seat or as a pedestal on which divine or sacred beings rest in a sitting or standing posture. The oldest and most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī in the Buddhist sculptures at Udayagiri, at Bhārhat, and especially at Sānci, where it is frequently repeated on the gateway of the Great Stāpa. She is portrayed sitting or standing on a lotus and holding up in each hand a lotus-flower which is watered by two elephants from two of the four elephants which support the ancient type is found all over India at the present day; it even occurs among the old sculptures at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.

Later Vedas. In the former it is alluded to as growing in lakes. Here also the term seems to be applied to the bowl of the sacrificial Ind, pre-
LOTUS (Indian)

The device of a lotus-flower in the hand seems to have symbolized not merely divinity but the possession of life everlasting, and the preservation and procreation of life. Such was it with the Aryan queen of heaven, the Brahmānī goddess Śrī, and her derivative, the Buddhist Tārā, both of whom have the title ‘Garlanded by Lotus’ (Tantā, Kangyur, xv. 4). In the mystical Vedic, pre-Buddhist Satapattra Brahmaṇa the lotus was a symbol of the Śrī, and in the Inf. and testament of the Buddhists, for which see in the famous Oṃ mānī padme hūn formula (see Jewels [Buddhist], § 7). Probably, therefore, such a meaning may be in part implied in the lotus held in the hand of Avalokita, the consort of Tārā, to whom that formula is now specifically addressed.

In the hand of Maitreya, the next coming Buddha, and other divine bodhisattvas of Gandhāra, the lotus in the hand, however, may have had a metaphysical significance and have denoted the preservation of the life of the law and the re-vivifying of the same. It was possibly in this sense as cherishers of the law that we find that a lotus-flower adorns the hands of many of the images of Buddhā and bodhisattvas who do not specifically possess the attribute of a lotus held in the hand (see list below).

The gods and goddesses of Buddhism who hold a lotus in their hand are here enumerated; this lotus, with the object which it carries, forms one of the chief conventional attributes of the particular divinity.

The simple lotus, one of the three kinds specified above, is the especial mark of Tārā, Avalokita, Padmapāni, and, occasionally, Maitreya. The lotus surmounted by a thunderbolt (vajra), it is an attribute of Mahāsāri and of Vajrāsattva; by a book, it is an attribute of Maitreya and Prajñā Paramitā; surmounted by a jewel, it denotes Kṣitigarbha and Akṣājā; by a sun, Samanta-bhadra. Among Tibetan saints the lotus is the special emblem of the founder of the Order of Lāmas, Padmakara, ‘the Lotus-born’; and Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow-Hat reformed sect, the Gelug, has two, one on either side of him. Images of lotus symbols thus, such as the seventh C. Childers, Dict. of the Lālī Language, London, 1875, pp. 316, 392).

The white lotus, padparādha, gives its name to two out of the twenty-four previous Buddhās of the Pāli canon, namely Paduma (properly Padma) and Padumuttara, and to several nāgā demigods, Padma, Padumottara, and Padparādha; also to several of the Buddhist hells, namely Padma, Mahāpadma, and Padparādha (Sutta Nipāṭa [SBE x. pt ii. 121]); these appear to be named from the flower-shaped boils which torment the inmates therein. It is also used to denote the highest number known to Buddhist computators, namely 10,000,000, or 1 followed by 119 ciphers, which is called a padma or, in Pāli, paduma, whilst the white lotus, padparādha, gives 10,000,000, or 1 followed by 121 ciphers.

In Buddhism the lotus is a flower among the flowers which symbolize the Buddha’s teachings. Padma, hence the name "Lotus," is the meaning of the lotus in the Pāli canon. The lotus is a symbol of purity and wisdom. It is said to have seven petals, each representing one of the seven stages of spiritual development. The lotus is also a symbol of the Buddha’s teaching, as it grows from the muck and rises to the surface of the water to bloom, representing the Buddha’s teaching rising above worldly concerns to reach enlightenment. The lotus is also a symbol of the Buddha’s death and rebirth, as it is said to endure the heat of the sun like the Buddha, and to return to the muck at the setting of the sun like the Buddha’s body. The lotus is also associated with the Buddha’s descent from the Bodhi Tree. The lotus is a symbol of the Buddha’s teaching, as it grows from the muck and rises to the surface of the water to bloom, representing the Buddha’s teaching rising above worldly concerns to reach enlightenment. The lotus is also a symbol of the Buddha’s death and rebirth, as it is said to endure the heat of the sun like the Buddha, and to return to the muck at the setting of the sun like the Buddha’s body. The lotus is also associated with the Buddha’s descent from the Bodhi Tree. The lotus is a symbol of the Buddha’s teaching, as it grows from the muck and rises to the surface of the water to bloom, representing the Buddha’s teaching rising above worldly concerns to reach enlightenment. The lotus is also a symbol of the Buddha’s death and rebirth, as it is said to endure the heat of the sun like the Buddha, and to return to the muck at the setting of the sun like the Buddha’s body. The lotus is also associated with the Buddha’s descent from the Bodhi Tree.

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LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.—No book gives a more accurate idea of the literature of the Great Vehicle or Mahāyāna (q.v.) than the Sūtramārdanīkāra, or Lotus of the True Law; and none gives a better impression of the character of the classic and of Buddhism in certain surroundings, from its beginnings down to the earliest times of the Christian era.

1. The Buddha in the Lotus.—In the ancient Pali documents Sākyamuni is a man, a simple mortal, and he goes in a historical background. In the Lotus he is a sublime being, eternal or almost eternal, who unrolls in a phantasmagoric setting the ‘divinity,’ i.e. the divine splendour and the majestic power, which Buddhists now attribute to the Buddha; he is a god as Hindus and Buddhists understand the word—that is to say, he manifests himself especially by mythological performances, although he is a stranger to all notions of creation or of immemorability. Such a being has no history; therefore, as Kern says (SBE xxii. p. ix), the Lotus is a sort of ‘dramatic performance, an undevolved and mystery play.’ It consists of a series of dialogues, brightened by the magic effects of a would-be supernatural scenery.

Among the most characteristic episodes we may mention the silence which Sākyamuni maintains for three thousand years; characterizing out his divine tongue into the most distant worlds; the appearance of the stūpas of a deceased Buddha, who had been in Nirvāṇa for a long time, but who wished to inaugurate in the world the security of innumerable saints and Buddhas eager to hear the teaching of the Master, and coming from all the worlds. By means of Kern’s excellent translation (SBE xxii.) we can appreciate the character of the ‘sublime’ and the ‘supernatural’ attributed by the Great Vehicle to the Buddha.

Although completely divine, Sākyamuni is not God in the Lotus. He is Buddha ‘from the beginning’; he is the father of the worlds, the father of the future Buddhas and saints, the universal presence. In order to save human beings and to lead them to Nirvāṇa he appears in a human form which is illusory; he is born, teaches, and enters Nirvāṇa—at least as far as ordinary men can see; but in reality, while illusory Sākyamunis are appearing in this world, the true Sākyamuni reigns on a divine plane of unchangeable destiny, attended by future Buddhas, and imparting to them the true teaching, the true law. This is the true Sākyamuni that the Lotus shows.

Nevertheless, as Kern said, this god is not God. There is no single word in the Lotus which is not capable of an orthodox, i.e. ‘atheist,’ interpretation. Sākyamuni may be styled Svayambhū,6 who is by himself, because, like all the Buddhas, he became Buddha without receiving the teaching from another. He is Buddha ‘from the beginning’; but, just as the Lotus mentions a Buddha who will one day replace Sākyamuni, so we must believe that Sākyamuni is Buddha ‘from the beginning of this cosmic age.’ We know, moreover, that Brahmā himself 1

1 The development of the tongue, capable of covering the whole face, is one of the signs of the ‘great man’ in the ancient Pali-Mahāyāna.

2 Contrary, evidently, to all Buddhist dogmas. The being ‘who has obtained Nirvāṇa’ is invisible to gods and men, since he is annihilated or has entered into eternal rest. The appearance of ‘deceased Buddhas’ in the Lotus is probably, therefore, only a representation of the imagistic or deceptive power (māyā) of Sākyamuni.

3 A hill near Rājgṛha, which was turned by the neo-Buddhists into a heavenly mountain.

4 See art. Buddha.

5 This is a name of Brahmā. The Sānyamabhūprāptā is a glorification of the Buddha of Nepal (S. Lévi, Les Népal, Paris, 1903).

6 Of this expression with the one described in art. Mahāyāna. Mahāyāna is the means of teaching in the middle, and the end, therefore the Eternal and also the Absolute—quite different from Sākyamuni in the Lotus.

The Lotus is not, properly speaking, eternal. Besides, Sākyamuni is not the only Buddha; other Buddhas reign and teach at the same time as he, his equals in nature, although not necessarily in merits, glory, or activity as a saviour; every Buddha has his own domain and field. If he has been already born, it is not because he creates human beings; it is because by his teaching he is the father of the saints or future Buddhas.

So much for speculation. In practice, on the religious sentiment that the Lotus assumes, Sākyamuni is really God, providence, and reward of the saints.

2. The doctrine of salvation in the Lotus.—According to the Lotus, the saints of the Little Vehicle (see art. Arhat), or Hinayāna (q.v.), do not attain Nirvāṇa; they believe that they will not be re-born, but they are re-born to receive the true doctrine from the heavenly Buddhas. Deliverance cannot be obtained except by first becoming a Buddha; and for that purpose it is necessary to enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas (see art. Bodhisattva). This doctrine is set forth in various parables, the most famous of which is that of ‘The Prodigal Child’ (iv.); it is not without a somewhat distant resemblance to the Gospel parable.

It is . . . as if a certain man went away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty, and in course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; is seeking a livelihood . . . In all directions and goes to some city, whereas his father removes to another country. The father is vexed at having no son; but one day, when, sitting at the gate of his palace, he is dealing with the affairs of millions of sovereigns [except Nirvāṇa], he sees his son, poor and tattered. The son thinks, ‘Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here; let me go; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.’ The father orders his son to be brought to him; but, before revealing his birth to him, he employs him for some years at all kinds of work, first at the meanest kind, and then at the most important. The father treats his son with paternal kindness, but the son, although he manages all his father’s property, lives in a thatched cottage, and believes himself poor. At last, when his education is completed, he learns the truth. In the same way we are the sons of the Buddha, and the Buddha says to us to-day, ‘You are my sons.’ But, like the poor man, we have no idea of our dignity, of our mission as future Buddhas. Thus the Buddha has made an impression on inferior doctrines; we have applied ourselves to them, seeking as payment for our day’s work only Nirvāṇa, and finding out that it is not so. ‘If I were to be born as a Buddha the Buddha has made us dispensers of the knowledge of the Buddhas, and we have preached without desiring anything. As last the Buddha has revealed to us that this knowledge is to be ours, and that we are to become Buddhas like him.’

3. Episodoc.—Although the four last parts of the book (see below, § 4) is almost entirely devoted to Sākyamuni, chs. xxii.—xxvii. glorify several Bodhisattvas. We may mention the Āsāra of Avalokiteśvara (xxvii.), which is one of the most widely read works in China (see art. Avalokiteśvara); the myth of the ‘healer king,’ Bhūsajyāraja (xxii.), a Bodhisattva who sets fire to his gigantic body for the salvation of human beings, and who is none other than the sun. In the Chinese Great Vehicle the practice of burning the skull is connected with this myth. In submitting to this cruel rite, the monk fulfills the effect of the sacrifice incumbent on the Buddhas (J. J. M. de Groot, Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, pp. 50, 217, 227).

The history of Sadaparibhūtā, 1 the always subdued one, ‘the always despised one’ (xix.), is an example of the endurance of a monk of the unfailing and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism (Kern, in SBE xxii. p. xxii). We should not have a right idea of the Lotus if we did not mention the glorification of the domain of the Great Vehicle.

1 See art. Mahāyāna for the plurality of Buddhism and Abhidharma for the stages in the development of the Buddhists.

2 With this idea is associated in the Lotus the false teaching of Buddha—provisional teaching (Little Vehicle) and true teaching (Great Vehicle).
formula (xxi.), and the glorification of the Lotus itself (xx.). ‘He who writes this book, or causes it to be written, obtains infinite merit,’ etc. We know that, in the Milinda, a Pali book of the Little Vehicle, all that is required to obtain a divine re-birth is to think of Buddha when dying (Sutta Pitaka, xxv. (1890) 124); with more reason, in the Great Vehicle, the tendencies of bhakti predominate (see art. BHAKTI-MARGA).

4. What he owed from his University. — The Lotus was translated into Chinese for the first time in A.D. 255; but this ancient translation is lost. The next one (286) contains chs. xxi.—xxvi., which criticism proves to have been added afterwards, the former ch. xxii. becoming ch. xxvii. On the other hand, the former chapters include verses (gāthā) and explanations in prose (the latter more recent). Kern therefore thinks that ‘several centuries’ separate the primitive reduction from the one which was certainly in existence before 286. Winternitz is not so generous, and places the original about the year 200. The present writer is inclined to favour an earlier date: the authors of the Lotus were translated into Chinese in 145–170, and show a Buddhistic development as the Lotus. It is difficult to identify the Bodhisattvas of the Gandhāra sculpture, except Maitreyas, but it is certain that the sculpture also shows the quasi-divinization of Buddhas and future Buddhas.


L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSIN.

LOTZE.—1. General philosophical position. — Among German philosophers of the period which opens with the triumphant advance of natural science about the middle of last century, the most eminent name is undoubtedly that of Rudolf Hermann Lotze. Lotze's significance lies, above all, in his having instigated and constructed an all-embracing theory of the universe which does full justice to the claims of modern science, and that at the same time conserves whatever was of real value in the theory of the latest movement of German philosophy in the preceding period; it was Lotze, in fact, who first directed those results to genuinely fruitful issues. To him belongs, moreover, the merit of having stated and discussed the problems of thought with such outstanding clearness, force, and thoroughness that even in the most perplexing questions the reader is stimulated to form his own conclusions, or at least enabled to realize the difficulties that stand in the way of a definite result. The several philosophical sciences, accordingly, are indebted to Lotze's tireless intellectual labours for an effective and permanent furtherance and enrichment in numerous directions; and, indeed, it cannot be said that the results of his work have as yet been exhausted, or have been worked out in due measure by his followers.

2. Life and works. — Lotze's early life falls within the period dominated by the thought and sentiment of Romanticism. Born on the 21st of May 1817, in Bautzen, in Lusatia, he was grounded in classical study at the gymnasium of Zittau. Even as a boy he displayed that combination of critical acumen and lofty idealistic thought which characterized his riper years, and in a number of papers in which he won attention at sixteen, and given to the public among his posthumous papers, we can clearly trace the rudiments of the comprehensive views which he subsequently elaborated; they reveal a maturity which amazes us in one so young. In 1834 he entered upon his academic course at the University of Leipzig, where he devoted himself to the study of medicine, and so came into practical touch with scientific pursuits and with the exact methods of contemporary natural science. Simultaneously, however, he sought to satisfy his philosophical and aesthetic aspirations by the study of German idealism, and to this end attended the lectures of Ch. Weisse. During his stay at Leipzig he was above all, the conviction that the mechanical mode of interpreting nature must be extended also to the organic, animate sphere, and that the current mechanical doctrine of vital force must be banished from the scientific field (cf. his dissertation, De futura biologie principiis philosophicis, Leipzig, 1838); and this challenge to vitalism continued to be one of the leading features of his critical activity until his view at length won general acceptance.

After practising for a time as a doctor in Zittau, Lotze qualified as a Dozent both in the medical and in the philosophical faculty of the University of Leipzig (1839), and from that time to his call to Göttingen in 1844 he not only laboured successfully as an academic teacher (he had become a Professor Extraordinarius in 1842), but manifested a remarkable fertility of mind; for it was during the first of his great philosophical works, the Metaphysik, in which he stood forth as an independent thinker who had struck out upon fresh paths, though at the same time taking the impetus which he had received from Hegel and Herbart is clearly traceable in the work. The distinctive feature of the Metaphysik is in constant presentation of the idea that which truly exists—the ultimate root of reality—is to be found only in what by virtue of its unconditional value deserves to exist in this supreme sense. This line of thought, reminding us of Platonism and the Platonic insistence upon the supremacy of the Idea of the Good, finds pointed, if somewhat paradoxical, expression in the concluding statement of the book, viz. that the beginning of metaphysics lies not in itself, but in ethics. In 1842 Lotze issued a second work of importance, his Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften. Here he attempts to apply without reservation the mechanical theory to the field of organic life, where the scientifically inadequate and, indeed, inadmissible idea of vital force had so long been resorted to; to that idea he likewise directed the title of his third text, ‘Lebenskraft,’ in R. Wagner's Handwörterbuch der Physiologie (Göttingen, 1843). In 1843 he also completed his Logik, in which he works on independent and often fresh lines, and strenuously emphasizes the 'spontaneity' of our thought-processes. His leading psychological views he brought out at some length in another article in Wagner's Handwörterbuch, viz. 'Seele und Seeleleben' (1846), the most notable features of which were its doctrine of the substantial unity of the soul as a real entity and its unequivocal opposition to the materialistic views then forcing their way into psychology. His opinion as to the field of aesthetics he set forth in a treatise entitled Über den Begriff der Schönheit (1845), which was soon followed by his Über die Bedingungen der Kunstschönheit (1847) — both appearing in the Göttinger Studien.

His Allgemeine Physiologie des körperlichen Lebens (1851) and Néurologische Psychologie (1852) develop the fundamental ideas of the Pathologie and closely the validity of the procedure by which the mechanical method is extended to the organic sphere, as also to the psychological, and to define the necessary limits of that application. It is worthy of note that here
Lotze, in opposition to the parallelistic theory, quite distinctly forms the hypothesis of a causal connexion between body and soul; and to this he adhered all his life. As regards the relation between the physical organism and the soul, in Lotze's theory it is a mechanical one, by which external stimuli are enabled to make a due impression upon the latter, and by which, again, the impulsion of the soul are brought to bear upon the external world. The soul is thus a mere copy of the bodily life; the truth is rather that the soul governs the body, and makes it subservient to its own higher ends.

From 1850 to 1884 appeared the three volumes of Lotze's great work, Mikrokosmos (Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885), in which he set forth his philosophical system as a whole. His previous treatises, devoted almost entirely to a consideration of the basis of human life in nature, are here supplemented by a profound treatment of human life as expressed in history and the forms of civilization, and the work culminates in a survey of the universe from the standpoint of the philosophy of religion. The Mikrokosmos as a whole is dominated by the purpose in which Lotze's life-work in relation to his age took definite shape—to show how absolutely universal in its application, and at the same time how possible in the time of an age, can be performed by mechanism in the structure of the world. It is in reality the philosophical problem of the age that Lotze here undertakes to solve; he makes it his light of otherwise than as analogous to our own spiritual being, though, of course, as raised to an incomparably higher power and freed from the limitations necessarily inherent in human nature as a finite thing. Ultimately, therefore, the world-ground is defined as an infinite spiritual being, or deity, the entire process of things being conceived as immanent in this deity, and as integrated and sustained by the unity of its being.

Lotze then proceeds to deal in a thorough-going way with the idea that this world-ground or deity forms the one ultimate basis of the existence and interpretation of all things. The elements of the real are all merely dependent parts or modifications of the Infinite; at a later period Lotze preferred to call them its 'actions.' Such actions of the Infinite he defines as the 'existence' of the particles of the material world, or the atoms, which he speaks of as the 'elementary actions of the one world-ground,' but as 'actions always maintained in uniformity by it'; and, secondly, souls, the actions not always [so] maintained, but emerging at distinct points of the world-process, and for a section of that process generating a not previously present centre of 'individualization' (Verinnerlichung). Outside of and prior to the activity of the Infinite, however, there are no universal laws operative per se, nor any so-called eternal truths; there is no independently valid 'law of occurrence' (Recht des Geschehens) or of existence; 'law and 'truth,' indeed, simply express the mode of realization by which the Infinite chooses to effect its will, and their validity depends absolutely upon the will of the Infinite, and lasts only so long as that will remains one with His—self-life, which, however, must be regarded not as a metaphysical necessity, but as a consequence of the ethical nature of the world-ground or deity, in the sense of the latter's 'fidelity to itself.'

Further, a vital constituent in Lotze's theory of the universe as originally formulated was the idea of the animistic nature of all reality. The ultimate elements of the material world are regarded as spiritual entities, as of kindred nature with the Leibnizian monads. He was led to take this view mainly by aesthetic motives, as also by the con-
viction that a purely material reality could have no independent existence. But, as he gradually wrought out his doctrine of the Infinite, the divine world-ground, his hypothesis of the animate nature of reality was more and more dispensed with, becoming ever the less necessary as what it had been dispensed to supply was gradually well and, indeed, even better supplied by the fundamental position to which he latterly attained. He came at length to the above-mentioned conception of the material essence as the 'extreme of the actions of the Infinite,' maintained in a condition of uniformity, and thus differentiated in the clearest possible way from souls. Souls themselves, however, were likewise conceived as 'actions of the world-ground,' but as specially distinguished by their admirable and at bottom inexplicable capacity of feeling and knowing themselves as the active centres of an outgoing life (Met. p. 601 i.). Some writers are of opinion that this view involves a denial of the doctrine of free will—a doctrine which Lotze always distinctly insists upon as an essential element in his theory of the universe, and for the sake of which he rejects, e.g., the pantheism of Spinoza, notwithstanding the profound relationship between that theory and his own. Obviously, therefore, Lotze himself did not believe that his conception of the essence of the Infinite in any way implied the surrender of human freedom; but it is nevertheless true that he refers to the subject only in certain religious-philosophical reflexions, and never deals adequately with the crux which undoubtedly shows itself at this point, so that in his metaphysical construction he has left here a problem still unsolved.

Taken all in all, however, since the development of Lotze's thought never guided by a purely systematic interest, but, on the contrary, takes the fullest possible account of experience, his philosophy presents a conception of the universe which is distinguished by a marvellous unity and completeness.

Literatur.—Of the more important works dealing with the life and philosophy of Lotze, the following may be named: E. Pfeiffer, Lotze's philosophische Weltanschauung nach ihrer Grundlagen, Berlin, 1884; O. Caspari, Hermann Lotze in seiner Stellung zu der durch Kant begründeten neuesten Geschichte der Philosophie, Breslau, 1884; E. von Hartmann, Lotze's Philosophie, Leipzig, 1885; E. Rehnisch, Zur Biographie Hermanns Lotzes (see in: Garten-Grundriss der Ästhetik, at the beginning), and, 'Hermann Lotze' in Neues Leben (1901); E. von Hartmann, Stuttgart, 1901 (Fremmlands Klassiker der Philosophie, vol. xii.), and art. 'Lotze' in Allgemeine deutsche Encyclopädie, vol. iii. (1901); M. Antich, Hermann Lotzes Kritik der Philosophie im 19. Jahrhundert, i. Heidelberg, 1913. For further lit. cf. D.P.P. ii. (1900) 345-350.

M. WENTSCHER.

LOURDES.—Lourdes, a small town in the extreme south of France (diocese of Tarbes, department of Hautes Pyrénées), has become known as a place of pilgrimage only since 1858. In view of the insinuation that the development of this shrine represents a conscious design on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy to exploit pious credulity in the interest of the then newly defined dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is worth while to point out that in 1858 and for some years afterwards Lourdes was one of the least accessible spots in the country. The nearest railway was at Bayonne, 80 miles off, and the road through Lourdes led nowhere except to some little-frequented health-resorts in the Pyrénées. If there were any question of deliberate organization a fraud to impress the world, the choice of such a site would be inexplicable. Whatever judgment may be formed as to the nature of the phenomena of healing now witnessed at Lourdes, the careful study of the manifestations which first brought the shrine into notice tends unmistakably to establish the good faith of all the persons primarily con-

cerned. The history of the grotto of Lourdes is briefly this.

About mid-day on Thursday, 11th Feb. 1858, three little girls went to gather wood on the banks of the Gave. One of them, Bernadette Soubirous, a delicate child of 14, who looked much younger in the world, was alone and who then could neither read nor write, was left behind by her companions. She was standing on a narrow strip of ground between the river and a low cliff known as the Massabielles, in which was a natural shallow cave or grotto with a sort of niche in the rock above it. Her attention was roused by such a rustling of the leaves as is caused by a sudden breeze, and, looking in front of her, she saw standing in the niche the figure of a beautiful young lady clothed in white and with a rosary in her hands. The figure made the sign of the cross, and the child, after doing the same, began to say her rosary. When the rosary was finished, the apparition smilingly saluted the child, and disappeared. This was the first of a series of similar apparitions of which a few details are given below. It is to be noted that, contrary to the usual experience of such visionaries, Bernadette had no clear intuition as to the identity of the heavenly visitant. Joan of Arc recognized her 'voices'—St. Michael, St. Catherine, etc.—from the first, but this was not the case here. Bernadette was, however, of a shy disposition, and her child's nature, Bernadette went to the grotto a second time three days after, she took holy water with her and threw it at the apparition for fear the figure which she saw might be some delusion of the lady only smiled. Even after the sixth apparition Bernadette described her mysterious visitant in her potao as aquëro, i.e. 'it' (cf. Spanish aquello = cosciido), and sometimes also as una visionizér (una petite demoiselle; cf. Cros, pp. 43, 302). The vision was at all times restricted to Bernadette alone; no one else saw anything or pretended to see anything—a fact which is in marked contrast to such cases as those of Marie Magnotier at Le Pontinet in the Dordogne in 1880 (see L. Marillier, Proc. Society for Psychical Research, vii. [1891] 109 ff.) or that of Knock in Ireland in 1879-80 (see M. P. Curran, The Paleckense, 1880). On the other hand the child herself usually fell into a state of trance in which her features were completely transfigured, and Dr. Dozos, who went at first out of curiosity as a sceptical scientist in search of experience, testifies that the flame of a candle playing upon her hand for many minutes neither raised her from her trance nor left any trace of burning upon the skin. Bernadette, as early as 21st Feb., was subjected to the severest cross-examination by the commissary of police, M. Jacomet, and by the Procureur Impérial, M. Dutour, both of whom threatened her and her parents with punishment if she persisted. Still later, on 28th Feb., she was severely cautioned by M. Rives, the Judge d'Instruction, her proceedings at the grotto were closely watched by gendarmes, and she was met with a severe rebuke more or less repeated, from the curé, Abbé Peyramale, to whom the apparition had directed her to address herself. None the less, though timid by nature, she was never in the least shaken in her account of what she had seen, nor was she cowed by threats of punishment. Not one of the many formidable persons who cross-questioned her detected any signs either of incriminating hypochondria or of a hysterical temperament. There is a large amount of contemporary evidence upon the point in the works of Cros, Estrade, and Dozos. As
early as 27th March 1858, three physicians, appointed by the Prefect of the Department, who were in possession of the necessary qualifications, made a medical examination of Bernadette. In their report, dated 31st March (before the apparitions had come to an end), which is still preserved, the whole story of the early appearances was recapitulated, as the doctors heard it from Bernadette's own lips, and it is interesting to note its complete agreement with the account given by her many years later. Of mental and physical intensity which would suggest the probability of conscious fraud the doctors found no trace. 'There is nothing,' they say, 'to show that Bernadette wished to impose upon the public.' On the other hand, nothing in the report suggests that the medical examiners themselves placed any faith in the story of the apparitions. They think that Bernadette was the innocent subject of a hallucination, and, while calling attention to her naturally impressionable character, they point out a certain development in the intensity of the trance with which the apparitions were normally accompanied. For the rest, they report that the child was delicate but perfectly sane and healthy-minded, and they offer no kind of suggestion that she should be put under restraint (Cros, p. 143).

It is in contrast to this report, which was fully justified by Bernadette's subsequent history, with the very unsatisfactory career of the two children who were witnesses of the alleged apparitions of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette in 1856, or again with Marlire's account of Marie Magontier, the child voyante of Le Pontinet, already referred to:

'I have no doubt,' says Marlire, 'so far as I am concerned, of the reality of her visions. In my opinion she certainly saw the Virgin in the crack of the wall. . . . She is no doubt subject to hallucinations; but at the same time she is ill-balanced and heavily weighted with the burden of heresy. She is the daughter of a father who was epileptic, and of a mother who was doubtful insane, and she has the bearing, the character—in a word the appearance of suffering from hereditary degeneracy. She is filled too with the morbid self-love and the enormous vanity so common among the degenerate' (Proc. Soc. Psych. Research, vii. 207).

According to the testimony of a number of persons who, much to the child's distress, pursued her with questions as to what she had seen, none of these undesirable characteristics was present in Bernadette Soulioune. Traps were laid to induce her to make further revelations, but to no avail. Her simplicity and good sense defeated them all. Though below the average in intelligence, she learned afterwards to read and write at the convent school, and began to cultivate her own humility at occupations at Lourdes. She never saw the apparition again after 16th July 1858, though she visited the grotto frequently. In 1866 she became a nun at Nevers and remained there discharging the duties of informer and sacristan, as far as her delicate health permitted, until her death in 1879. It is noteworthy that, though her body at the time of death was covered with tumours and sores, it was found, when the remains were officially examined in 1899, thirty years afterwards, entire and free from corruption (see CARRÈRE, Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, p. 243).

With the redaction of the year 1858, it is to be noted that Bernadette always described the vision as one of ravishing beauty, and as living, moving, and speaking to her. The recorded words —for she was wont to have been others which the child felt that she was bid to keep secret as relating only to herself—are comparatively few. Though Bernadette several times asked the lady, as she had been bid to do, to disclose her name, the ancient custom to suppress these revelations—true of March 25th—only smiled in reply. The dates and utterances of the series of apparitions are thus commemorated in an inscription upon marble which is erected near the grotto:

'Dates of the eighteen apparitions and words of the Blessed Virgin in the year of grace 1858. In the hollow of the rock, where the statue is now seen, the Blessed Virgin appeared to Bernadette Soulioune, fourteen times between March 19th and February 16th, each day with two exceptions from Feb. 18th until March 4th, and on March 19th and 24th, to Bernadette and to Jeanne Marchand, to the Blessed Virgin said to the child on Feb. 18th: "Will you do me the favour (ou faire la grâce) of coming here daily for a fortnight?" "I do not know how to make you understand, for I am a child but in the next," "I want many people to come." The Virgin said to her during the fortnight which was to last for ever: "You will kiss the earth for sinners. Penitence, Penitence, Penitence." "Go tell the priests to cause a chapel to be built." "I want people to come here in procession." "Go and drink of the fountain and wash yourself in it." "Go and eat of that grass which is there." On March 26th the Virgin said: '"I am the Immaculate Conception.'

One point claims to be especially noted. These visions did not come to Bernadette at command. On two important occasions, as the inscription notices, she failed to see the apparition viz. on 22nd Feb. and 3rd March, when she herself certainly expected to do so and when a large crowd—in the latter case some 4000 people, many of whom had spent the night upon the spot—had come long distances to assist at the manifestation. But, as sensible critics remarked even then, this arbitrary behaviour of the mysterious lady was a feature in the genius of the apparition. "If the child had simply invented the apparition," said one of them, "what was there to prevent its happening to-day, just as it happened yesterday?" (Cros, p. 121).

But what has given permanent significance to these occurrences was the discovery of the spring the healing virtues of which now bring hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Lourdes from every part of the world. At the ninth apparition, on 22nd Feb., the crowd of four or five hundred people who were watching Bernadette saw her rise and walk towards the grotto and then back again, moving to and fro in apparent perplexity. Finally she stooped down and began to scrub up the ground with her hand. A puddle formed, and the child then drank some of the dirty water and daubed her face therewith and also parts of the grass which was growing in the same spot. Many of the spectators took this for proof that the poor girl had really gone out of her mind. Afterwards Bernadette explained that the Lady had hidden her drink for a while, but now that she had found no spring, she had followed the apparition's directions in scrabbing up the ground as described. It seems absolutely certain that at that period the existence of any spring engaged the Black Virgin was unknown to the inhabitants of Lourdes. By the next morning the trickle had grown to the thickness of a finger, a few days later it was like a child's arm, and since then and down to the present time it yields a quantity of water equal to 122,000 litres, or about 27,000 gallons, a day. This is the miraculous water which is the reputed source of so many miracles. The wonders of healing began almost at once, and several of them were juridically investigated by a commission appointed by the bishop of Tarbes, which occupied itself with the inquiry from Nov. 1858 to the end of 1861. It is to be noted, and the fact is proved by contemporary reports made to Baron Massy, the Prefect of Hautes Pyrénées, and to M. Ronaud, the Minister of Worship, that for some months the clergy did all in their power to discourage these manifestations. They fully acquiesced when the Government erected obstructions barring access to the grotto, but the evidence of the cures that had taken place eventually bore down all official opposition, and in Jan 1862 the bishop of Tarbes, acting upon the advice of the Commission which he had appointed, issued a decree declaring that the
apparitions (of the Blessed Virgin) have all the characteristics of truth and that the faithful are justified in holding the method of Lourdes. Since the death of the lady, further ecclesiastical approval has been given both to the apparitions and to the miracles of Lourdes in many ways, both direct and indirect, by means of the body of evidence. Any adequate discussion of the marvellous cures which take place at Lourdes must raise the whole question of the possibility of miracles. For Roman Catholics the possibility is not, and it has always been, that there is the continuation of a dispensation by which the Divine Omnipotence suspends at times the operation of natural causes.

Given the hypothesis that miracles may occur and do occur, it is difficult to imagine any facts more wonderful, either from the invertebrate and organic nature of the diseases healed or from the abundance of the evidence, if the cures are attested, than the miracles worked at Lourdes. For those who wish to examine the subject for themselves no better or more convenient examples offer than the cures with which Émile Zola was brought into contact during his visit to Lourdes, and which he has introduced under fictitious names into his novel which bears that title.

Clémentine Trouvé (called in the novel Sophie Contine) was cured of a club-foot, slight and the most aggravated kind which, down to the moment of her bathing in the piscina, was suppurating freely. Marie Lemoine (alias Élisée Couteau) was also instantly healed. This was a most reparative case of lupus, in which the face had been so eaten away as almost to lose the semblance of a human countenance. The evidence quoted by Bertrin in his last edition (Historien, p. 362) shows that seventeen years after the cure Marie Lemoine was a healthy married woman with five children, Mme. Gerdet (in the novel Mlle. de Guermans) had been an invalid suffering from a great number of most painful disorders, including tumour and phlegmon, for more than twelve years. The doctors declared that the only possible remedy lay in a dangerous operation, but she also was instantly cured. In the case of Marie Lemoine (Zola's Lise Fortin) who was suffering from incurable affections, and had reached the very last stage of consumption, Zola supposes in his novel that the patient, after a temporary relapse owing to the excitement of the pilgrimage, relapses soon after and falls a victim to the old disease which had never really relaxed its hold. In point of fact, the real Marie Lemoine was in the enjoyment of vigorous health in 1908, fourteen years after the date of her cure (see for all these Bertrin, Historien, who in his last edition has followed these cases up to the latest available date).

But examples of such cures are almost innumerable, and may perhaps be most conveniently studied, especially by medical readers, in F. de Grandmison's Vingt Guérison à lourdes, which gives an admirable choice of specially selected examples, not out of the desire to dispute that modern psychotherapy, and especially suggestion, have accomplished many marvels, but the instantaneousness of the cures, as witnessed more particularly in such cases as that of Pierre de Rudder, Mme. Rouche, Gabriel Gargam, etc., can in no way be paralleled by any of Charcot's experiments at the Salpêtrière or elsewhere. Again, there are the extraordinary cases of the healing of quite young children, as, e.g., the two-year-old infant of Dr. Aumatier of Nantes, born with a club-foot and instantaneously cured at Lourdes, of which a remarkable account is given in a patient paper by J. Dozy (1907, p. SS6f.). It may be cemented that if more carefully the evidence is studied, the more certain it becomes that the words 'suggestion' and 'hysteria' are incapable of accounting for the phenomena witnessed at Lourdes. In the preface to a booklet on Lourdes published by R. H. Benson a few months before his death, the doctors of Lourdes established the fact with a famous French scientist—whom we owe one of the greatest discoveries of modern times—who has made a special study of Lourdes and its phenomena. The conclusions of this scientist, which, as Benson says, are particularly interesting because he is not himself at present a practising Catholic, were as follows:

'(1) That no scientific hypothesis up to the present accounts satisfactorily for the phenomena. Upon his saying this to me,' adds Benson, 'he exclaimed, "It is an agreeable answer to laugh in your face and to tell me, practically, that this is the most repugnant hypothesis of all."'

'(2) That, so far as he can see, the one thing necessary for such cures as he himself has witnessed or verified, is the atmosphere of prayer. Wherever this takes place, the intensity of the phenomenon rises with it; where this exists, the cures sink too.'

'(3) That he is inclined to consider that the transference of a vitalising force either from the energetic faith of the sufferer or from that of the bystanders. He instance an example in which his wife, a qualified physician, partook. She held in her arms a child aged two and a half years, blind from birth, during a procession of the Blessed Sacrament. As the monstrance came opposite, tears began to stream from the child's eyes, blindness closed. When it had passed, the child's eyes were open and seeing. This Madame tested by dangling her broochlet before the child who immediately clutched at it, but from the fact that she had never learned to calculate distance, at first failed to seize it. At the close of the procession, the lady, who herself related to the story, was conscious of an extraordinary exhaustion, for which there was no ordinary explanation.'

In a lecture given by Benson in June 1914 he stated publicly that the scientist here referred to was no other than Prof. Alexis Carrel, whose marvellous experiments in the transplanting of living tissue have constituted the great sensation of recent biological research. Benson declared that Carrel was prepared to give a demonstration on all hands that in the less conservative circles of the medical profession the brusque dismissal of the phenomena of Lourdes as matters already classified and fully accounted for, is becoming more and more anachronism. This change of attitude was emphasized not long since by the action of the medical faculty of the University of Lyons. A lady doctor, Jeanne Bon, presented a case of a two-year-old child suffering from a tumour of the leg, which had resisted all treatment, and had been cured, by a visit to Lourdes. This University thesis was officially approved, and certain of the professors superintended its composition. It was only at the last moment that the jury took fright and found a pretext for conferring the doctorate upon the candidate in virtue of some different title. The author in her thesis maintains that genuine cases of tuberculosis, in which laboratory experiment has established the fact that pseudo-hysterical hysteria, when not in question, have been spontaneously cured at Lourdes, and that these cures are effected under conditions of extreme rapidity which completely distinguish them from the less rapid cases of consumption as generally observed.

Finally, it should be noticed that, in contrast to the cures of Christian Science and many other faith-healing sects, no one moment of investigation is welcomed at Lourdes. Medical men of all creeds are invited to attend at the Bureau des Constatations, to which a permanent medical staff is attached, and every facility for observation is afforded to all scientific inquirers. Patients who believe themselves to have been miraculously healed or benefited are urged to bring their medical certificates and to attend personally at the Bureau that the case may be properly investigated, and efforts are also made to induce them to return after an interval of a year or more to afford the staff of the Bureau an opportunity of inspecting it again.

Lourdes.—Many of the earlier books on Lourdes, notably that of H. Lasserre, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Paris, 1898, which has been translated into many languages and of which numerous editions have been published, are lacking in accuracy or in the medical knowledge desirable in the treatment of such a subject. The best general work is undoubtedly that of G. Bertrin, Histoire critique des événements de Lourdes, 31st thousand, Paris, 1911. This, with (the Eng. tr., Lourdes [the Appearances and Apparitions of Our Lady at Lourdes], London, 1912, is unfortunately incomplete, lacking most of the documents printed in the Appendices. Other valuable works are: F. de Grandmison, Vingt Guerisons à Lourdes discutées médicalement (Paris, 1912); A. Vourch, Quelques Cas de guerisons de Lourdes, Paris, 1913; A. Genelli, Le Lotta contro Lourdes, Florence, 1912, Où cette responsable avive des folies de lourdes. 
LOVE (Psychological and Ethical)

LOVE (Psychological and Ethical).—I. The psychology of love. — Love, as a complex psychical experience, may be classed as a "sentiment" or "passion," the term "passion" being here understood not as an explosive emotional outburst, but as a deep and steadfast enthusiasm. Whether we prefer to call love a sentiment or a passion will depend upon the point of view we take of the phenomenon. A "sentiment" is a characteristic feature of a passion as distinct from a sentiment is its forcefulness. A passion is an emotional complex of a predominantly forceful kind. A passion has been defined by A. F. Shand as "an organized system of emotions and desires."1

When, as in the life of the lower animals, emotional impulses are independently active, they may still occasionally pass over a dog summoned from the pursuit of a cat by his master's whistle, no longer feels the pure joy of the chase, for the fear of his master's displeasure tends to neutralize the impulse. But such restraint is temporary and contingent: it does not suggest self-restraint. Where, however, the various emotions of the soul have found an object on which they can concentrate their desire or their aversion, or have become devoted to an idea about which they cluster and develop, a system of self-restraint grows up within the emotions. "In every passion there is a system of self-control regulating more or less efficiently the intensity and behaviour of its emotions."2


Egyptian.—See 'Semitic and Egyptian.'


 Hebrew (J. Deutsch), p. 173.


Roman (J. B. Carter), p. 178.


2 Jb. 889.

LOVE may be found in the Revue pratique d'apothéose, xvi. (1912).

There is also a large number of books and articles which discuss the phenomenon of love in a critical or hostile spirit, among others, J. Routemuller, Bert, H. H. Baraduc, La Perse curatrice a Lourdes et la psychologie du miracle, p. 1907. J. Bonjour, "Les Guerisons miraculeuses, in Revue de psychotérapié, June and July 1915; a discussion of the whole question of faith-healing by several English physicians and surgeons in Brit. Med. Journ. July 20, 1915, an article by F. W. Myers and his brother A. T. Myers in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, xix. (1914) and a similar discussion by M. Mangin, 'Les Guerisons de Lourdes,' in Annales des Sciences Psychiques, xvii. (1915) 355-366. Two periodicals, the Annales de Lourdes and the Journal de la Croix, provide information regarding the reputed miracles and other incidents occurring during the pilgrimage to the shrine. A bibliography of earlier books on Lourdes will be found in L. Clignet, Bibliographie du eiu xiv local de la Vierge Marie (France, Province d'Auch), pt. iii. Paris, 1903.

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1 E. A. CRAWLEY, p. 154.

American (E. A. CRAWLEY) and Buddhist (C. A. F. RYHS DAVIDS), p. 159.

Celtic (J. L. GREGG), p. 162.


In Egypt, in the Revue de psychotérapié, June and July 1915, an article by F. W. Myers and his brother A. T. Myers in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, xix. (1914) and a similar discussion by M. Mangin, 'Les Guerisons miraculeuses, in Revue de psychotérapié, June and July 1915; a discussion of the whole question of faith-healing by several English physicians and surgeons in Brit. Med. Journ. July 20, 1915, an article by F. W. Myers and his brother A. T. Myers in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, xix. (1914) and a similar discussion by M. Mangin, 'Les Guerisons de Lourdes,' in Annales des Sciences Psychiques, xvii. (1915) 355-366. Two periodicals, the Annales de Lourdes and the Journal de la Croix, provide information regarding the reputed miracles and other incidents occurring during the pilgrimage to the shrine. A bibliography of earlier books on Lourdes will be found in L. Clignet, Bibliographie du eiu xiv local de la Vierge Marie (France, Province d'Auch), pt. iii. Paris, 1903.

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emotions and desires which, by very reason of its systematic charater and the principle which unifies it, is stable, regulative, inclusive, and instinct with a profound rationality.

For the normal development of love the fundamental wish to distinguish belief from faith, the intellectual from the intuitional aspects of spiritual sensibility, we might say that faith is the sense of reality, belief the sense of truth. Peires, in his "Illustrations of the Logic of Science" (Popular Science Monthly, xii. (1577), 289 f.), defines belief somewhat differently, but with similar purport, as the goal of thought and the starting-point of action. It is essentially the self-confidence that comes from having reached beyond doubt, and in its place built up settled habits or rules of action, the assurance that one is ready to meet the contingencies of life in any direction. At root this view identifies belief with the sense of power, power being here conceived as the reality with which our life is invested when doubt passes over into belief. To have a sense of power is to believe in one's self, and to have ready set one's personal mark on whatever one touches; in a word, to hold, in James's phrase, that the fons et origo of all reality is ourselves.

Now, if we turn from belief so understood to love, and ask what the passion of love has to tell us about reality, we find that for love the supremely real thing is not itself, but its object. Clearly, if belief and love, or, rather, the wish to meet harmoniously the reality and significance of self so essential to the belief that means power must be identical with that sense of the reality and supreme worth of its object which is so essential to love. Our joy in the object must be one with our belief in ourselves.

This requirement leaves us with the question: What must the nature of that object be which we can intimately identify with our own selves? It must be at least personal, or we could not identify ourselves with it. Moreover, the view that we take of the nature of our own personality must be such a kind that we can conceive it as identified with this personal object without being lost or absorbed in it. If the self is lost in its object, the sense of power, the belief, will also go, and there will be no recognition of belief, for if belief is to be love's belief, if faith is to be love's faith, the object of love must be such that communion with it heightens our sense of personality and makes us more truly ourselves than we were before.

But, it may be objected, when I really love anything, is it not one of the most satisfying features of this experience that I get away from myself? How can I surrender myself to the call of the great starry spaces of ether or of spirit and yet continue to be impressed with the importance of my own individuality.

The question goes to the root of all ethical inquiry. It compels us to recognize that there is something which we currently call our individuality, which is yet too weak to subistitute in the presence of which we are really swallowed up by our own passions and in history. This individuality, which grapples itself to a finite body and shrinks from all the great things, from the infinite, from sacrifice and from death, how is it possible to conceive any organized sentiment or passion fulfilling itself within the limits of such being as this? Sooner or later it must strike its roots home into deeper personal ground. Only a self which has these roots of the infinite about its heart can tender the question out of which the true science of self emerges. Only in this infinite self can the will to love and the will to power prove no longer tendencies that are mutually destructive.
emotions and impulses, to 'whatever stirs this mortal frame,' that love stands out as the great transforming and inclusive agency, and therefore as the ultimate virtue of the spiritual life, of the life which aims at a universal or common good.

Working through the emotion of anger, it is the root of moral indignation and of justice; through that of fear, it makes the object loved the object whose hurt is feared. It regenerates the self-regarding sentiment; incurring their affection from the atomic, private ego to the personal and inclusive self; the competition of others, directed as it is against the merely individual self, is no longer felt as an injustice to one's true personality and therefore excites neither envy nor distrust.

'There is no remedy but love,' writes Goethe, 'against great superfluities of others.

Nor can the inclusiveness of true love tolerate the exclusive passion of jealousy. Moreover, with the complete passing of exclusiveness not only jealousy, but pride also, is transfigured, for love is not truly inclusive until it shows itself as ready to be grateful as it is to be generous, as ready to receive as to give. Love again is inseparable from reverence, and as such is the great security of true personal dignity. The negative element is never absent from love; love itself is the supreme reverence which guarantees that as intimacy grows so also does the value set upon personality. Again, we reverence the object of our love because we have a joy in it for its own sake, as an end in itself, and this joy is rooted in our sense of its reality, and most intimately associated also with the sense of our own reality. Belief or faith, an emotional belief in the intrinsic value of its object, is therefore essentially a feeling of reverence which guarantees that as intimacy grows so also does the value set upon personal.

And, when the whole personality is volitionally active in this broader sense of the term, and this activity is motivated by the idea of a common good, then we become justed and our will, elevated, and not that mere rationalistic; none less than the habit of right choosing, in which virtue essentially consists, is guided by the practical reason; for to choose rightly is in all things to choose the mean, and the practical reason alone can show where the mean lies. Thus with Aristotle we reach a more inclusive conception of virtue than that given by Socrates. The Aristotelian conception is a substitute for the Socratic only in the sense that it is a deepening or transcending of it. The Socratic 'reason is taken up into the Aristotelian 'will' and made to function in its service. Similarly the definition 'Virtue is love' does not supersede the Aristotelian definition. It simply deepens, and by so doing develops and reorganizes it. To do justice to the value of habit we must look deeper than the habit. Moral habits grow from their intrinsic foundations, not automatically, but through the enthusiasm which we put into the task of their formation. Hence, when we say 'Virtue is love,' we are far from implying that it involves habits of right willing. We simply emphasize the motive power which is at the root of the formation of all habits of right willing. If enthusiasm for what is good fails to express itself in decisions and habits of right willing, it is a virtue; it is no more than the capacity for virtue. But it is especially in relation to the varied

1 Tim. 110 A.
hilities of our own, save as our affections are strong. Every narrowing of love, every encroachment of egoism, means just so much blindness to the good.1

Now, Plato, in the Republic, connects the philosophical element in human nature very intimately with that which 'makes him fond of what he understands, and again makes him want to understand,' by which he means the understanding and the attraction go together.12 Indeed the very word 'philosophy' implies this.

But there is still one question to be faced if the inclusiveness of love as a virtue is not to be misconceived. The thing we call love, the things love's hate, for the lover of good is the hater of evil.3 Hence, so long as evil actually exists, love must exclude it with all the force of its being. Now, in order that evil love actually exist it must graft itself on to the good. For evil is a source of disintegration, and nothing can be wholly evil without being wholly disintegrated. Plato points out, in the first book of the Republic, that it is only in virtue of there being honour among thieves that the gang can subsist at all. Evil, in fact, can subsist in actuality only in virtue of the good which it parodies and imitates. Hence love, through successive redemptions of all the elements of good contained in things evil, becomesinclusive of all good, evil as an actuality must cease to be. We cannot, indeed, think of it as annihilated, but we can conceive of it as depressed to an infra-actual level of reality. At best it could survive as a real possibility of evil, real, that is, in relation to the will. As an actuality it would have vanished from the world. There would not then be love, or any incline to evil as an actuality of all evil. For, though love cannot include actual evil, it must include at all times the possibility of evil, seeing that the possibility of evil is implied in the possibility of good, and all moral choice is ultimately a choice between possible evil and possible good. Hence, when evil shall have been reduced to the status of a real possibility it will cease to lie outside love. Love will then be all-inclusive.


LOVE (Primitive).—That love, as one emotion of love is as difficult to define as life itself, and probably for the same reasons. The following statements are useful:

1 Dewey-Tuffs, p. 423.

analysis he has given of it.13 Bound the physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole are, gathered the feelings produced by personal beauty, that constituting simple attachment, those of reverence, of awe, of admiration, of affection of love of freedom, of sympathy. These, all greatly excited, and severally trying to reflect their excitement on one another, unite to form the mental state we call love.14 Mantegazza, speaking of it as a colossal force, and 'force of the soul,' in 'L' amour,' for 'the entire emotional, the most characteristic and the most remarkable characteristic of sexual love. This is the temporary raising of the individual to a higher power, the intensifying of all his capacities. A woman of the people said:24 When I am thinking of myself, I am nothing. Nietzsche has eloquently described this result:

'The world is as one to oneself transfigured, stronger, richer, more complete; one is more complete. . . . It is not merely that the changes of feeling of value; the lover is worth more.25 For Plato love was a 'divine madness'; he was thinking of its automatism, its sweeping away of reason and even consciousness. It was perhaps this aspect that led Schopenhauer and others to condemn it as an illusion. But love is only a delusion in so far as the whole of life is a delusion, and if we accept the fact of life, it is philosophical to refuse to accept the fact of love.26 Ellis defines love 'in the sexual sense' as 'a synthesis of sexual excitement (in the primitive sexual sense) and friendship,'27 It is a minimum definition.

There is no doubt that the various forms of love—sexual, parental, fraternal, filial, and social—are kindred emotions. Their relative intensity decreases from the sexual to the social, and this decreases, extension increases, and more and more persons may be embraced. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the sociological truth that in all its forms love plays a part in society only less important than that of the instinct to live. It brings together the primal elements of the family, it keeps the family together, and it unites in a certain fellow-feeling all members of a race or nation.

I. SEXUAL LOVE.—Especially in its sexual grade, love has certainly during the progress of civilization become not only more refined and complex but more intense.2 This is shown by a comparison with modern savages. Not only is the impulse weak, but the physical development is inferior, and consequently the difficulty of obtaining sexual excitement is great.2 Social result of this last condition is the orgy, a method of periodic artificial excitement (see below). Jealousy is frequently absent, among the Central Australians to a remarkable degree.

1 Amongst the Australian natives with whom we have come into contact, the feeling of sexual jealousy is not developed to anything like the extent to which it would appear to be in many other savage tribes.26

Jealousy, however, seems to have little or no connexion with sympathetic love, but to be entirely concerned with animal instinct and the sense of property, and many savages show jealousy to such a remarkable degree as the Central Australians show its absence.

The question remains, and it is important for the study of the origin of the family, whether primitive love was merely organic desire. A prior it is conceivable that the family could have been established, monogamous, independent of the type of marriage, and 1 Westermarck, Mf li. 225, quoting Spencer, Principles of Psychology, p. 468.

2 F. Nietzsche, Der Wille zur Macht, Leipzig, 1911, ii. 236. The neuro-muscular effects in man are curiously paralleled in animals not only by intesstion activity, but by morphological developments; 'it produces new weapons, pigments, colours and forms, . . . new rhythms, a new seductive music' (Havelock Ellis, Sex in Relation to the Psychology of Sex, 3d. ed., London, 1897-1910, vol. vi. p. 179).

3 Ellis, p. 120.

4 Ellis, p. 221, 222.


5 Ellis, Sex in Relation to the Psychology of Sex, vol. vi., p. 179.
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more or less permanent unions fixed in social habit, merely by the operation of animal instincts. Similar results of the same causes are sufficient in the case of the animal world to preserve the race and render it efficient.

The Primitives may have based the regulation of marriage on various causes, from fear and passion. It is quite possible that they had a lack of understanding in the subject, and that the regulation of marriage was based on the fear of the primitive man or woman of the woman losing affection for him or her.

The Australian bride is generally dragged from home to the man to whom she is allotted. But love "may be after marriage from kind treatment. It is pointed out that love 'must be assumed in Australian marriages by elopement, which was recognised form of marriage."

The Papuan language possesses no word for love. The Hess have no word for it; but they feel it all the same. The Papuas are said to form "romantic" attachments.

An observer remarks that the passion for love is, indeed, much talked of by the inhabitants of towns, but I doubt whether anything is meant by them more than the present activity of the marriage process. This statement is probably too sweeping, as it may indicate the belief that the Bible contains no reference to romantic love. Love-songs are rare among the lower races. It may be proved that the imperfect development of literature. But Polynesian peoples are adept at love-poetry, which may be regarded as proving some degree of an emotional refinement, or rather irritation, of the passion of love. At the outer extreme, physical contact, it has been remarked that kissing and caressing are rare among savages, except towards young children. Yet among the Eskimo 'young couples are frequently seen rubbing noses, their favourite mark of affection, with an air of tenderness.

Suicide, which is fairly frequent among the lower races, is often prompted by unremitting passion. But there are many trivial reasons for suicide which indicate merely a rudimentary development of character, and special conditions of social structure must also be considered. It may be regarded as a general rule that love, of any degree or character, is not an essential basis of marriage. Among the majority of early marriages it is a matter of arrangement; spouses are allotted by the relatives, often in infancy. In many cases such 'betrothed' couples are prohibited from all association until marriage takes place. That love, however, may be the basis of permanent marriage is another matter. It is probably as essential as the needs of the offspring. Marriage by arrangement and 'the marriage of convenience' were often contracted among the Greeks and Romans. They were frequent in medieval Europe, and occur in modern civilization. But it is certain that social developments during the last century have involved a general adoption of the principle that marriage should be based on previous mutual attachment.

In the majority of early societies the two sexes are strictly separated, at least after puberty. Such a condition precludes much sympathy between youthful and maturing love. It is to be

5. Ibid., p. 273.

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also the fact that crude types of social organization have been broken up by the family, strongly oppose this partial view.

It is right to notice that a time came when the conditions of life became favourable to an expan-
sion of the family, for the rude character of the food and herbivorous type of existence was a gregarious one—scarcity of food—was overcome. 1 But before that there was a different type of gregariousness, which, so far as it went, did possess elements congenital to conjugal affection, at least. It is probable that increased security of subsistence assisted the growth of this emotion and strengthened thereby the family bonds. Westermarck has argued:

'Where the generative power is restricted to a certain season—a peculiarity which primitive man seems to have shared with other mammals—it cannot be the sexual instinct that causes the protracted union. The sexes can find other egoistic motive that could account for this habit. Considering that the union lasts till after the birth of the offspring and that it is accompanied with parental care, I conclude that it is for the benefit of the young that male and female continue to live together. The tie which joins them seems, therefore, like parental affection, to be an instinct developed through natural selection. The tendency to feel some attachment to a being which has been the cause of pleasure, love is undoubtedly at the bottom of this instinct. Such a feeling may originally have been given to the young animal and the male to protect the female even after the sexual desire was gratified; and if procuring the young animal and thereby strengthening the animal's instinct this conjugal attachment would naturally have developed into a specific characteristic.' 2

This is an important statement and calls for consideration. In the first place, the assumption that even the earliest paleolithic men were capable only of periodic impulse is insecurely based. That a more or less regular capacity did actually develop from it was a frequent matter. Secondly, even admitting the above-mentioned view, no account is taken of the phenomena of habit. Habit is the essential factor to-day, and must always have been, in the development of conjugal affection from the primary incidence of the sexual emotion. And here habit is reinforced by many associations, one of which is the care of children. Another, itself a strong emotion, is the proprietary feeling, strengthened by habit. Even the rudest savage woman feels a right of property in her 'man,' however badly he treats her. Again, the invocation of a natural selection is, when analyzed, merely rhetorical. Westermarck admits that the sexual impulse is 'at the bottom' of conjugal affection and prolonged union, but he here ignores improved environment. Neither of these factors has been, in the development of conjugal affection from the primary incidence of the sexual emotion. The fact is that improvement of conditions and development of nerve and intelligence have been accompanied by an increase both in emotions and in their control; the emotion of love in all its grades has been no exception. To apply the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to such a development within the species is a misapplication of Darwinism, or, rather, an unnecessary extension of the doctrine.

2. Development of sexual love.—In order to estimate aright not only the course of development, but the character, of modern love, in its typical form, it is necessary to note some further elements—in particular, complementary elements—in the love of man and woman. Male love is active and dominant; female love is passive and subservient. 3 In men it is possible to trace a tendency to inflict pain, or the simulacrum of pain, on the women they love; it is still easier to trace a disposition in women to accept the infliction of pain when inflicted by a lover, and an eagerness to accept subjection to his will. Each type of love is certainly normal. How are we to distinguish the affection of the female in this? The woman in love who gives herself to her lover, who is not coerced by any necessity, but who feels she must love, cannot be regarded as evidence of a deficiency of moral sense. Moreover, it is hardly possible to put woman under the necessity of submission. It is possible that the affection of the females has been a long time developing, and that the influence of the male has been strong, and there can be no doubt that our present human ancestors had, in the same way, to fight for their wives; even now this kind of courtship is far from being unknown among savages. Moreover, the male pursues and tries to capture the female, and she, after some resistance, yields. The stronger impulse of the male is thus connected with a desire to win the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male, for the female sex there is consequently an instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage. 4 A connected result of male superiority in strength, activity, and courage is the element of protection in male love, and of trust on the side of the female. The pugnacity observed in the males, both of animals and of wild men, is one aspect of the general increase of capacity effected by passion. The intimate psychology of love reveals not only an impulse for union, but an association in the male psychology with an impulse for destruction, and even for devouring. Love often uses the language of eating. The natural modesty and coyness of the female play an important part both in stimulating and in check in the sexual appetite.love, is "only an episode in a man's life, whereas for a woman it is the whole of her life. 5 Biologically, courtship is a stimulus of love, a means of producing purnuences which by their differences in secondary characters noted above, the love of the male is expressed chiefly in acts of courtship, that of the female in receiving them. If the preservation of love in a permanent union is analyzed, it will be found that it depends on a more or less continuous process of courtship. A remarkable development of sexual love was made by the early Christians. This was the practice of close but chaste unions between the virgins and young men (see art. CHASTITY). The poetic or romantic exploitation of love to which the custom led (as shown by the literature) was perhaps the only intellectual result of the fact that this became a tradition and thus influenced the medieval valuation and practice of chivalrous love. 6 For a medieval knight the chief object of love was his lady. It became a saying that love, which theoretically was defined as 'the chaste union of two hearts by virtue wrought,' 7 Dante's love for Beatrice is the highest type of the practice. Its essential condition was that the passion should be hopeless and should not be consummated in marriage. But, as with a similar ideal of love in ancient Greece, so in this case, the reality was generally immoral. The lady as a rule was the wife of another, and adultery was frequent. In European civilization to-day the factor of intellectual and moral sympathy in love has become more pronounced with the greater freedom and higher education of women. Sympathy strengthens affection, and affection strengthens sympathy. The element of equal friendship in love has been greatly increased, and thus, curiously, in spite of the levelling which has taken place to some extent in class-distinctions, has made love between members of different social spheres more rare.

A gentleman to-day 'seldom falls in love with a peasant woman in some parts of Hungary do not think they are loved by their husbands until they have received the first box on the ear; among the Italian Camorretti a wife is not beaten by her husband, regarded as a fool. 8 In courtship, the female human alike, the male plays the more active, the female the more passive part; during the season of estrus or the period of the most timid animal species engage in desperate combats with a view to the possession of the female, and there can be no doubt that our prismatic human ancestors had, in the same way, to fight for their wives; even now this kind of courtship is far from being unknown among savages. Moreover, the male pursues and tries to capture the female, and she, after some resistance, yields. The stronger impulse of the male is thus connected with a desire to win the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male, for the female sex there is consequently an instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage.

1 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 627.
2 M. J. B. 607.
3 See Ellis, Evolution of Morality (Studies in the Psychology of Sex, vol. i.), p. 1; Stanley Hall, in A J.P.s i. (1897) 84.
4 M. J. B. 448.
5 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 74.
6 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 627.
7 M. J. B. 607.
8 See Ellis, Evolution of Morality (Studies in the Psychology of Sex, vol. i.), p. 1; Stanley Hall, in A J.P.s i. (1897) 84.
9 M. J. B. 448.
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is a fact that spring and harvest are among
savings, being associated with springs and
seasons both for general festivity and for
special development of the sexual feelings. The
reason may be partly biological, partly climatic,
and partly connected with the food-supply. The
probable conclusion is that the season being
favourable for any sort of expansion and perhaps
especially so for amorous expression—an increase in
the sexual impulse during these periods is estab-
lished for modern peoples—the opportunity is
taken by societies, which express themselves only
socially, to stimulate their normally feeble sex-
ut and to obtain organic relief.

The principle of dramatication, which is at the
root of magical ceremony, may be noted in love-
charms, of which all folk-custom, from the
Australian to the European, has a store, and in a
large class of primitive marriage ceremonies, which
generally typify union. The latter are organized
love-charms.

The connexion between love and religion is of
the same nature as the connexion between love
and art and life generally.

Very much of what is best in religion, art, and life, owes its
charms to the progressively widening irradiation of sexual
feeling.

4. Homosexual love.—Sexual love between in-
dividuals of the same sex is not an infrequent
abnormality. It probably occurs, at least spon-
distically, among every race of modern man,
and in post-Homeric Greece it became, so far as the male
sex was concerned, almost a ‘national institution.’

Cases of congenital perversion are very rare; habit
and environment have been largely studied by
investigators. The majority of barbarian and
civilized peoples have condemned the habit; in
medieval Europe it seems to have been regarded as
connected with witchcraft and heresy.

II. NON-SEXUAL LOVE.—I. Parental love.—As
in the case of conjugal love, observation of primitive
peoples is contradictory; but it is certain that
maternal affection is universal, and paternal affec-
tion, though less intense, and often defective, is
normal in the human race.

According to Aristotle, parents love their children as being
portions of themselves. Espinas regards this love as a modi-
fied love of self or properly. A. Bain, however, derived
parental love from the ‘intense pleasure in the embrace of
the young.’ But, as Westermann notes, this affection in
animal contact was at the bottom of the maternal feeling,
and conjugal affection was regarded by moderns in
Europe as the inheritance of the father. Yet, among the lower races at least, the case is exactly the
reverse; conjugal affection being vastly inferior in degree to
the mother’s love of her child. He adds: ‘It seems much more
likely that parents like to touch their children because they
love them, than that they love them because they like to
touch them.’ According to Herbert Spencer, parental love is ‘essentially love of the weak and helpless.’ Westermann observes that
‘when the young are born in a state of utter helplessness
somebody must take care of them, or the species cannot
survive, or, rather, such a species could never have come into
existence. The maternal instinct may thus be assumed to owe
its origin to the survival of the flock, in the natural selection
of useful spontaneous variations.’ But, as stated above, it is
unnecessary to regard these instincts as cases of natural
selection.

a. Filial love.—‘Children’s love of their parents is generally
much weaker than the parents’ love of their children. No
individual is born with filial love.’ But ‘under normal
circumstances the infant from an early age displays some attachment
unto its parents,’ especially to the mother. It is ‘not affection
pure and simple, it is affection mingled with regard for the
physical and mental superiority of the parent.’

1 Ellis, Sex in Relation to Society (‘The Orgy’), pp. 127 ff.,
147, 218 ff.
4 M.I. ii. 456.
5 I. p. 468.
6 Ibid. p. 490.
7 Ibid. i. 526, 591.
8 R. N. Nic. vii. 32 ff.
11 M.I. ii. 157.
13 M.I. ii. 187, 190 ff.
14 Ibid. ii. 194.
Conversely, parental and, still more so, paternal affection includes a regard for weakness and helplessness. Filial love is proved to be normal in primitive races; as with other forms of love, it is both less intense and less complex than in civilization.

3. Fraternal and social love.—All peoples exhibit 'altruism of the fraternal type, binding together children of the same parents, relatives more remotely allied, and, generally, members of the same social group. Fraternal affection is the outcome of social needs, and a real social affection and friendly sympathy are proved. As before, Westermarck applies the doctrine of natural selection to this development. With progress in culture social affection becomes a marked feature of religious and ethical practice and theory. Noteworthy examples are the doctrine and duty of charity, in Christianity idealized by the Founder's love for all mankind and by the theory of brotherly love, and the Oriental systems, such as the oh Vaid of Hindu religions.

The philosophical literature which explains the idea of love is enormous. Plato developed the view that love is the creator of beauty, though beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the concept of love as the love of God, the amor intellectualis Dei of Spinoza is paralleled by many Oriental theories of contemplation. Throughout, love in religion stands midway between the philosophical and the human conceptions.

III. LOVE—GODS.—Deities embodying the abstract notion of love are hardly developed until the higher stages of barbarism are reached, but some points may be noted in the previous evolution. Animistic thought may produce, by a process of normal hallucination, the belief that evil spirits take the stage of handsome men and love their women. Primitive psychology, by analogical reasoning, explains love as made of fire (the Malay notion), or the state of love as one of possession. The latter animistic view is connected with any departure from the normal; the new character of the individual is regarded as due to the entrance of a spirit. The West Africans attribute love to possession by the god Legba, or Elegba. Dreams of love are explained in the same way as in mediaval Europe with its ideas of the incubus and succuba. Such a deity might develop, as others to be cited might have or actually have developed, into a deity of Love. But, as usual, a deity has an indirect connexion only with this or that emotion. Many peoples, like the Finns, have regarded love as a form of insanity (a variety of possession). It is doubtful whether the expression of this or that deity as 'patron of love' has any more definite meaning than an indirect connexion, such as is usually the case with possession. The Finns regarded the god of evil as the patron of love. The Yoruba 'patroness of love.' Odun is 'worshipped' at erotic feasts. Her connexion with love is probably indirect only. Such a connexion is frequent in the case of 'deities of fertility.' The Scandinavians Freya, goddess of love and fruitfulness, seems to have been synthe-
LOVE (Buddhist).—The way in which early Buddhist literature takes account of the emotion of love is many-sided. It cannot adequately be settled, as some have tried to settle it, by a treatment that is too abstract or, again, too specialized. The hunger for unity or simplicity leads some historians to assign to every departure in religious

1 Stat. VII, 631, 634, 600, 605.
2 P. I. 450 ff.
3 P. II. 440 ff.
5 D. M. Camargo, in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, xcv.

Footnote.1—See G. Brinton, Mythos, New York, 1896, p. 177.


Footnote.3—See Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique du Sud, Paris, 1857-59, iii. 400, i. 421.

Footnote.4—See D. M. Camargo, in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, xcv.

to servant and conversely, and that of layman to reclus or Brahman and conversely. The practical forms which these six several modes of devotion or worship should take are simply and concisely described. For our present purpose it is chiefly interesting to note that they are prescribed not as mere duties for certain acts, but rather as ways of giving expression to a spirit of ‘compassion’ felt by the agent. Thus not only should parents in five ways take compassion on (ena-kampanti, lit. ‘to think of’) their children, and teachers in five other ways take compassion on their pupils, but wives, in yet other five ways, should take compassion on their husbands, friends and colleagues, in yet six other ways, should take compassion on any honourable mind. This we would refer pointedly to Siṅgāla and his companions, in yet other five ways servants should take compassion on their master, and to six ways recluses and Brahman should take compassion on the laity. The corresponding term in the other six cases of reciprocated service—e.g., of children to parents, husbands to wives, etc.—is ‘ministering to’, or creatures upon. And the choice of these two Pali words, differing as they do from those that we should find in a similar European catalogue, is interesting. The former word, ‘to take’, the ‘compassion’ while it is here applied, for instance, to the devotion of the good servant, is very often used in the Suttas for the supreme instance of the reciprocal devotion—of a superior to its inferiors—to wit, the compassion of a Buddha to spend himself for the welfare, the happiness of many folk, for the good . . . of gods and men,4 and to live perpetually moved towards the welfare of others.5 This was the spirit that he prescribed for those whom he sent forth as missionaries.6 For all these six forms of mutual service or devotion a Christian catalogue would probably use the word ‘love,’ however much the sources and outlets of the emotion so termed are shown to differ. The fact that the Buddhist catalogue does not bring in its ethics to supplement, or flow from, Siṅgāla’s religious beliefs, but supersedes the latter by the former, and, again, the fact that it substitutes the ‘divine emotion’ of compassion and the practical devotion of ministry for our more familiar and personal expression, shows the caution in making affirmations about love in Buddhism. It may help us further towards some, or away from other, conclusions if we examine in brief detail some of these forms as met with in the five Nikāyas.

1. Parental love.—The typical form of intense and self-surrendering devotion is that of mother-love, just as the type of overwhelming sorrow is that of the bereaved mother.4 The wise man should cleave to a genuine friend—a watchful, loyal, sagacious, sympathizing friend—as the mother is devoted to her child.6 And not only to his friends:

        1. Dīpa Nikāya, ii, 211, etc.
        2. Anāgutta Nikāya, iv, S. S., etc.
        5. Dīpa Nikāya, ii, 188.

2. Sex love.—No case is found of a woman seeking death or religion through the death of her husband.6 Yet the case of a wife does not appear in Buddhist literature. The anthology mentioned above has one case, vouched for by the Commentary only, of a man leaving the world because of his young wife’s death.7 And women are recorded, in text and commentary, as having left the world because their husbands had forsaken it for religion. The power of sex to enthrall is sufficiently acknowledged in the Sangha, and the term kāmya, which may be rendered ‘resting in,’

        1. Rhys Davids, Psalms, i, 34.
        2. Anāgutta Nikāya, i, 1.
        3. Rhys Davids, Psalms of the Early Buddhists, pt. i, p. 85, etc.
        5. Rhys Davids, Psalms, i, 49, ii, 350 f.
        6. Māgahīna Nikāya, i, 188; Rhys Davids, Psalms, i, 139 f.
        7. Rhys Davids, Psalms, i, 106, 163.
        9. Dharmaguptaka Commentary, i, 21, 430, etc.

This simile is quite in keeping with the chosen term ‘being made to vibrate towards,’ since mother-love contains so large an element of passion, protecting pity.

This love towards the Buddha.—Filial love alone is the form wherein early Buddhist devotees gave expression to their feeling for the founder of their rule and doctrine. They confessed themselves not seldom as the ‘own mouth-born’ sons and daughters of the Buddha—a sentiment which, in the later commentarial records, finds an echo in these children being termed severally ‘my son,’ etc., by the Master.9 Yet, so far as the present writer knows, none of the usual terms for love or affection is applied to him, and certainly no one is spoken of as loving him or taking compassion on him. He, as father, teacher, ‘recluse,’ is ministered to or waited upon; it is he who ‘takes compassion’ on children, disciples, and laity. Honour, worship, or homage, devotion, or breathing, and the term jātusamudāya, which may be rendered ‘resting in,’
One of the Indian words for love were not sufficiently elastic to cover this relation, which was not the less deep and genuine, whether it was expressed in terms of self-surrendering devotion of a believing and adoring 'heart' or of the intellectual love of the philosophic mind:

1. "I see him with my mind as 't were mine eyes,
By night, by day, incessant, watching ever.
I see him, admiringly, waiting for this hour.
And thus methinks I' ver with him dwelling."

2. "Truly my mind with him is joined, O friend."

The emanipratting force of his teaching drew the imagination:

3. "So I leave the men of vision cramped,
Come as the awan flies to the mighty sea."

And the charm or majesty of his presence drew by way of sense:

4. "O wondrous fair the All-enlightened abodes,
Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky,
The one on thy followers poorest precious rain,
Noble of aspect, whose skin
Reemneth gold, say, what is friar's life
With presence so supremely."  

This adorning for his person is usually accepted, but not always:

5. "Long have I wished, friend, said the devoted Vakkali on his deathbed, 'to do brave to behold the Excellent, but now is there more strength left in me to come?'
Let be, Vakkali, what be his majesty in the death of one of us?
He who seeth the Norm, he is it, is that seeth me; he that seeth me is he who seeth the Norm."

And expressed it was the conviction that, in this man of the long and tireless ministry, carried out purely from sweet compassion for the sons of men, such wisdom and goodness, charm and power, were combined as to be the while and where he lived, the need for superhuman objects of worship from his followers, and which, long after he had passed away, aided the theological evolutions of Mahayanan— the conception, namely, of Manjusri, and Avalokitesvara, wisdom and compassion personified. And Maitreya or Metteyya, the future Buddha, has been conceived as one who will revive the spirit of loving-kindness among men.

4. Love towards deities.—For deity, or the deities of its age, early Buddhism finds no need of adoring devotion. No deities in our sense of the word exist for it. All devas are more like our conception of angels, beings differing from man kind only in degree and in quality of physical and mental characteristics. They inhabited other more or less adjacent worlds or spheres. On earth were natural, or heavenly, or such of them who came down to it. All were to be treated with good will and friendliness, but nothing further. They were believed to have the power of communicating with man, and are found rebuking and admonishing the lax or lazy recluses. But in the case of the chosen few—a Buddha and his Arahants—it is the devas who render homage and minister to the man, not the reverse.  

5. Ideal love.—The emotion of ideal love, though it was not reserved for any personified deity in Buddhism, and though it played largely round the person of the founder, was not otherwise atrophied. It never affairs as associated with the whole of that cosmos which, for the more intellectual Buddhists, takes the place of a theodicy. Devotion bestowed on a cosmic mechanism, not planned by divine wisdom, and involving for each and all such unrepayable suffering, was not to be looked for. But the Norm, as doctrine and as a part of that cosmos, in Pali dhamma and Sanskrit Nigata, verses 1142, 1144.  

Other love that Love surpasseth.

The same emotion is aroused by the idea of Nirvana (nibbana-nibbiriati, a stronger form of ratii): "All my heart's love is to Sishthana given," and by that of the Samaa, or 'religion,' rule (samasariri).  

6. Friendship.—'Goodwill and friendliness (avvajjada, adosa, metta) express, better perhaps than the overburdened word 'love,' that expanded sentiment of amity to all living things which the average man can cherish only for personal friend or comrade. The cultivation of amity (saratva), pity, sympathetic gladness, and equanimity formed a sort of sublimated or higher self, or code of morals, the first three of them forming a development of that 'vibrating towards,' or compassion, which is so essential an attitude in Buddhist ethics. It is to the effect that the Elder refers in defending himself against the charge that he lived in the woods to receive stolen goods:

7. If, as certain writers think, we should refrain from applying so warm-blooded a term as 'love' to metta, 'amity,' this may be justified, perhaps, on etymological grounds, and on the ground that Buddhism sets itself against passionate feeling. But it cannot be justified either by lucrewonnness in the exordiums to practise metta and sympathy with pain or joy by or through the carrying out of these virtues by leading Buddhists.

It would be hard to find in ancient literature any exordium so aglow with goodwill towards men as that of the so-called Four Brahma-viharas, i.e., Best Dispositions, or devasaddharmiyu (lit., 'deity').

6. Suffusing, tender and compassionant, such an one with the rays of our loving (or sympathizing) thought, and from him bringing suffusing and heat that quells the whole world with loving consciousness far-reaching, . . . beyond measure; or again, that of the emanipation of mind through 'amity': All the mean of this be known as bases for right doing . . . are outborne in fulness and glory by this, which takes all these up into itself.

If this be amity only, we can let love stand as ideal.

There is no specific and positive injunction to love your enemies, but this is only because the true spirit of the Dhamma would label no fellow creatures as enemies. All were either to be ministered unto with honour or to be taken compassion upon in that spirit of grave tenderness for the burden of ill on earth—and in a sense too—which is Buddhism at its emotional best.

Conquer the wrathful by mildness, . . . the stiency by giving, the liar by truth! is the preised line of action.

7. Altruism.—Among the channels for catholic altruistic sentiment, however termed, the giving of...
LOVE (Celtic).—1. The concept of love in Celtic literature is closely tied to the natural world and spiritual beliefs. The Celtic people believed in a strong connection between love and the natural environment, often depicted in tales of sacred beings and their quests. The concept of love is often intertwined with the idea of fertility and prosperity, as seen in the worship of the goddess Connla, who was associated with fertility and the wellbeing of communities.

2. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also characterized by a strong sense of community and the collective worship of deities. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with the well-being of the community as a whole. The Celtic people believed that the love of the deities was necessary for the prosperity of the land and its inhabitants.

3. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also marked by a strong sense of justice and fairness. The Celtic people believed that love should be equitable, and that it should be shared by all members of society. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with justice and fairness.

4. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also marked by a strong sense of temporal and spiritual reality. The Celtic people believed that love and its consequences were not just physical, but also spiritual. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with the spiritual dimension of life.

5. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also marked by a strong sense of the divine. The Celtic people believed that love was a manifestation of the divine, and that it was essential for the well-being of the community. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with the divine.

6. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also marked by a strong sense of the eternal. The Celtic people believed that love was a timeless quality, and that it was an essential part of the human experience. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with the eternal.

7. The concept of love in Celtic literature is also marked by a strong sense of the communal. The Celtic people believed that love was a collective experience, and that it was essential for the well-being of the community. This is evident in the tales of the goddesses of love, who were often associated with the communal.
In his analysis of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the great epic of Ireland—which depicts to a great extent the morals of Connacht—H. Zimmer has pointed out that Medbh, the heroine of the epic, is/with her husband the son of Conchobar, but, having abandoned him, married in succession two chiefs of the same name, Alloll, the second of whom is her husband at the beginning of the account ("Der ultima der Bruchworte: Hintergrund in den Erzählungen der alten irischen Heldensage," SBAW, 1911, pp. 174-227).

An idea of the unusual prominence of the love-motive in the early Irish sagas can be formed from the list of titles given in d’Arbois de Jubainville’s Essai d’un catalogue de la littérature épique de l’Irlande (Paris, 1893). Thus on pp. 24-27 there are twelve stories bearing the title aithid, or ‘elopement,’ among the most important of which are: Athel Blaenhalle, Uffin Pudd, mas Fainte, re Coscholain, or ‘Eloquence of Blantain, daughter of Faull, son of F Taliban, to Coscholain’ (cf. G. Keating, Hist. of Ireland, tr. J. O’Moynihan, New York, 1860, vol. 1, pp. 61-63); Atholl Greine re Diarnait, or ‘Eloquence of Ormlain to Diarnait’ (Book of Lecan, fol. 381); Brit. Mus., Harley MS, no. 6172. In addition to Cath Nu Tiregh and Cath Tochmarca, ‘Battle of the Demand in Marriage’ (d’Arbois de Jubainville, p. 321), there are six sagas bearing the title contest or ‘encounter’ (pp. 292-294), of which the most famous are: Consonant Conchur, or ‘Conception of Conchur in Consonant’ (174), and Coenbresgaid, or ‘Conception of Coscholain’ (Windsich, pp. 134-135, 244 f.).

Rathain an Phoicis is the great love-story in Irlande. The title was probably etymologically derived from the Enchanted Palace’ (d’Arbois de Jubainville, p. 151), is concerned entirely with love, and is also Den-a-mauns Atollia, or Single Jealousy of Atollia (pp. 190), of which the title is aithid, or ‘elopement’ (pp. 201 f.), of which Ferinn Finn go rochor, or ‘Lockard, or ‘Love of the White Man’ (in Norwegian) has to be mentioned (Roy. Ir. Acad., Osiris MSS, 1785-1819). As those with the title of tocherne, or ‘demand in marriage,’ there are in all at least twenty (pp. 251-252). One of the best is from Tochmarca Boina (ed. and tr. J. O’Looney, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, v. 12, 174-183), Tochmarca Eimer in Coscholain, or ‘Demand in Marriage of Emer by Coscholain’ (Windsich, p. 524 f.), Tochmarca Boina (ib. 117-120), etc.

3 Welsh.—In Brythonic mythology the naturalism common to the Irish sagas has been greatly refined, and magic, especially in the form of the love-potion, assumes greater prominence. The nearest approach to a goddess of love is found in Branwen, ‘White Bosom,’ daughter of a sea-god, who has been called the ‘Venus of the n. thern sea’ (C. I. Elton, Origins of English History, London, 1890, p. 321). She was in all probability a goddess of fertility, but reappearance in romance, giving a love-potion to Tristan, which in itself is perhaps a reminiscence of her former attributes as a goddess of love. Dôn, the Welsh equivalent of Danu, was once a goddess of fertility, and had her child Gwydion, Gwilythwy, Amanethon, Gavannon, and Arianrhod (MacCuilo, p. 103). All these divinities play a more or less important part in the story of Gwyllhwyddion’s Iliad of love for the ‘foot-holder’ of Math in the Mabinogion.

Resorting to magic, Gwyllhwyddion succeeded in obtaining for Math from the court of Pryderi certain scion sent him by Annwn, king of Annwn, for the purpose of aiding him in his love-affair. The trick was discovered, and a battle ensued, in which Gwyllhwyddion slew Pryderi by enchantment. Having discovered that Gwyllhwyddion had seduced Gwawin, Math transformed him and Gwyllhwyddion successively into deer and wolf, and was pleased that Gwyllhwyddion was the lover of his own sister Arianrhod, by whom he had two children. MacCuilo suggests (p. 106) that these are mythic reflections of a time when such unions, perhaps only in royal houses, were permitted. Arianrhod, on her part, while being the object of her brother’s pretensions to be a virgin and refuses to acknowledge her children.

The more or less universal type of the treacherous wife is found in the story of the unfaithful dawn-goddess, Blodeuwedd, who disguises herself by the dress of her husband’s life and then places him at the mercy of her lover (T. W. Rolleston, Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race, London, 1911, p. 338).

In the Welsh poetry of love, due principally to foreign influences, assumes a new form of woman-worship. This new attitude towards
LOVE (Chinese)—LOVE (Christian and New Testament)

love is already apparent in Kul-wen and Olwen, which is comparatively an ancient tale, and is further developed in later stories like Percedur and Thomas the Lady. But the latter, which is the account of the facts (see the Celtic and Medieval Romance, London, 1899). It is the main symptom of the extent to which, in comparison with the Irish, Welsh literature had lost its pure Celtic character. The relations between the sexes in Wales have already been discussed in Ethicus and Morality (Celtic), III. 1-7.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

JOHN LAWRENCE GERIG.

LOVE (Chinese).—The importance of love as an ethical principle is recognized by Chinese moralists. This can be made sufficiently evident from the classical books.

When asked about benevolence (jin), Confucius replied: 'It is to love all men.' (Ana. xi. 22). 'jin is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives' (Doct. of Jinan, xx. 6). 'The benevolent embrace all in common; he does not partake of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous.' (Mencius, vi. 6. 5). From these passages it appears that the general affection of love is modified in accordance with the claims of kinship and virtue. The ethical nature of love is further brought out in such sayings as these: 'The Master said, 'It is only the truly virtuous man who can love with a very loving heart' (Ana. xv. 29). It is not merely 'Not to do to another what I would not have done to myself, but, more positively, 'To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me ... to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me.' (Doct. of Man, xii. 3). In the Confucian ethic, however, the exercise of love is limited by retributive justice.

'Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?'' The Master said, 'With what then will you recompense kindness? (i.e. recompense with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness' (Ana. xiv. 30).

Sperically interesting in connexion with the place of love in Chinese ethics is the philosopher Mucius and his doctrine of universal love, as the bond of a perfect social state. The Confucian ethic has its religious counterpart in the classical representation of Shang-ti as a benevolent and righteous (cf. art. God (Chinese)). Of love in the narrower sense as between the sexes, neither its more romantic aspects nor its depravations are reflected in Chinese literature from the Shi King and Shi King down to present-day novels. In view of too evident grossness of thought and life, one is surprised to find the religious sphere so clean. There is, e.g., polytheistic superstition, but no grossness in the religious wor- ship reflected in the classics, though it is true that regrettable features appear in popular superstition—spiritual beings may be attracted by the fair looks of women, and call them to the other world to be their wives; prostitutes may worship a goddess of their own.

According to E. H. Parker (Studies in Chinese Religion, London, 1906, p. 7), 'there is a considerable amount of dissimulated linga worship, especially in the south of China.' He adds, 'In the north, where theс, for chaste, as expiated by women, are common enough in every province.'

Such prayers are in themselves innocent, but in some cases the accompanying ritual worship of the idol is not so innocent. It does not necessarily follow, however, that there is in China no defilement of vice or any public practice of immoral rites.

LITERATURE.—In the classical religion and ethics, see the relevant works of J. A. G. Farquharson; and E. Faber, Missionaries of China, 1850. For examples of popular superstition cf. H. C. Du Bos, The Dragon, Image, and Monster, London, 1880, ch. 21.

THE LADY. For the Lady, see also E. J. Peters, The Lady, London, 1874.

LOVE (Christian and New Testament).—I. Divine love.—The highest and most satisfying faith which the human mind can attain, or can attain, is formulated in the sublimely simple conception, "God is love." (1 John 4:8). This is interpreted as meaning not only that God, self-conscious and moral, creates, sustains, and orders all things in love, but that love is His very essence and the spiritual conflict of the ages has been, and is, waged against the forces opposing this first principle of religion and ethics, the acceptance or rejection of which leads logically to optimism or pessimism. A few expressions of the belief that eternal love subsists at the heart of all things, and manifests itself through them, may be chosen as typical.

"Let me tell you why the Creator made the universe. He was good... and desired that all things should be as like Himself as possible," (Pilate, Tim. 39 E). "The Lord is good to all; and his mercies are over all things," (Ps. 103:11). "For thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things which thou hast made; let no sinner then have formed thought if thou didst hate it," (Wis. 11:4). And we know that to them, that love God all things work together for good! (Ro. 8:28). If we so love God, if we love his creatures, how fair and lovely must Thou be in Thyself! (Susu, quoted by W. Finley, Christian Mysticism, London, 1882, p. 290). For lovers of Nature Wordsworth expresses the conviction that nothing shall ever prevail against us, or disturb Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold Is a holy messenger (Tintern Abbey). There is no doubt in R. C. Trench's large utterance: 'We and all men move Under a canopy of love, As broad as the blue sky above' (The Kingdom of God, 4:6). or in Browning's eri du cœur: 'God! Thou art love! I build my faith on that.' (Parnassus, v. 51).

And in Carlyle's words there is at least a wistful longing to believe: 'O Nature!... Art not thou the "Living Garment of God"... Is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever我们在流 through thee: that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?" (Sartor Resartus, "The Everlasting Yea").

It is common knowledge, however, that this splendid creed of three syllables is not only severely tested but strenuously contested. The notion that love is the ultimate reality of things—that transcendent love is Creator and Lord of the world, and immediate source of all other love, is no longer current in the Spirit ceaselessly operant in Nature and humanity—is pronounced by many to be a delusion and a snare. One of the champions of popular free-thought thus emphatically expresses himself: "That God is love is a very lofty, poetical, and savoring con- ception; but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true" (R. Blatchford, God and My Neighbour, London, 1897, p. 23).

So manifest and prevalent in human lives that Swinburne makes the chorus of one of his dramas sing: 'The high gods... with weeping and laughter, And fashioned with loathing and love. The holy spirits of Calypsis (Poems, London, 1904, iv. 220).

The bitter pagan belief, that the gods take the same pleasure in the sufferings of mankind as cruel children in the torture of flies, still has its adherents, finding expression, for example, in Thomas Hardy's pessimistic dictum, "The President of the Immortals (in Æsoplybean phrase) had ended his sport with Tosse." Some critics of the world-order do not hesitate to say, "In Thomas Mann's The Magic Mountain. Wherever the Face of Man is blackened? God needs to take as well as give man's forgiveness (Omar Khayyam, quatrains liv.)." Worst of all,
science hesitates to say that God is love. The belief so dear to the heart of Linnaeus, that the phenomena of Nature bear witness to the benevolence of the Creator, is supposed to have received a staggering, if not a fatal, blow from the principle of evolution, so that no comforting red or staff, but only a broken reed, appears to be left in the hand of man.

Who trusted God was love indeed And by His Creation's final law— The nature, red in tooth and claw With ravine, shrub'd against his breast— (Tennyson, In Memoriam, iv.).

Confident assertions on the one side and the other help at least to make the issue clear, while they make also a greater, still a stronger, feeling apt to be generated in the attempt to solve the problem of problems.

Every man admits the one absolute certainty that he is ever in the presence of one infinite and eternal Energy, from which all things proceed (H. Spencer, Ecclesiastical Institutions, London, 1885, p. 843). The question is whether that Energy is controlled by love, or, rather, is identical with love—whether the All-Great is the All-Loving.

(a) What answer comes from the heart of Nature? That a struggle for existence, with a resultant survival of the fittest, of the more efficient, has gone on through geological ages and is still going on is one of the demonstrated truths which modern science has added to the sum of knowledge. And many evolutionists find it difficult, if not impossible, to escape contending and witnessing that secular conflict. But do they fairly interpret the struggle? The indictment against Nature which was frequently heard in the early and somewhat hysterical days of the evolution doctrine is now generally admitted to have been based upon half truths. Unqualified assertions that 'nature is one with rapine,' that 'any little good would be wonderful building' (Tennyson, Maud, iv., iv.), that the 'cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends' (T. H. Huxley, Collected Essays, London, 1898, p. 83; cf. 197), that all progress is attained by the methods of the gladiatorial show or the battle-field, are seen to be almost a libel. For the whole range of life upon the earth—vegetal, animal, social—bears witness to something quite different from hatred and strife. The processes of life itself—nutrition and reproduction, and, while the object of nutrition is to secure the life of the individual, the object of reproduction is to secure the life of the species—may superficially be thought to be concerned with self-assertion, another is concerned with self-sacrifice, and it is not too much to assert that the world is not only an abode of the strong, but a home of the loving.

Nature has more to say than "Every one for himself." There has been a selection of the other-regarding, of the self-sacrificing, of the giving of the love" (A. A. Thomson, The Bible of Nature, Edinburgh, 1896, p. 179).

If Rousseau erred in closing his mind to everything but the love, peace, and harmony of Nature, we are equally at fault if we find in her nothing but discord and cruelty.

* Love is not a late arrival, an after-thought, with Creation. It is not a novelty of a romantic civilization. It is not a new word of religion. Its roots began to grow with the first cell of life that budded on this earth. It is the supreme factor in the Evolution of the world. The struggle for the Life of Others is the physiological name for the greatest word of ethics—"love." (Tennyson, Maud, iv., iv.)

* The principles of morality have their roots in the deepest foundations of the universe, and "the cosmic process is ethical in the profound sense. (John Fiske, Through Nature to God, London, 1899, p. 79.)

If, then, creative evolution is God's theophany—His manifesting Himself—of the facts of the case, on a wide and impartial survey, go far to prove that His central energy, or ruling motive, and therefore His true Name, is Love. And to Divine overtures of love the human heart cannot fail to respond. Viewing the world as mysteriously 'full of God's reflex,' Charles Kingsley says, 'I feel a gush of enthusiasm towards God!' (Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life, London, 1877, i. 56).

It must be admitted, however, that there is another side. Nature's physical and vital forces do not all inspire confidence, making us 'very sure of God' and ready to acclaim the 'handsome and heroic right with the world.' There are times when it is not easy to 'rise from Nature up to Nature's God,' or to maintain that He has done all things well, the facts that disturb one's faith in the benevolence of the Creator are too many and too compelling to be ignored. The life of the forest and the jungle is not all idyllic. The wolf does not lie down with the lamb, nor the lion eat straw like the ox. The tiger and the tamarind are no less real than the fawn and the dove. It is impossible to forget Nature's ruthlessless to the unit or her savage outbreaks of fire and flood and tempest. Over against Nature Benigna we have always to set Natura Maligna, as T. Watts-Dunton does in a group of sonnets (The Coming of Love). And the existence of positive evil in the world has driven not a few observers of the unit, and the evolution doctrine is now generally admitted to have been based upon half truths. Unqualified assertions that 'nature is one with rapine,' that 'any little good would be wonderful building' (Tennyson, Maud, iv., iv.), that the 'cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends' (T. H. Huxley, Collected Essays, London, 1898, p. 83; cf. 197), that all progress is attained by the methods of the gladiatorial show or the battle-field, are seen to be almost a libel. For the whole range of life upon the earth—vegetal, animal, social—bears witness to something quite different from hatred and strife.

At the best the evidence is conflicting. Nature speaks with two voices. We can never be quite sure whether she is a kind mother or a cruel stepmother. Love is not seen at a glance to be her primal law. The men of science who decipher the testimony of the rocks do not feel constrained to proclaim with one accord that God is good, and, though they may comfort themselves with the reflection that in the final analysis of things that are, 'few things have been read, and acknowledge that there is no religion without mystery, yet the inquiring spirit of man is troubled.' Devout but open-eyed spectators of the dramas are sometimes 'perplexed in the extreme.' They feel as if Nature were betraying the heart that truly loves her.

* God's love, transcendent, all-penetrating! We do not get this faith from Nature or the world. If we look at Nature along, full of perfection and imperfection, she tells us that God is disease, murder and rapine' (H. T. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, London, 1897, i. 311).

And, if 'to be wroth with those we love doth work like madness in the brain,' it is the crowning sorrow to doubt the God whose loving-kindness is better than life (Ps. 63).

(b) But the God who speaks ambiguously through Nature reveals Himself also through humanity. He has His dwelling place in the heart. He has His dwelling in "the House of the Lord" (see Isaiah, vi. 1). The Stranger for the Life of Others is the physiological name for the greatest word of ethics—"love." (Tennyson, Maud, iv., iv.)

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LOVE
(Christian and New Testament)

Henry Huxley, London, 1906, p. 289) that moral purpose, in the strict sense, is an article of exclusive human manufacture, he is wrong in denying it a place in the cosmic process. Human nature is an integral part of nature. If Nature is personified, human life is her crowning achievement.

The development of the moral sentiments, the moral law, devotion to unselfish ends, characterized love, nobility of soul—these are human's most highly wrought products, latest in coming to maturity. They are the consummation towards which all the ideas, the ideals, the hopes of human nature, all the 'ex-sensitized' (Fiske, p. 139).

Now, these constitutive elements of the moral life are the root and ground of that assurance of Divine love which must be regarded in the first instance as a instinct or intuition of loving hearts. The writer of the Song of Songs calls it 'a Hebrew maiden, inspired by her passion of holy love, claim: 'For love is strong as death... the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord' (8). This means not only that the pure love which glows and burns in the human breast is a fire kindled and cherished by God, but that it is an emanation from, and in quality identical with, His own love. The declaration, 'the spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord' (Pr 20:22). The prophet Hosea, made wise by a patient love outwearing mortal sin in his own home, laid the truth flashed upon Hosea that a human affection which bears, hopes, believes, endures all things, and never fails is explicable only as a radiation from the love of God, a revelation of the heart of the Eternal. His own idea, conduct in the supreme moral crisis of his life sensitized his mind to receive a new and true image of the Absolute. His forgiving pity, his redeeming love, his confidence in the ultimate triumph of good, gave him an unerring insight into the controlling principle of the character of Love. He saw, is paramount in heaven and earth, and is the instrument. Love is therefore the Leitmotiv of his prophecy, his master-key to the mysteries of religion and life.

He dared to make his own confessio amantis the preface to a stupendous love-tale, of which the scene is the world and the hero is God. He represents Israel's patient Divine Friend saying, 'I delight in love, and not in sacrifice. When Israel was a child, then I loved him... I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love' (6:11-14; cf. Z 14:1). Later prophets and lawgivers reiterate Hosea's teaching in many beautiful forms. 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore have I continued lovingkindness unto thee' (Jer 31:3). He will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing' (Zeph 3:17; cf. Dt 4:7:6-10:4. Is 43:4-9). 'But it is not too much to say that the entire faith, and theology of later Israel grew out of Hosea, that all its characteristic views and ideas are first to be found in his book' (C. H. Cornill, The Prophets of Israel, Chicago, 1890, p. 53).

(c) Jesus linked His gospel with the prophecy of Hosea by repeatedly quoting the words 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice' (Mt 9:12). And it is the spirit of the Ideal Man—His personal experience in word and deed—that constitutes mankind's surest evidence of the love of God. In His compassion for the multitudes, His tenderness to sinners, His hope for the vilest, His yearning to win the lost He decided all those who 'know not what they do,' He is the Revealer of God. He changes Israel's Lord of Hosts into mankind's 'Our Father.' The writer of the Fourth Gospel (John 1:14) calls Him, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (Jn 14). And the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord is a fact which science must reverently accept. Christ is indeed the crown of evolution, fulfilling not only the spiritual ideals of Israel, but the coman ethical strivings of Nature.

'Our first reason, then, for believing that God is Love, is the authority of Jesus Christ—His declaration and manifestation of the fact as God incarnate. That is to say, all the cumulative and complex proofs of Christianity are pretexts to us of this truth, which simply is the kernel of Christianity. If Christianity is true, God is Love' (J. R. Illingworth, Christian Character, London, 1909).

(d) The apostles always interpret Divine love in the light of Christ's sacrifice. The love which inspired the early Church was more than that of the Father who makes His sun to shine on the just and the unjust. It was that of the Father who withheld not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; that of the Son who laid down His life for the sins of the world. In the 20th century the manifestation of Divine love with atonement is automatic. 'Herein is love'—in a Divine initiative which provided a propitiation for sin (1 Jn 4:9). Personal faith centres in 'him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by His blood' (Rev 1:5). God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (Gal 2:20). It was His Spirit of sacrifice that con quered the intellect as well as the heart of the ancient world. His age-long empire is the expression, not of the love of power, but of the power of love. He can never cease to be hailed as the Strong Son of God, immortal Love.

2. Human Love. Great and true conceptions of love have not been confined to any single nation. In the Greek classics love is often something much higher, purer, and nobler than sensual passion or natural desire. This fact appears clearly in the cosmogonic myths. The Eros of Hesiod is not 'erotic' in the later sense of the word. His love is the fairest of the gods, who rules over the minds and councils of gods and men, and he is the power, who brings order and harmony among the conflicting elements of Chaos. To the loveliest mind of Plato love is the sympathy of affinities, the instinctive and instinctive longing together of kindred souls for the harmony of spirits, without such a touch of natural feeling as strengthens without dishonouring the union. And the Stoics laid the foundation of a noble ethic in their conception of the brotherhood of men, regarded as akin to God, or even as children of one great Father.

'For we,' says the Hymn of Cleopas, 'are Thine offering, abased at mortal things that live and walk the earth moulder in the image of the All' (cf. Ao 17:7-8).

But Christianity raises love to a higher mood, invests it with a new power, purifies it by the touch of God, making the natural love of man and woman sacramentally holy, and changing the bitterest foe into a potential friend as 'the brother for whom Christ died.' The very vocabulary of love is changed, Eros, a word too often profaned, giving place to Agape. The natural elements of conjugal love, real and imperious enough, consecrated now to the Uses, has support, virtue, and it is the spirit of the Ideal Man—His personal exhaus
Only of such lives can it be safely said that ‘love is an unerring light, and joy its own security’ (Wordsworth, Ode to Duty, 1st.) The strongest affection độcs unless it is rooted in idealism. The house of life cannot be built on the shifting sand of passion... It is the house of the Kingdom, as we know, in which men claim love’s final sacrifice—that gives the affections of the home a purity and an intensity never dreamed of in the life of the pampered individualism. When Christ says, ‘He that loveth father or mother... son or daughter, more than me is not worthy of me,’ He is calling men to the ideal life, which includes whatsoever things are pure and lovely and of good report. We need love the highest when we see it (Tennyson, G. H. S.).

The truth is that the heart’s deepest instinct—its passionate ‘amoris desiderium’—cannot be satisfied with an earthly affection. The Hebrew poet speaks for the human race when he says that, as the heart pants for the waters brooks, so his soul pants after God, thirsts for the living God (Psa 42:1-3).

The most philosophical students of love from Plato to Plotinus to Augustine and Dante down to the last resort, an infinite object and an infinite response (Dillingworth, p. 80). Modern science has immeasurably widened man’s mental horizon, and the vaster the material world becomes the greater is the spirit’s inquest in its cage of senses. It is the same desire from the ‘malady of the ideal,’ and is restless till it rests in God. The deepest thoughts of a nation are expressed by its artists and poets. Rossetti painted human love languishing for fullness, life, but evermore fearing death. Watts painted divine love leading life per aspera ad astra. Tennyson says ‘his love would be half-dead to know that it must die’ (In Memoriam, xxxv.), while his faith in immortality stays itself on his deathless love of a friend.

‘Peace, let it be! for I loved him, and love him for ever: the dead are not dead but alive’ (Faithful, ad fin.).

At the close of life his dying wish was to ‘learn that Love, which is, and was My Father, and my Brother, and my God!’ (Double and Single, 7:14).

Browning repeats in a hundred forms his reasoned conviction that there is no good of life but love—but love!

What else looks good, is some shade fain from love—

Love glids it, gives it worth.

And he is certain that love cannot be quenched by death.

No! love which, on earth, amid all the shows of it, has ever seen the sole good of life in it,

The love, ever growing there, out of the strike in it,

Shall arise, made perfect, from death’s repose of it.

(Christian Era, v. 97-100).

If love is thus proved to be the essential character alike of God and of the sons of God, this result profoundly affects all human relationships. (a) True intercourse with God Himself is a fellowship of love. To be right with Him is to have the heart of a lover or a child. Though in the OT breathes many passionate longings for such an intercourse, the NT alone exemplifies it in its perfection. The bare notion of such a divine fellowship was strange to the Gentile, whose relation to the object of his worship was always cold and distant. Jesus lived in uninterrupted filial communion with His Father, teaching His followers to do this. And it was in the OT breathes many passionate longings for such an intercourse, the NT alone exemplifies it in its perfection. The bare notion of such a divine fellowship was strange to the Gentile, whose relation to the object of his worship was always cold and distant. Jesus lived in uninterrupted filial communion with His Father, teaching His followers to do the same. It is the love of God that keeps them alive in the love of God (Jude 21), and so to have His love shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit given to them (Ro 5:5).

(b) The knowledge of God can be attained only through love. In love’s love a ‘dry light’ helps but hide. Theology at its best, like divine philosophy, is always charged with feeling. ‘Pocus factit theologam.’ Selfishness absolutely disqualifies the student of divine things. God reveals Himself to the sincere, the life itself, to those who truly love and are loved.”

(c) The ideal society consists of persons animated and united by the spirit of love, each seeking the good of all and all of each. The programme of Christianity is the renewal of human life and the reconstruction of human society, on the basis of the faith that ‘God is love.’ While hatred has a fatal power of division, love is the bond of perfectness (Col 3). Human associations are strong and stable in proportion as they are welded together by that brotherly love which is the law of the kingdom of heaven.

‘Love rules the court, the camp, the grove, And man and wife, and every order; voluntary, as a gift—an Augean— as well as a Gabe. It is not a passive sentiment or an involuntary emotion. The verb ‘to love’ has an imperative mood, which the greatest lawgivers—Jesus as well as Moses—frequently use. To this extent Christianity as well as Judaism is legalistic. The practice of love is the highest exercise of freedom. ‘The love of the will’ is no less real than that of the heart (I John, p. 101). Love’s rise and progress are dependent on a continuous effort, and the more perfect it becomes the more does it embody the immost desires and strongest impulses of the soul. It is more than good-nature, which is no satisfactory basis for ethics; more than good intentions, which are proverbially delusive; it is a good will—which, according to Kant, is the one absolutely good thing in the universe.

(d) All duties spring ultimately from the one duty of love. It is more than a poetical fancy, it is a literal fact, that, ‘as every lovely hue is light, so every grace is love.’ Augustine describes virtue as the unfolding of love. ‘Virtue, that is, amors’— and in reference to the cardinal virtues he says: ‘I would not hesitate to define these four virtues which make such an impression on your minds that they arequently and stay in your mouth: temperance is love surrendering itself wholly to Him who is its object; courage is love bearing all things gladly for the sake of Him who is its object; justice is love serving only Him who is its object, and therefore rightly ruling; prudence is love making wise distinctions between what hinders and what helps itself’ (De Moribus, i. 15 [25]). The law of love is called the royal law (Ryga Barakas, Ja 2:4), because, being supreme in dignity and power among the principles which control human action, it brings all the others into subjection to itself.

‘All thoughts, all passions, all delights, Whatever else this mortal frame, All are but instruments of Love, And feed his sacred flame’ (Cowper, Love, 1:4).

(f) And love is perfected when even its most laborious duties are performed with gladness. It is true that ‘tasks in hours of insight will’ can be through hours of dulness (M. Arnold, Moralit y, 51 [Foot Works, p. 256]). But the moral life needs the heart to aid the will. It never flourishes long if its roots are left dry. Its strength and fruitfulness are always traceable to hidden springs of
affection. Schiller was justified in complaining that Kant made too much of the categorical imperative and too little of the aesthetic side of morality—the beauty of holiness. Duty is not perfectly done unless a great love makes the yoke easy and the burden light. In the power of love the will of each of a thousand thoughtful deeds becomes a labour of love (σέβομαι τις δύναμις, 1 Th 1). Ferdinand in The Tempest (iii. 4) says that the rubbish will be washed away when his "labours of pleasures," and Jacob's seven years seemed to him but so many days because of his love (Gen 29). Moral education advances rapidly when a man can say from the heart, "Thou wilt, Lord, I take delight." It is not enough that morality be touched by emotion; it needs to be transfigured with the spirit and transfigured by the glory of love.

"A heart is pure that is not passionate; so virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic" (J. R. Seeley, Eos Homo, London, 1867, p. 9).

It thus becomes evident, that before the activities of love can be spontaneous, a man's very nature must be changed. 'Every one that loveth is born of God' (1 Jn 4). That which is natural, the self-life, the heart's own being, which is spiritual, the life of self-renewal, and nothing else changes the natural into the spiritual like the contemplation of the sacrifice of Christ.

Then, as an instance of love itself conceives of Miss, but love I gave thee, with Myself to love, and thou must love Me who have died for thee!' (John 15). What a love!

Many have found it possible to conceive for Christ 'an attachment the closeness of which no words can describe' (Seeley, p. 187). To cherish love for Him is to love His Kingdom, which ideally embraces the whole human race. Where the AV reads 'We love him, because he first loved us,' the RV has 'We love, because he first loved us' (1 Jn 4). This may mean 'We love the Son of Man and, for His sake, every son of man.' Christ's constraining love is at once the impulse and standard of all Christian love—that ye should love one another, as I have loved you (Jn 15). Judas supplied the law of love (Dt 6, Lk 19), Christianity supplies the power—the grace which came by Jesus Christ (Jn 19). It seems a priori impossible to love the world that hates us, but it is morally impossible not to love the world which God has so loved. Faith works by love (Gal 5), and works miracles.

For the God-given desire the text "Love thy neighbour as thyself" to be taken quite literally, and, in short, this demand represents the power of love in the soul, the counterfeiting, common-sense intellect answers "No," a thousand times over... The gospel replies to this No with a decided, quiet Yes— (Dan. 4), The Faith of a Modern Protestant, London, 1909, p. 97 f.)

While, however, all finite love flows from God's infinite love, it is not always conscious of its source. It may well up pure and strong in a heart which has never been able by searching to find out God. And it is none the less acceptable to God though it is not yet its object. This truth is exquisitely expressed in Leigh Hunt's poem of 'About Ben Adhem,' who, though not yet one of those who love the Lord, has it revealed to him that, because he loves his fellowmen, his heart stands first among them whom love of God has blessed. And it is expressed more authoritatively in Mt 25, where our Lord proclaims that deeds done in love to the least of your brethren are accepted as done to Himself. Those who do them are unconscious Christians. Their merit, of which they are astonished to hear, is real, and their reward, which they never sought, is sure.

"For they love goodness, and to love goodness is to love God... While, therefore, the unbelief of men who love God may ruin their lives, it is not the cause of the ruin of Christians, the goodness of their lives need not perplex him, as being implicitly due to the same cause which has for himself become explicit" (Bingham, p. 162).

George Herbert calls sin and love 'the two vast, spacious things' which it behoves every man to measure (The Apology, 4). The one seems, but the other is, infinite. And the stronger subdues the weaker. Where sin abounds, grace—which is Divine love in its redeeming energy—superabounds (Rom 5). And all hope for the world lies in the fact that a God of holy love is, through His Spirit in His children, for ever wrestling with its sin.

"Is not the world at last made? Is not His love at issue still with sin, visibly when a wrong is done or a wrong done?" (Browning, A Death in the Desert, 211).

Augustine uses a still finer figure than that of the arena. He speaks of 'the glory of love... alive yet frostbound.' The root is alive; but the branches are almost dry. There is a heart of love within, and within are leaves and fruits; but they are waiting for a summer (Epist. 213, ad Potth., v. 10). The leaves of the tree are, or the healing of nations torn by passions of hatred. And, with eyes opened by eating of the fruit, men find their Paral花草 in letting their desire and will be turned,

Even as a wheel that equally is moved, by the Love that moves the sun and the other stars. (Dante, Convivio, iv. 174)."

James Strahan.

LOVE, Greek. I. GODS OF LOVE.—I. Introductory.—Greek lovers, whether of a woman or otherwise, in opposition to deities presiding over marriage and fertility, are products of a relatively late development. Doubtless, too, the moment of gratification gave rise to certain momentary gods, and served to fix their permanent influence in the cultus; this group will include Aphrodite Παρός in Megara (Paus. i. xiii. 6), Aphrodite Πάρηγα in Abydos (Athm. xiii. 752 Cf. R. Meister, Griechische Dicht., Gottingen, 1889-90, ii. 239), Aphrodite Μούφα at Gythium (Paus. iii. xxii. 1), and Aphrodite Περσάμη in Arges (Hesych. art.). Nicand. frag. 23 (Schneider). In Provence the phallic deified figure was dedicated at Corsept (IG xiv. 241), and the comic poet Plato (i. 648 [Kock]) enumerates a group of kindred figures in her retinue. Another special goddess is the Πάρφα of an inscription from Phalerum, Πάρθηνος της Παρθηνίου, Dion Athens, Nationalmuseum, ii. [1903] 485, whose character may be deduced from the epithets δαλαχλος and Μούφατος (Paus. viii. xxvii. 6) applied to Aphrodite. With this single exception, however, Aphrodite is everywhere the most prominent figure.

2. Aphrodite.—Aphrodite was originally by no means merely a goddess of love; on the contrary, she also presided over the development of female life from the period of youth, and a relic of this conception survives in the story that she nurtured the daughters of Pandareus (Hom. Od. xx. 68). At marriage ceremonies these rites were effectuated in conjunction with Hera and the Charities (Etymologicon Magnus, 220, 54) or else to her alone (in Hermionis [Paus. ii. xxxiv. 11]) in Sparta the bride's mother made a sacrifice to Aphrodite Hera (ib. iii. xiii. 9). Aristophanes (Nub. 52, Lisistrat. 2) speaks of Aphrodite Καλώς as specifically the goddess of women and the Περσάμη, the goddesses of birth, belong to her circle (Schol. to Aristoph. Thesmoph. 130, Lisistrat. 2; Hesych. art.). In
an epigram of Theoritus (no. 13); cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Euripides*, der Bekleidung, Berlin, 1906, p. 118) a woman of Cos thanks her for the fruits of her marriage. The prayers of widows for a second husband were directed to her (Nau- paides, *Hist. Græc.* 1). 1) Demeter she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. III. xviii. 1; Corn. Pop. frag. 2 [Bergk]).

In addition to these functions, however, she promoted increase and growth in the larger world of nature, as appears from such epithets as Διαυσα (Cnidus) [Paus. i. 1. 3] and Εὐδοξις (Syme husch. s.v.), which can hardly apply exclusively to the ἕφεσις Κύρος. To her, as the goddess of fertility, the goat was sacred, and she rides upon it (A. Purtwanger, *SMA*, 1899, ii. 590 ff.; v. Garinier, *Mélanges Perrot*, Paris, 1902, p. 121 f.). Moreover, sacrifices of swine were offered to her, as to Demeter, at the festival of *τερησ* in Argos (Ath. iii. 96 A; the name of the festival is ancient, as is shown by the mode of its formation; cf. *Aρθρός-ς*); as also in Cos (W. Dittenberger, *Syllog. Inscrip. Græc.* 3, Leipzig, 1888, p. 621; Thessaly, and Pamphylia (Strabe, *ib.* 438). 2) And, just as goddesses of the field and of fertility, like the Charites and the Ηρόη *(s.v.)*, were often represented as triads, so we find three Aphrodites in other places, who might be the same deity, and also—probably derived therefrom—in Megalopolis (ib. VIII. xxxix. 2). 3) In this broader capacity she was worshipped along with Zeus, as was Dion (who in Athens is identified with her). 4) In her name is the *IG* xii. 5. 229, where the names of Aphrodite and Zeus *Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς* occupy the first place in a dedication; ib. 551 *addition.*. Her association with Hermes is, no doubt, to be understood in the same way (Paus. VIII. xxxii. 3; IG xii. 5. 273; C. Michel, *Recueil d’inscr. grecques*, Brussels, 1890–1900, nos. 822, 33; Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, London, 1911–15, nos. 790; F. Hiller von Gaertner, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906, no. 183). To her as the tutelary goddess of the meadow and of fertility, of the prosperity of man and beast, pertain also the dedications made to Aphrodite—probably as thanksgiving for *ἐλευθερία*—by those who were leaving office, as shown in Hali- carnassus (Ancient Inscriptions in the Brit. Mus., iv. 901), Cos (IG xii. 5. 552), Paros (ib. xii. 5. 220), Mégara (ib. xii. 5. 80), Rhodes (ib. xii. 11.), and elsewhere. As the protectress of a whole people she is called *Αἰαδός (cf. CGS ii. 658), and in this capacity she was actually accorded a *σωμα* at Athens (IG ii. Suppl. 914). She invites human beings generally, not merely the sexes, and is thus called *Εποφα* (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in G. Wentzel, *Euríalein Thèos*, Göttlingen, 1890, p. 4) and *Ἀρώ* (Plut. *Amat. xxii.*), though a reference to marriage is also possible here.

Then the sinister aspect of her character as an earth-goddess is likewise dully brought out; she bears the epithets *Εὐρώπη (Hesych. s.v.)* and *Μηδείς (Paus. ii. ii. 4; Ath. xiii. 555; Paus. viii. v. 5, ix. xxv. 5), as does Demeter in Arcadia; in Thessaly there was a festival of Aphrodite *Ἀβρα* or *Ἀβραφά (Nilsson, p. 378), which, it is true, seems as far-off a reference to her domestic female love;

1 Gardner's attempt to find an Oriental origin for this feature is rendered abortive by the fact that the goat has no place in the mythology of Aphrodite. Similarly Purtwanger's attempt to interpret Aphrodite *Ἐυρώπη* as a goddess of light are futile, as the air-godle with which she is occasionally portrayed merely implies that at a later period she was identified with Olympia.

2 Parnell (CGS ii. 646) and M. P. Nilsson (Griechische Stadt, Paus. X. 229) are undoubtedly wrong in thinking to find in all these instances a connection with Adonis; such a connection finds no support in tradition, and, so far as the Argive festival is concerned, it seems rather as if there were no State cult of Adonis in Greece.

3 Perhaps *Ἀφροδίτης (IG VII. 653) and *Ἐυρώπη* are *comparatives*; the former, however, is probably a *Ἀφροδίτης* at all.


In Aphrodite was merged another goddess, the pre-Hellenic Aristane or Ariagne; the result is most clearly seen in Delos, where she acquires the name Hagne (ibid. vii. 1885, 268), and in Amathus, where a festival in which the two sexes exchanged garments was celebrated in the grove of Aphrodite Aristane (Nilsson, p. 369). Then in Cyprus we find a goddess of Spring named *Απρόδιτης θεός* Φεριάρσα (K. Meister, *SSGW*, 1910, p. 247), who appears again in Crete as *Ἀνθριά (Hesych. s.v.)*, and in Pamphylia, where her priestesses are called *ἀνθριάφιόρα* (IG ii. 2921 f.). Certain glasses of Hesyhex (s.v. *θοῖς, θείς, θέα* and *αὐτα* which bring her into relation with the May-pole have likewise to do with this aspect of her character. In Amathus she is thought of as androgynous under the name of *Ἀπρόδιτος (Hesych. s.v.)*; in Phoestus, similarly, and it spread from there to other Greek towns (Nilsson, p. 270). It is usually supposed that the Aphrodite cult of this district was derived from the worship of Astarte, and that it spread thence to the androgynous demon Leucipus (Nilsson, p. 270). It has already been noted, however, that the Aphro- dite cult of the Greek motherland presents certain features which cannot be explained as importations. There is also the fact that androgynous forms are unknown as regards Astarte (W. Baudissin, *PRB* ii. 156), and that such are shown to be Hellenic by the figure of Leucippe in the festival of Aristane in Amathus. The epithet *Ἀριάζα*, borne by the goddess in Cyprus (SSGW, 1910, p. 246), is certainly met with elsewhere only as an attribute of Oriental goddesses (O. Weinrich, *Atth. Mit. des deut. archäol. Instituts*, xxviii., 1912 f., note 1), but the name *Ἀριάζα* (Soph. Ant. 900) suggests that it was peculiarly congruous with Greek sentiment. Moreover, E. Sittig (*De Greecorum nominibus theophorii*, Hamburg, 1909, p. 4), has shown that there are in Cyprus no Phoenician theophoric names formed with 'Astarte.' It is true that in the ancient Greek traditions likewise there are only 'comparatives,' but no theophoric, names derived from that of the goddess of love,—but the same holds good as regards Eros (ib. p. 110). In view of the early relation between Cyprus and Arcadia, it is of great importance to note that her birth-place was transferred not only to Cyprus or Cythera, but also to the River Laden (Hesych. s.v. *Ἀριάζα*). On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the figure of Aphrodite shows a considerable admixture of Oriental features. Such are certainly the ritual prostitution of Phaphos and Corinth (Nilsson, pp. 365, 376), the worship of Aphrodite Ωφία (CGS ii. 629), and perhaps the fact that her name is also a name of Astarte. This relation to Ares, which is frequently ascribed to epic influence, has been not satisfactorily explained (cf. K. Tümpel, *Flechtensjahrb.* Suppl. xx. [1890] 611). Another fruitful point is the Hellenic origin of Aphrodite Εὐρώπη, the goddess of navigation (H. Usser, *Legenden der heiligen Pet Vitalia*, Bonn, 1875, xx.); she may quite well have been evolved from the goddess of Spring, who was brought across the sea from Cyprus, and perhaps the joint goddess of North Africa and Scythia. On the other hand, we must certainly assign a Semitic
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(\text{Greek})

origin (see W. R. Smith, \textit{Rel. Sem.}, London, 1894, p. 471) to the sacrifice of an \textit{ovis pedalis} to Aphrodite in Cyprus.\footnote{1} The worship of Aphrodite was also influenced by foreign deities in other districts; on the Black Sea there was an \textit{Ophas} of Scythian origin (Iren. iv. 29, 67), the deity of Apaktus (B. Latschev, \textit{Inschr. Pont. Eux.}, Petrograd, 1886-90, ii. 19).

The function of the goddess was in historical times closely connected with the maternity of the protectress of love. It is only as such, with the exception already noticed, that she is recognized in the Ionic epic, and it is therefore worthy of remark that her cult was introduced into Sicily proper (Sittig, p. 105). Her influence in that region were almost devoted to the goddess of love. In this capacity, too, she absorbed Peitho, who had originally an independent cult (in Sikyons, Paus. ii. vii. 7), but subsequently became sometimes an epithet (IG ix. 2. 236), sometimes an attendant, of Aphrodite (Weizsäcker, in Roscher, iii. 170), as is aptly shown by the figure of Farnesina (\textit{Mom. dell'Inst.}, xii. [1885] 21). She united also the '-loving' function, as is certain, of the Aphrodite \textit{Agroepis} of Boeotia (Phanoc. ap. Clem. Alex. \textit{Protr.}, ii. 38 [PG viii. 17]; Athen. xiii. 663 D; Steph. Byz. s. v. \textit{Agroepisis}) seems to have been devoted to her oracles, as it is certain true of the Aphrodite \textit{Saxia} of Pheneus (\textit{Eust. Mag.}, 543, 49; in Crete the boys were called \textit{ektris} (schol. to Eur. \textit{Ach.} 589). As Aphrodite was brought into connexion with the myth of Phaon-Phaedon (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, \textit{Hermes}, xviii. [1883] 416 ff.; Sappho and Simonides, Berlin, 1913, p. 33 f.), it is easy to see why madness remark that her cult was introduced into Smyrna (schol. to Theoc. ii. 10; Hesych. s. v. \textit{Ophaleia} s.f.), just as in the Erotic Fragment (6) the lover invokes the stars and the \textit{epeira \kappa\iota}.\footnote{2}

1. \textit{Erotes}—Aphrodite, the only Greek love-deity of real importance is Eros. He too had a more general function as a deity of procreation, viz. in Thespia, where he was worshipped as a stone fetish (Paus. ix. xxvii. 1), as also probably in Attica (Paus. xiv. viii. 20), and in the sex-cult of the Lycomids (ib. ix. xxvii. 2; cf. Furtwängler, \textit{Jahrb. des deut. archäolog. Instituts}, vi. [1892] 116 f.). In Elis he is represented as the child of the right hand of them (Paus. vi. xxiv. 7), i.e. as their leader, like Hermes elsewhere. From his procreative aspect arose the cosmic character which he bears in Hesiod and among the Orphics. In consequence of the obvious derivation of his name, however, he remained all along the god of sensual desire. His cult had only a narrow range. In Laconia and Crete sacrifices were offered to him before a battle (Athen. xiii. 561 C), and the connexion between these and pederasty has been explained by E. Beth (\textit{Rhet. Mus.}, ii. 1907 [445]). We are told also that in the Academy he had an altar which was dedicated to him by a boy; Anacreon sometimes obviously regards him as a youth (fraggs. 2, 47), while in other passages (e.g., fragg. 62) one may well doubt whether he thinks of him as a personal deity at all. But this indefiniteness of outline, which persists throughout the subsequent period, is counterbalanced by the magnificence of the associated conception. While Sappho (frag. 1) naively prays to a god who in a moment removes the pains of love, \textit{Æsilalus} (frag. 44 [Nauck?]) extols the might of that craving which pervades all that lives, and depicts the shattering effects of its absence with loving vehemence. If, in other two great tragedies give expression to similar ideas regarding the destructive and enslaving power of \textit{Eros} (Soph. \textit{Ant.}, 781; Eur. \textit{Hipp.} 1024, 1025; etc.) in \textit{Pirke} \textit{Eros} and \textit{Hedylas} as sacred and profane love—a contrast having no foundation in their essential meaning, but dominating their usage for the future.

4. Later developments.—In the sphere of common life the activities of love declined as the practice of heterism gained ground. In this period \textit{Aphrodiasa} became a characteristically heteristic festival (Nilsen, p. 374). Besides \textit{Eros} we now find \textit{Lupeas} and \textit{Aphrodite \textit{Phyllos}}, called \textit{Fulchris} (Paus. i. xiii. 6); on the meaning of \textit{Hedy} cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff on \textit{Bion} \textit{Adonis}, v. 58), and in other districts \textit{Arktos} (Paus. i. xxx. i, vi. xxiii. 3, 17), the sacred hero, who is mentioned under the name of \textit{Aphrodiasa} (\textit{Delv.}, p. 533). In the vase paintings of the Hellenistic socities the Aprophiles were largely represented (F. Poland, \textit{Griechisches Verhainosen}, Berlin, 1903, p. 180 f.), though it is true that there were also \textit{Eroses}, the numerous foreign (Syrian) cults. The high favour enjoyed by Adonis also served to revive the worship of Aphrodite; the deities of love in general now reached their highest vogue, and it is in this period that \textit{Eros} (ib. ii. xxvi. 1 and 4) and \textit{Hermes} (ib. ii. xxvi. 2; cf. \textit{Philostr.}, \textit{Apoll.}, xx. 672), who in the later period, derived from Aphrodite, though no doubt—with but few exceptions—in the lower ranks of society (Sittig, p. 168). Aphrodite and \textit{Eros} are no longer deities of the realm between the two gods, but the guardian spirits of love in the modern sentimental sense. It is worthy of note that unhappy lovers now frequent the supposed tomb of Rhadam and Leontia, the heroine and hero of the romance of \textit{Estrichus} (Paus. vii. v. 12). Syncretism one more held the figure of the love-goddess, and combined it with that of the healing mother of the gods (IG iii. 136), while the recollection of her larger function survives in the literary tradition, as appears in the poem of Lucretius, and as revives itself also, immediately before the collapse of the ancient religion, in the \textit{Periplus \textit{Veneris}} (Ad Adonis). The names of the last memorial of antiquity to the goddess who influence pervades the universe.


II. \textbf{ETHICAL IDEAS}.—1. The Homeric age.—It remains to examine what ideas concerning the
emotion of love and its ethical value were characteristic of the Greeks; and the prevalent view is that empire developed in consequence of political and social movements, together with a certain variety of contemporary opinions in the most important case of all, the expression of domestic affection which are to be found in the Homeric poems, such as the parting of Hector and Andromache (Iliad, vi. 270 ff.) or the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope (Odyssey, xx. 1-5). Even occasional comments like 'there is nothing mightier and better than when husband and wife keep house with united hearts' (Odyssey, vi. 182 ff.), and the tenderness of the allusion to the soft voices of the youth and maiden while they are courting each other (II. xxii. 128), reflect a condition of society in which wedded love was highly prized. This was the natural outcome of the respect with which women were treated, and of the comparatively high degree of liberty which they enjoyed.

2. Post-Homeric development. — The causes which led to the disappearance of the Aeolian monogamy are imperfectly known, we may (see above, KING [Greek and Roman], and the evidence available does not enable us to trace the course of the changes which lowered women in public estimation by debasing them of their earlier freedom. But much of the representation may be observed even in the utilitarian precepts of Hesiod regarding marriage (Works and Days, 700 ff.); and the same tone pervades the inventive of Sophocles and Aeschylus of a poet which Istrius was asked by the oilspill of the busy bee blessing with material increase the gathered store of her mate (line 83 ff.). It is remarkable that the same simile is employed by Iamblichus in describing to her wife the duties which he expects her to perform (Xen. Econ. vii. 32), and the whole of the training prescribed in Xenophon's dialogue (op. cit. vii. x.), as well as the desire of man thus to domestic happiness, shows that the Attic ideal was satisfied by the loyalty of a careful and thrifty housewife (Lyce. i. 7). In historical times an ordinary Greek marriage was so entirely prompted by motives of convenience that we read without surprise the typical sentiment of the Athenian orator:

'While we keep a mistress to gratify our pleasure and a companion to minister to our daily needs, we marry a wife to raise legitimate issue and to have our property carefully preserved' (Dem. 3. 52).

3. Sappho. — It must not be supposed that in the meantime the passionate outpourings of the lover failed to find adequate expression in literature. In this respect the poems of Sappho occupy so peculiar a position that an attempt must be made to define it. Sappho, a poetess of such eminence as to have been accounted the rival of Homer and to have earned the title of the tenth Muse (Anth. Pal. vii. xiv. 15; cf. Strabo, p. 617), owed most of her reputation to the fervour of her love-poems. Yet in estimating their tendency we encounter unusual difficulty, partly because, notwithstanding the additions made in recent years, only scanty fragments of her writings survive, and partly because comic poets and later gossip-mongers have shrouded her name in unmerited scandal. It is generally admitted that the story of her unrequited love for Phaon and of her suicide (Iliad, ix. 5) in the Leucadian rock are fictions due, perhaps, to a misunderstanding of her own words (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides, Berlin, 1918, pp. 24-40). The greater suppositions, such as those indicated by Seneca in his reference (Ep. lxxviii. 37) to the discussion of Diodorus 'an Sappho publica fuerit,' are not to be supported by such indications. The main thing that are contradicted no less by the soundest part of the tradition, which represents her as a wife and a mother (Suid. s. v. Σαπφώ; cf. Sappho, frag. 80), than by the sincerity and freedom of her genuine utterances.

The psychological genius of Sappho was the same as that of Homer and 2 and Berlin frags. 2 and 5 is to understand how the yearning affection inspired by the loss or departure of one of her girl friends came to be expressed in terms of domestic affection which led to the disappearance of the Aeolian monogamy is imperfectly known, we may (see above, KING [Greek and Roman], and the evidence available does not enable us to trace the course of the changes which lowered women in public estimation by debasing them of their earlier freedom. But much of the representation may be observed even in the utilitarian precepts of Hesiod regarding marriage (Works and Days, 700 ff.); and the same tone pervades the inventive of Sophocles and Aeschylus of a poet which Istrius was asked by the oilspill of the busy bee blessing with material increase the gathered store of her mate (line 83 ff.). It is remarkable that the same simile is employed by Iamblichus in describing to her wife the duties which he expects her to perform (Xen. Econ. vii. 32), and the whole of the training prescribed in Xenophon's dialogue (op. cit. vii. x.), as well as the desire of man thus to domestic happiness, shows that the Attic ideal was satisfied by the loyalty of a careful and thrifty housewife (Lyce. i. 7). In historical times an ordinary Greek marriage was so entirely prompted by motives of convenience that we read without surprise the typical sentiment of the Athenian orator:

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a famous fragment (frag. 385 N.), characterizes the love-god and a preference for the passion itself, in the following words:

'Love is not love alone, but is called by many names; it is Desires, it is Hunger, it is Greed, it is Raging; it is a thirst for Passion; it is Lamentation; in Love is all activity, all peace, all that prompts to violence.'

Over and over again stress is laid upon the irresi-
istive power of Love; he is the mightiest of all the gods (Eur. frag. 269, 430; Menand. frag. 235, iii. 67 K., frag. 449, iii. 129 K.; and not one of them (Soph. frag. 443), not even Zeus himself (Eur. frag. 684; Menand. frag. 209, iii. 60 K.), can withstand his attack.

'He is not wise,' says Delianus in the Trachiniae (411 f.), 'who stands forth to contend with Love, like a boxer at close quarters.

It is not difficult to imagine the result of this assumption upon the attitude of the average Athenian citizen. The celebrated ἰδονεῖον of the Corinthian Aphrodite (cf. Pind. frag. 122 and art. HIERODOULOI [Grec-Roman]) help to explain the abuse of the word. It is an evident lack of Love.

Resistance to the on-set of Love is no less reprehensible than it is futile (Eur. frag. 346), though excessive indulgence is as much excusable, if not sanctioned as entire abstinence (Eur. frag. 428).

Much self-control as was exhibited by Agisllans in refraining, despite the violence of his passion, from accepting the kiss offered by a beloved maiden boy (Xen. Aesp. fr. 4 f.), was so rare that the historian felt it to be altogether marvellous.

5. Pederasty.—The passage last quoted confronts us with that form of love-passion, the love of boys, which has come to be known as 'Greek love,' and has tarnished the whole fabric of Greek morality. There is no trace of this custom to be found in the Homeric poems; for the assertion of such relations having existed between Achilles and Patroclus is not, so far as we can tell, earlier than Aeschylus (frag. 136 [Troph. frag. 536]), by the relation between the ἱππόκρατες and ἄθρα in the disciplinary system of Spartan training (Plut. Lyc. xvii. f.; Athen. Var. Hist. iii. 10, 12); and by the famous custom of the Cretans, according to which the lover carried his favourite, or his show of force, and was more or less seriously resisted according to his supposed merit (Strabo, pp. 483, 494). The inveteracy of the habit may be ascribed to the long duration from a primitive period when continuous military service involved a scarcity of women (Bethe, in Rhein. Mus. xii. 435 ff.). Moreover, it is fair to admit that the results of such companionship were by no means invariably bad.

7. Gomperz has well remarked that 'the sentiment in question appeared as much, if not more, varied and gradated, than the love of women at the present day. Here, as elsewhere, a noble action was often granted upon a savage stock. Devotion, enthusiastic, intense, ideal, was not indiscriminately the fruit of those attachments, the casual origin of which was entirely for-gotten. The Greek Thinks, Ed., London, 1901–12, II. 260).

Such an elevation of sentiment is the easier to understand if we bear in mind the continually increasing segregation of the sexes to which reference has already been made, and which, owing to the natural craving for companionship, is justly Frenzy, it is right to feel that a gap to be otherwise filled. Widely spread as the evil undoubtedly was, there were many—probably an increasing number—who were keenly alive to its disadvantages, and, as, with Athens,
frag. 483 [Usener], the Stoics followed closely in Plato's footstep, recommending him to the Wise Man as an attempt to produce friendship with youths who displayed in their beauty a capacity for virtue (Diog. Laert. vii. 129; Stob. Éc. ii. p. 113, ed. T. [1887]). Philetaerus, whose dialogue entitled ἐπαυρισκότα, aimed at reconciling conflicting views by a return to the common sense point of view, while he was largely influenced by Phatonic imagery, vindicated the claim of woman as the proper object of a divinely inspired passion (21, p. 766 E.f.). We even find Plato condemned altogether as unworthy of serious attention by such writers as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (de Administr. sa decadit in Demosth., p. 1027), Athenaeus (608 D), and Heraclitus, the author of the Homeric Allegories (76, p. 101, 19).

7. Romantic love.—In the meantime we are able to trace the growth in Greek literature of the romantic love-story in which the hero and heroine, who have fallen in love at first sight, after a series of adventures are at last happily united. The realistic treatment by Euripides of certain tragically subjective scenes which he portrayed in his new idiom contributed to the appearance of the domestic drama known as the New Comedy. Among the stock elements in the plots of Menander and his rivals are the wedding (a climax), the rival citizen with a slave-girl who often proves to have been originally a free-born Athenian exposed by or otherwise lost to her parents; the overcoming of an unsympathetic parent or a rascally pander by the cunning of a devoted slave or parasite; and the ultimate reconciliation of all parties, leading to the marriage of the happy lovers. But paths also went back to an entirely alien to the cold atmosphere and artificial mechanism of these plays. A new tone—that of sympathy with the fortunes of the lovers—asserted itself for the first time in some of the masterpieces of Alexandrian literature.

Whether this was merely the result of the diffusion of the Hellenic spirit outside the confines of the city communities through the countries which then constituted the civilized world, or more specifically of contact with popular spirit came from Eastern as well as that of Abradates and Panthia in Xenoph.

8. Cynogoras, v. i. 31 E., iv. 2-11, viii. 1, 9-32, iti. 2-18; see J. P. Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, 1896, p. 244; A. Rohde, Der griechische Roman, p. 583 f.), it is impossible now to determine. The vigour of Alexandrian love-poetry receives its best illustration in the third book of Apollonius's Argonautica, where the growth of Medes's passion for Jason, the conflicting interests prompting her to struggle against it, and her final submission to an irresistible emotion are depleted with poetic power of a very high order. There is no doubt that Vergil made Apollonius his chief model when constructing the well-known episode of the love of Dido and Æneas. Another example was the love-story of Acontius and Cydippe described by Callimachus in the end of a digression in the Ætica, the conclusion of which has recently been discovered in one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (no. 1011 [=vii. [1910] 16 f.]). The various features which become common to the writers of these romantic narratives have been summarized A. Courant, La Poésie alexandrine sous les trois Ptolémées, Paris, 1882, pp. 140-160; J. P. Mahaffy, op. cit. p. 340 f.; as follows: (1) the minute portraiture of the characters of both lovers; (2) the sudden interposition of the love-god at their first meeting; (3) the record of the misfortunes obstructing the fulfillment of their wishes; (4) the description of the pangs of thwarted love; and (5) the importance attached to the perfection of the virgin purity of the heroine amidst all her trials and dangers until her final reunion with the hero. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the influence exerted by the art of Callimachus and Apollonius upon Latin poetry, and especially upon the works of Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid; but mention should be made of the MēΤρητα of Aretaeus, which held an extensive circulation in the Roman era (Ovid, Trist. ii. 143; Lucian, Phys. 1). This was a collection of erotic tales put together in the 2nd cent. B.C., whose general character may be inferred from Petronius, Apuleius's Metamorphoses, and Lucian's Asinaria. Varro, the friend and editor of Apuleius, dedicated to Cornelius Gallus was different in both scope and purpose: it consisted of excerpts relating to the misfortunes of lovers and drawn from various historians and poets. The characteristic features of the romantic love-story enumerated above were closely followed by the later romance-writers (ἐπαυρισκότα; cf. art. Fiction [Primitive] (3)), who were the direct inheritors of the Alexandrian tradition and became extremely influential in the Middle Ages (L. Bekker, Anecd. Graeca, Berlin, 1814, p. 1082). The best of these novels was the Εὐθυπολία τος Heliodorus (3rd cent. A.D.), which was preceded by Xenocrates, Eustathius and followed by Achilles Tatius (Leucippe and Clitophon) and Chariton (Characra and Callirhoe). The Daphnis and Chloe of Longus was constructed according to the pattern of a rustic life of a real citizen of the pastoral Ídyle of Theocritus. To these names should be added the fictitious love-letters of Alcinous and Aristonemus, which aimed at restoring the Attic flavor of the New Comedy.

8. Literature.—Several of the authorities quoted have been indicated above. Certain portions of the subject-matter are covered by R. Besnier, Die dorische Kranzliebe; Rethel, Mus. Philol. (1907) 488 E.; A. Rohde, Der griechische Roman, p. 593 f.), and for the ethico-religious aspect, the author- tions quoted under Ethics and Morals (Greek), and especially L. Schmidt, Die Ethik der alten Griechen, Berlin, 1888, i. 204-208; J. Deniau, Histoire des theories et des idees morales dans l'antiquite, Paris, 1876, ii. 122-170.

A. C. PEARSON.

LOVE (Jewish).—The dictionaries define love as 'a feeling of strong personal attachment, induced by that which delights or commands admiration.' The subdivisions of this sentiment comprise the impulses of attachment, due to sexual instinct, or the mutual affections of man and woman; the impulses which direct the moral conduct of members of one family, parents and children, brothers and other relatives; the attachment that springs from sympathetic sentiments of people with harmonious character, friendship; and, finally, the various moral, physical, and even religious uses of the love for moral and intellectual ideals. To the last class belongs the religious concept of love for God, while the particular Biblical conception of God's love for Israel is closely related to the idea of paternal affection.

1. Sexual love.—Love for woman as an irresistible impulse is most strongly represented in Canticles in the words:

Love is strong as death; Jealousy is cruel as the grave: the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, he would utterly be condemned (58f).

The passion of sexual instinct which must be elevated by a feeling of love is repeatedly referred to in the same book (24: 3rd 5th 6th: see also 1st 24: 3rd 5th 6th 7th), and sensuous life of the physical type is often mentioned either directly (Pr 7: 22 f.) or by figure of speech (Pr 20: 22, 25-27, 31). The Biblical stories give us repeated instances of the power of this love, as in the case of Samson (Jg 14: 16-19), where the
denomic power of woman over man leads man to run away from the marriage. This is the case of Dinah (Gn 34:19), though in his case the love for Dinah is not of the strictly carnal nature which characterizes the relation between Samson and Delilah. The love of Kadmon for many strange women—a prototype of the licentious influence of the hareem on politics in the Orient—is given in the Bible (1 K 11:4) as the cause of the downfall of the wisest of kings. Kadmon wisely warned Solomon of this story that it is impossible for any man to guard against the influence of woman, and use this fact as support for the theological doctrine that law is unchangeable in this life, as well as in the next (Gn 34:19, 20), a statement which has a remarkable parallel in Max Habe's tragedy Jugend (Berlin, 1893). The term 'love' is also used with regard to other physical pleasures, as love for delicacies (Gn 27:4).

2. Matrimonial and parental love.—The higher conception of matrimonial love as an attachment which elevates sexual relationship, just as the later without such a thematic relationship is degrading, is often referred to both in principle and in illustrative story. The case of Jacob, who was willing to work seven years in order to gain Rachel, and the remarriage of their seven years passed by like 'a few days' (Gn 29:20), as well as the hope of Leah that the birth of her third son would make Jacob love her (v.40), show that ideal matrimonial relation is agreeable; for even by spiritual thought he was wise enough to be safe from having his heart turned away by women (Dt 17:17), fell a victim to their influence (Ez. Rabba, ch. vi., Tanhuma, Ez., ed. Baber, Wilna, 1855, p.18).

With equal foresight sexual passion is described in the case of Amnon, raping his stepsister Tamar (2 S 13), when, after the gratification of the brutal impulse, Amnon's passion turns into hatred and disgust (v.16), a step which has a remarkable parallel in Max Habe's tragedy Jugend (Berlin, 1893). The term 'love' is also used with regard to other physical pleasures, as love for delicacies (Gn 27:4).

The affection of Jacob for his mothers and his fathers, and their love for him, is a direct counterpart of the love between husband and wife. The home love of Jacob and Leah is that of Elisha and Hannah (1 S 1), where the husband tries to console his wife, longing for the blessing of children, by saying, 'Am I not better to thee than ten sons?' David is spurred by the love of Michal to do great acts of valour (18)—a command that is related to that of Solomon (2 S 5:11). Even in the story of Esther the king's love for the queen (Est 2:7), while in many ways showing the characteristics of an Oriental despot, willing to give half of his kingdom away in order to gratify the whim of an odalisque, is presented as an attachment seizing the king with the force of a sudden passion. Such passion is referred to in the case of a captive of war, and the law requiring that she be allowed time to become assimilated to her environment is dictated by a delicate understanding of wanly feeling the law for the conduct of a man who has two wives, one of whom is beloved, and the other hated (v.16-17). It is worthy of note that Rabbinical apologetics explains the love of the tribe of Assyria as that of piety and hatred as being 'hated by God' (Sifre, ed. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, p. 115). At the same time Rabbinic ethics derives from this a law a condemnation of polygamy as leading to domestic trouble (b. ).

In a general way sexual licence the author of Proverbs advises (5:9) devotion to 'the loving kind and the pleasant Doe'; and the author of Ecclesiastes gives as a recipe for happiness the advice: 'Live long with the wife whom thou dost love all the days of thy vanity ... for that is thy portion in life' (9:10).

It is significant that such advice was put in the mouth of the wise man. From this conception of domestic felicity, as the highest ideal of life, are many Rabbinical statements.

Closely related to this conception of love is the love of children, so often referred to in the OT, and already in the Mosaic law a source of happiness derived from the possession of children (Ps 127:1-2, 128, Pr 17); and the misfortune of not having children, as in the case of Rachel, who 'would rather have died than be given to another' (Gn 30:1), and in the similar case of Hannah (1 S 1). The love of Jacob for Joseph, because 'he was the son of his old age' (Gn 50:21), and the love for Benjamin, who, in addition to being the son of his father's old age, was the only one left of his mother (44), are so naturally presented that they show the psychological continuity of human nature. The same feature of truly human life is seen in the story of Jacob and Esau, where the father loves the daring hunter Esau, while Rebekah feels more affection for Jacob, the young man of domestic habits (25). Such affection does not rest in the blood, but is often stronger in persons attracted by congenial feelings. There is hardly in the whole world's literature a nobler expression of devotion than the words spoken by Ruth to Naomi in the east, the words of felicitation spoken to Naomi on the birth of Ruth's son, that Ruth's love for her is greater than that of seven sons (44), are felt by the reader of the Bible as a profound truth, just as they were at the time when they were written. A similar feeling of affinity is that of the faithful servant, of which the law takes cognizance in the case of a slave who would rather remain in the house of his master than go free (Dt 15:19, Ex 21).

3. Friendship and wider love.—The love of friends is naturally presented in comparison with that arising from sexual and blood relationship. David says of Jonathan, 'Thy love was wonderful, passing the love of women' (2 S 18). A true friend is one 'that sticketh closer than a brother' (Fr 189). False friends who fail in the hour of need are rebuked as in the case of David's friends (2 S 18, 9, 26-13, 11, Ps 106:11). The happiness that friendship brings in poverty is contrasted with abundance and hatred (Fr 155). In correct interpretation of the evidence the Rabbinic view of the natural friendship of the ostracized for each other, naming the proselytes, slaves, and ravens (Talm., Psalim, 113b). As specimen of the highest love the Rabbis give the case of David and Jonathan (1 S 20), and contrast it with that of Amnon and Tamar, showing that the first, because unselfish, lasted, while the second, being based on carnal affection, could not last (Abvth, v.8).

Love, as not limited to friends, but extended to all mankind, is a principle the priority of which Jewish and Christian theologians have been contesting with one another. On the Jewish side it was claimed that the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19:18), is universal. As proof for this conception it was adduced that the commandment of love in the same chapter is extended to the stranger, 'for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt' (v.41), and that, therefore, it expresses implicitly the idea of Hillel (q.v.—a teacher of the 1st cent. B.C.—). 'What is hateful unto thee do thou not unto thy neighbour': this is the whole Torah, and all the rest is its commentary (Talm., Shabbath, 31a). It is claimed that in the same sense Rabbi Aqiba, a teacher of the 2nd cent., said, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself is a great principle in the Torah' (Sifre, Orthâkim, ch. 4; Prishnâhilâ, Naphthânim, x. 5). Christianity, on the other hand, claims that Jesus, in the parable of the Good Samaritan, speaks of himself as answer the question, Who is my neighbour, in

1 See also Dt 10:18. 2 Or the fundamental principle.
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the universalistic sense. 1 One might introduce the argument that the Rabbis interpret the commandment, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' as teaching a humane method of execution, evidently implying that even the criminals remain our neighbour's (Talm. Pes. 75a). The Hebrew word eḥēk('lover') for friend is also used in the social sense, as in the case of Hiram and David (1 K 5:2 [EV 5:9]).

True love is tested by the sincerity which will not accept rebuke (Pr 9), but, on the other hand, loving friendship will overlook faults (10:17). In the same sense the Talmud reports that Johanan ben Nuri praised his companion Rabbi Aqui for having loved him more each time that their teacher chastised him on the ground of a charge made by Johanan (Arabkān, 16a). For this reason controversy on religious questions between father and son, teacher and disciple, will promote their mutual love (Qiddūškēn, 36b).

At the same time it is commanded to suppress hostile feelings. In Talmudic casuistry the question is asked, What precedes, if a man see at the same time his enemy's and his friend's ox or ass lying under his burden (Ex 22:2)? The answer is given that he must first help his enemy 'in order that he train himself in saving his brother' (Ec 611). Love is also used in the plain social sense, as when it is said that 'breakfast removes jealousy and brings love' (ib. 107b). The making of friends is true greatness. A man should turn his enemy into a friend (Abbōth R. Natōnā, ch. 23). Just as true friendship is praised and recommended, so false friendship is condemned. The Rabbis warn to keep at a distance from false friends, for 'they pose as lovers, when they have use for you, and will not assist you in the time of distress' (Abbōth, ii. 3). The utilitarian point of view in friendship is presented in the case of Cannan who-so the Talmud says—admonished his sons to love one another, but at the same time to love all vices (Psāḥēm, 113b). On the other hand, it is cited as an expression of true love, when Rabbi Judah han-Nasi, while the spiritual head of the Jewish community, repeated his own decision in a legal case when he heard that Rabbi Jose had decided differently.

4. Metaphorical uses. Love in the metaphorical sense is used very frequently in connexion with wisdom, especially in the introduction to Proverbs (4:7); see also the counterpart of loving folly or hating wisdom (12:10). As true wisdom is identical with true religion, we find the love of the Torah (Ps 119.105) and of God's commandments (vv. 97, 192) monotonously repeated in the long Psalms, which evidently is the work of an early Pharisee who anticipates the ideal presented in the sayings of the Fathers:

'Turn it [the Torah] over and turn it over, for everything is in it, speculates over it, grow old and grey with it, and never depart from it, for there is no higher conception of life than this' (Abbōth, v. 29).

This conception is repeated innumerable times in theory and story. In commenting on the passage, 'This day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God' (Dt 27:9), the Rabbis say:

'Israel had indeed become God's people forty years previously, but Scripture wishes to say that one who studies the Talmud too much, it becomes new every day' (Abbōth, 43b).

As an example of such devotion Joshua is quoted (Mānahōk, 99b), to whom God said, not in the sense of a commandment, but in the sense of a blessing, that the Torah should not depart out of his mouth (Jos 1:8).

The love of instruction—in Hebrew synonymous with reproof (Pr 12:1)—wisdom (12:5), purity of heart (5:21), righteousness (Ps 45), and kindness (Mie 9) are the characteristics of the pious, as to love their opposites is characteristic of the wicked (1's 5:24).

The injunction of Micaiah (6) to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God is presented by a Rabbin of the 4th cent. as the sum-total of 'the commandments of the Torah' (Mānahōk, 24v). The true disciple of Aaron is, according to Hillel, 'he that loves peace and pursues it' (Abbōth, i. 12; cf. Ps 34:19). To Rabbinic theology ethical conduct and ritualistic conformity are the same divine commands (Abh. ii. 1), and therefore the righteous is he who practices God's laws without regard to material advantage. Moses took care of Joseph's remains (Ex 13) while the Israelis were busy trying to secure the booty of the drowned Egyptians, which shows how he loved God's commandments (Abbōth, 13a), for to bury the dead is the highest of the cardinal virtues (see To 17, 189: Mt 8, Lk 6).

Fulfilling God's commandments at a great personal sacrifice is another proof of love. The legend reports that Rabbi Gamaliel bought a palm-branch at a thousand drachmae, to fulfill the divine commandment (Lv 23:41) even while he boarded a ship (Sukkāh, 141b).

A similar story of a great number of ducats paid for an etrog (citron used on the same occasion) is told by L. Münz, Rabbī Blasser genannt Schenen (Kobben, Treves, 1895). Love is perceived as a place where only the righteous may set their foot (Ps 15), is also an object of love for the righteous (22). In a eudemonistic sense love is advised for the purpose of the practical public: to work for the field. 'Love Meḥākāb work in the sense of man's occupation abroad office and seek not the acquaintance of those in power' (Abbōth, i. 10).

As devotion to practical pursuits, love is mentioned in the case of king Uzziah, who is praised as one who 'loved husbandry' (2 Ch 26:19). Perhaps the obscure passage in Ec 5 is to be interpreted in this sense of man who is wise in his field. 'The popularity of a king is referred to as love in 1 S 18.6. As a love of the ruler for the people the Rabbis define the devotion to public improvements in the case of Joshua, who is said to have built roads and erected public buildings (Erabōn, 22). Time-serving is implicitly condemned in those who 'love the rich, while the poor is hated by his own neighbour' (Pr 14). Prophets who seek their own material advantage are denounced as 'watchmen loving to slumber' (Is 55), and the people steeped in materialism are said to 'love cakes of raisin' (Hos 3).

A special theological aspect of love in the metaphorical sense is the use of the word as referring to the mutual relation of God and Israel, both in Biblical and in Rabbinical literature. The traditional liturgy speaks very often of God's love for Israel in giving it His commandments, especially Sabbath and holy days, and this love is often referred to in the Bible as the love of a father for his children, as that of a loving husband, and especially as that of a bridegroom (Dt 7:9-10, 1 K 10:5, 2 Ch 5:11, 6. Is 43:6. Hos 3:9 11:14, Mal 1:21). Inasmuch as Israel is ordained to maintain the heritage of Abraham to do justice (Gn 18), God loves justice and Righteousness (Ps 33:5, 146:9, Is 61) and hates him 'that loveth violence' (Ps 11). As Zion stands for the embodiment of all that is noble, God loves Mount Zion (78) and, as Israel's patriarchs were the living representatives of this ideal, God loves them and, for their sake, their descendants (Dt 49). Just as Israel is not selected by God for His power, but for His righteousness (Dt 7:10); cf. Pr 15:2), so He loves the humble (Is 66:1) and the stranger (Dt 10). Prosperity is not a sign of God's love, and affliction is not a sign of His hatred, for the Lord often 'correcteth him that he loveth' (Pr 3; see Job 5). Yet prosperity is
repeatedly quoted as a token of God's love, as in the case of Solomon (2 S 12:4). In a satiric sense the relative value of suffering is referred to in a Talmudic story. R. Hishai calls on his friend R. Johanan who is ill, and asks him whether he loves his sufferings. Johanan answers: 'Neither the sufferings nor they who produce them.' (Talmud, Boda, 59b.) The case of King Manasses (2 Ch 23:15) is quoted as proof that suffering ought to be received with love (Sanhedrin, 101b).

As a fundamental doctrine R. Ashi presents the principle that God loved mankind, for He created man in His image; He loved Israel, for He called them His children; and, furthermore, Israel is beloved by God, for He gave them a most progressive word (Rabbah, 11b). R. Ashi clearly evidently wishes to grade God's love as the love of mankind in general, of Israel in particular, and of the law-observing Israelite as the best beloved. God, according to Rabbinitic ethics, loves especially the humble and peaceful (Pirke Aboth, 17a), and more generally him who is beloved by his fellow-men (Aboth, iii. 10). Modesty is the best means to gain God's love.

God loves, says the Talmud in a different passage (Pirke Aboth), him who is calm, temperate, and humble, but hates him who is a hypocrite, who does not offer testimony when he knows something of the case, and who sees his neighbour commit a wrong and testifies, although he is the sole witness (gossip). Most probably in the sense of condemning luxury in the building of synagogues R. Hishai, who lived in Babylonia in the 3rd cent., says, commenting on Ps 87:1:

'God loves the gates, ornamented with the 113th Psalm (play on words: the Latin of the Hebrews, and more than all the Psalms)' (On 160b); and Moses said of himself and Aaron: 'What are we among the congregation (of Israel), that we are spoken of thus: "I am a worm and no man" (Ps 22:9) (Nahum, 58a).

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It is consistent with this principle that the true Israelite who is beloved of God is in the sense of St. Paul (Ro 2:6) the spiritual Israelite, and therefore the heathen who came to Hillel to be converted, and desired to be assured that he might become high priest, was satisfied when he heard that he is the stranger who comes with his staff and wallet has the same rights as the Israelites who are called God's children (31a). Israel is beloved by God, for the Sibbidah accompanies them wherever they are exiled (Miqra'ot, 29a). A distinctly polemical idea is found in the statement of R. Jose, who says, 'God loves Israel so that they need no mediator' (Yoma, 52a), probably, an antithesis to the statement in the Gospel of John (3:14). Yet the Rabbinitic theologians considered also a miracle a proof of divine love (Rabgath, 26b; Ta'amith, 20a).

The correlative term to God's love for Israel is Israel's love for God. It is enjoined as a duty in Dt 6, and this section is the principal part of the daily morning and evening devotion, thus practically enjoining the doctrine of Jesus (Mt 22:37), which makes this the principal commandment. The injunction to love God is typical of the Deuteronomic code (5:10, 17, and often) and of the Psalms, where the pious are called lovers of God, of His salvation, or of His righteousness (51:11, 40:9, 97:11, 118:97, etc.). To those who love Him God will be good (Ex 20:24, Dt 7:14, Mal 19), and therefore Abraham (Is 41:2, 2 Ch 29) and Solomon (1 K 3) are called lovers of God, and Jehoshaphat is reproved for loving God's enemies (2 Ch 19), whom the pious must hate (Ps 109:6).

Many traditions ascribed to the Prophet on the subject of divine love go far beyond the somewhat arid and perfumy allusions in the Qur'an, but there is no reason to suppose that they are genuine. They belong to the mystical doctrine which developed under Christian influence in the 2nd cent. of Islam, and which in the course of time established itself as the guiding influence of the mystic, at the centre of Muhammadanism. The following examples are often cited by Sfin authors:

LOVE (Muhammadan).—Although in the Qur'an the veneration and wrath of Allah are more forcibly depicted than His mercy and love, many one reading the successive revelations in chronological order, as far as possible, will observe that the latter conception was gradually gaining ground from the hour when the Prophet's strength began to fail and his power to wane, in the period immediately before the Prophet's migration, all the Qur'anic references to divine love occur in those chapters which were revealed at Medina. It is likely that his settlement in a city where he could not fail to be brought into contact with Christian ideas cooperated with the happy change in his fortunes and caused him to reason, as a profound lover of Allah in a corresponding degree. Of these references, which are about thirty in number, most are brief statements that God loves various classes of men—e.g., the beneficent, the patient, those who trust in Him, light for Him, keep themselves pure, and so on—that and He does not love various other classes, such as the transgressors, the proud, and the unjust. Muhammad denies the claim of the Jews and Christians to be the children and, in a peculiar sense, the beloved of Allah (v. 21). Man's love of God is mentioned in three passages: some men take idols which they love as much as they love Allah, but the faithful love Allah more than anything else (li. 160); those who love God must follow His Prophet, then God will love and forgive them (li. 29); if any of the faithful apostatize, Allah will fill their places with men whom He loves and who love Him (v. 59).

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When God loves a man, his sins hurt him not; and one who repents is lost. But who is without sin? (Q. 'al-Salālīl, Calr. 1319 A.H., il. 50, 15).

God said: "Are they who pretend to love Me, but when they are alone love to hurt those who love Me? Lo, I am near to those whom I love, and I am the witness of their meaning and mentionation." (Q. 6, 23).

God said: "My servant draws nigh unto Me by works of devotion and I draw nigh unto them by the way of which he hears and the eye by which he sees and the tongue by which he speaks." (Q. 11, il. 165, 167; there are several versions of this tradition).

It is obvious that the doctrine of divine love will assume different forms according to the relative orthodoxy or irreligion of the epochs. We often find it linked with mysticism of an ascetic or devotional type, while in other cases it accompanies a thorough-going pantheism, or occupies various points between those extremes. The subject is exhaustively treated by Ghazali in bk. VI of his Ḥiyā (Bīlāq, 1289 A.H., iv. 280-349). Only a brief abstract can be given here, but this will suffice to show the scope and development of the doctrine as it stands forth in the most popular and authoritative encyclopedia of Muhammadan ethics.

Love (kabīb) is the natural desire for that which gives pleasure; when that desire grows intense it is called passion (qabīh). Each of the bodily organs takes pleasure in different objects. Similarly, the spiritual sense, whose organ is the heart (qālid), has a tendency to love the object by which the bodily senses are gratified. Ghazali enumerates five chief causes of love: (1) the desire of one desires to possess it so as to make it as perfect as possible. Therefore men hate death and seek wealth, children, etc. (2) Benevolence. Men love those who love them and are kind to them. (3) Disinterested love of good. Sometimes a good man is loved for his own sake, and no advantage may be derived from him. (4) Love of beauty (moral or spiritual), when the whole pleasure which it gives consists in the perception of it. (5) Spiritual charity. Ghazali then proceeds to demonstrate that all these motives have their ultimate source in God, who is the sole object of affection in perfect love, although in his God necessarily includes love of the Prophet and the saints. The strongest and rarest motive, he says, is spiritual charity. Man is called to an infinitude of spirits in respect of certain attributes, according to the tradition, "Form yourselves on the moral nature of God" (Ṭabā'fīh bī-šābīhā Allāh). He becomes near to God through his acquisition of knowledge, benevolence, compassion, and other virtues. But, underlying this, there exists between God and man a real and intimate union, of which Ghazali speaks with the utmost caution as an inscrutable mystery which is revealed to the experienced. It is indicated by the verse of the Qurān where God says that He breathed His spirit into man, by the divine command given to the angels to worship Adam, and by that tradition that God created man in His own image.

Every human sense and faculty seeks a particular end, which is a rule of action. The spiritual faculty is described by different names, e.g., reason, faith, illumination, insight—seeks to know the end, and all the objects of knowledge are only objects of knowledge; therefore knowledge of God is the highest pleasure. The gnostic (šīrīf) inevitably loves that which he knows, and his love increases in the same degree as his knowledge. Both sprin'g up together in his heart when he has pursued his object with great enthusiasm. What he loves in for perfect contemplation and perfect knowledge. The former, though, it is not attainable in the world, yet it can be enjoyed in the hereafter in vision hereafter, and perfect knowledge of the Infinite Reality can never be reached either in this world or in the next. Consequently the gnostic's longing (shagīr) is everlasting; even in the bliss of union with God he moves uncessesssibly towards an unrealizable perfection.

Having defined love as the soul's desire for that which gives it pleasure, Ghazali points out that the term is metaphorically applied to God, who wants nothing and regards nothing except His essence and His essential attributes. When it is said that God loves certain men, the intended meaning may be expressed as follows: God raises the veil from their hearts in order to show them His Godliness. Consequently, when a man tries to draw nigh unto Him, and has eternally willed that they should draw nigh by means of works of devotion, which are the steps which lead to them, and the raising of the veil from their hearts, and of their attaining to the rank of the gnostic, then, it is clear that these are acts of faith involving no change in the divine perfection, but inwardly transforming the person who is the object of them. How shall a man know that God loves him, and that God loves those who love Him? Ghazali answers this question by enumerating a list of the signs which characterize the lovers of God, since their love of God is the source of all affection. He loves those who love Him, and those who love Him in order to meet God and therefore desires death, or, if he be unwilling to die, it is because he feels that he is not yet ripe for the love of God. Good works done with a true faith do not come except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. These doctrines lead many Sūfis into a position that practically coincides with落在the same thing. If love of God stands in sharp antithesis to conventional religion, it is equally opposed to logic, philosophy, and every form of intellectual activity. Real knowledge is not come to the man who is a true workman for a hideous existence without God. Good works done with a true faith do not exist except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. Therefore the lover has no real existence without God. Good works done with a true faith do not exist except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. Therefore the lover has no real existence without God. Good works done with a true faith do not exist except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. Therefore the lover has no real existence without God. Good works done with a true faith do not exist except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. Therefore the lover has no real existence without God.
his faith, and scorns the demonstrative arguments of the theologian.

LOVE (Roman).—Nothing is more significant of the practical character and the prosaic morality of the early Roman than his attitude towards love. In the earliest known period of Roman religion, the so-called "religion of Numa," we do not find single trace of any deity connected with love. Now, inasmuch as all phases of life had their representatives in the world of the gods, the conclusion would seem to be inevitable, that while there was, of course, natural affection, there was no pronounced development of sentiment, along either moral or immoral lines. Immoral expression was checked by that extraordinary self-restraint which characterized a people who were instinctively conserving all their energies for future conflicts; and expression along moral lines was discouraged by the practical view of marriage mere as an institution for the propagation of the race.

So far as we are able to tell, therefore, we have in the case of the early Romans a people without any defined father or mother. In the accretion of Rome's development she was destined to receive a goddess who was eventually to represent in her world all that the Greeks included under the concept of Aphrodite. The goddess was known as Venus, and was, from about the 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. onwards, identified with the Greek and not Greek; and the fact that, when the Romans learned of Aphrodite, they called her by this name seems to indicate that she was known to them before Aphrodite was, and that there was sufficient resemblance between her and Aphrodite to make an identification possible. Our first task, therefore, is to find what is known about Venus in the period before Aphrodity, pp. 407 et seq. Books on all Roman religion, except a few of the most recent ones, are full of information about an Italic, a Latin, and even a very early Roman Venus. It is utterly first to examine these statements.

1. The Cult of the Italic Venus.—In general the assertion is made that in very early times there was present throughout Italy the cult of a goddess who was called Venus. But a closer examination shows that many of the facts adduced to prove this statement are of very doubtful value. (1) It has been repeatedly said that this goddess of gardens was especially worshiped in Campania, that, in other words, she is the Venus so famed at Pompeii, the Venus Pompeiana. But this is false, for the Venus Pompeiana is the Venus whom the veterans of Sulla brought to Pompeii when they were returning from the coloniae of the Colonies the Colonies, the Colonies, a combination of Venus-Aphrodite and Felicitas (see below, § 3). Her cult, therefore, does not antedate the first cent. before Christ. (2) In the light of the above among the Oscans of a goddess akin to Venus, a certain Herantae (mentioned in three Oscan inscriptions; two from Herculaneum [R. von Planta, Gramm. der oekl. und erabischen Dialekte, Strassburg, 1892, 117; id., 191]), the nearest Oscan inscription to this, R. H. (540). If one of these inscriptions Herantae has the cognomen heruitakun (= Eruca, i.e., the Aphrodite of Mount 

Eryx in Sicily). This proves, therefore, that the goddess resembled Aphrodite; it tells nothing of Venus, so far as any early Italic cult is concerned. (3) We are in a similar position regarding Frutius, for whom we have two passages; Calpurnius Frutius, cited by Solinus, i. 14, who tells us that in the country of the Laurentes Anaeus dedicated the statue of Aphrodite, which he brought from Sicily, to the 'Mother Venus who is called Frutis'; and Paulus the Excerpta from Frontinus, who says that the temple of Venus Frutis was called Frutinal. But these passages show merely that an unknown goddess Frutis was identified with Aphrodite, and again nothing is gained for the old Italic Venus. (4) There are, however, traces of a very early Venus cult at Laviniun and Ardea. Strabo (p. 252) tells us that Laviniun had a temple of Venus which was the common property of all the Latin cities (i.e., the Latin league), and that it was in charge of priests from Ardea; further, that near Ardea itself there was a shrine of Venus, which served as a meeting-place for the Latins. These statements must be taken at their full value, in spite of the fact that suspicions readily suggest themselves. It is suspicious, for instance, that Pliny ([HN liii] 50) and Pomponius Mela (i. 4) refer to a temple of Venus, an unfortunate name for an old Latin cult. Following the ordinary sound principle that on solemn occasions the Romans often made sacrifice at the mother-city, while the shrine of the priestess in the temple of the goddess was that devoted to Venus, and at such occasions the Romans were, according to the mythological books, commanded to sacrifice to Venus at Ardea (Livy, xx., i. 19). The Roman cult may well have come from Ardea, but this reference scarcely proves it, for the sacrifices of Aphrodite, according to Greek auspices, and the connexion of Ardea and Rome in the Anyss-legend is likely to suggest such an act, merely as one step in the metamorphosis of the Anyss-legend into a State dogma, which was taking place during the 3rd cent. B.C.

2. Traces in Rome of the early worship of Venus.—If we search for early traces of an Italic Venus is not very rewarding, an attempt to discover early traces in Rome itself is still less so. The three old cults of Venus ordinarily quoted are Venus Clodia, Venus Libitina, and Venus Marcia, all of them old, but not one of them originally a temple. It is any time official to make an impression with Venus, (1) Venus Clodia. Clodia was the goddess of the clona, and possessed a shrine on the north side of the Forum, near the Comitium, at a point where the Clarena Maxima entered the Forum. No ancient writer refers to her as Venus Clodia until Pliny ([HN xv] 119), and, depending on him, Servius, ad Æn. i. 720) makes Clodia a cognomen of Venus. Starting from this, a passage in Osequeius (8, from the year 178 B.C.), where he speaks of a fire in the Forum as having absolutely destroyed the temple of Venus, has been interpreted to mean a temple of Venus Clodia. This is, of course, contrary to the inscription historiques des monnaies de la republique romaine, Paris, 1857, "Massalia," 6, 7; cf. H. Dressel, Wiener Studien, xiv., [1900] 418 ff.  

(3) On the etymology of the same see Walde, p. 369.

(4) For etymology see Walde, pp. 321, 870.


(1) On the word see especially A. Walde, Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 818 ff.
and whose sacred grove on the Esquiline was the headquarters of the undertaking establishments of Rome, had originally no connection with Venus. Later she was identified with Venus, the goddess of love, and her grove was praised as the grove of Venus Libitina—a combination which never existed in the actual cult. It is easy to see two or three things which led to this: the presence eventually of a temple of Venus not far from the shrine of Libitina; the association of Aphrodite with gardens, and her cognomen ἀνεργία; lastly, Venus's own cognomen Labentinum, or Libentinum, which was taken from a garden by that name. The temple of 255 B.C. was, however, in its origin connected with Venus-Aphrodite as a goddess of love rather than of gardens, for it was built by the edile, Q. Fabius Gargens, from the fines obtained from the punishment of women taken in adultery (Liv. x. xxxix. 9). During the First Punic War the Romans became acquainted with the cult of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx in Sicily; during the Second Punic War, in the year 217, this goddess, under the name of Venus Erycina, was formally introduced into Rome at the command of the Sibylline books, and given a temple on the Capitoline. A generation later, in 181 B.C., another temple of Venus Erycina was built outside the Porta Collina. But, though Aphrodite was a goddess of gardens (Pliny, H.N. xiv. 23; cf. Plut. Aem. 62), this deity of Mount Eryx was pre-eminently a goddess of love, with a pronounced accent upon illicit love. A reaction was inevitable, and about the beginning of the Christian era the temple of Aphrodite was erected to Venus Verticordia (Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρσάκης; cf. Paus. ix. xvi. 3; L. Freiler and C. Robert, Gr. Myth., Cambridge, 1894, i. 368), who 'turns the heart back' from evil passions (cf. Val. Max. xv. 12.; Pline, H.N. vii. 120.; Solin. i. 129.). In 114 B.C. a temple was erected to this same goddess (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 183 ff.; Ov. Fast. xvi. 22) as an atonement for a prodigy which showed the anger of the gods at an account of the uncleanness of three Vestal virgins. We do not know where this temple was (Servius, ad Aen. viii. 636, wrongly places it in the valley of the Circus Maximus, confusing it with Murcia). Thus by the end of the 2nd. B.C. Rome was equipped with two forms of the worship of the goddess of love—the Venus of Mount Eryx, representing licentious love, and the Venus Verticordia, whose festivals—an accession, though this was not connected with the floral festival of the Roman calendar—were held during the last quarter of the Republic. Venus assumed three more forms. First, under the leadership of the dictator Sulla, who translated his name Felix into εὐφροσύνη and devoted himself especially to the promotion of the cult of Venus Genetrix (Aphrodite Αρσάκης), it was especially her function as a goddess of gardens that appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.

2. The coming of Aphrodite.—We do not know exactly when or how the Aphrodite-cult came into Rome—probably not at first by order of the Sibyline books. She came, however, before the Aeneas-legend, though, of course, Aphrodite and Aeneas were subsequently inseparably connected. The first datable temple is in 295 B.C., and the first official proclamation of the Aeneas-dogma by the State was in the year 282 B.C. Naturally Aphrodite was publicly known before 295 B.C., and the Aeneas-legend had been circulated privately before it was publicly proclaimed. The two oldest temples of

Venus-Aphrodite in Rome were the one in the grove of Libitina, the date of whose foundation is unknown, but was probably in the 3rd cent. B.C., and the one founded in 255 B.C. near the Circus Maximus. The dedication day of these temples was August 19th, which was also the festival of the hortiarcos, or kitchen-gardeners (Pliny, H.N. xi. 35). The temple of this goddess in Rome is confused with the temple of Venus Verticordia. At the dedication festival, a lyric poet composed a poem praising the new temple of Venus, and his work of oratory was performed in front of the temple of Venus Verticordia. This dedication festival was held under the protection of the goddess and was connected with the building of her temple. The temple was dedicated on August 19th, the same day as the dedication of the temple of Venus Verticordia, and it was also connected with the building of this temple. The festival of Venus Verticordia was held on August 19th, and it was connected with the building of her temple. Thus we have seen that, so far as we are able to tell, Rome began life without any deities of love; that her first genuine goddess of love was the goddess of gardens, with whom she was later identified with Venus Verticordia, and that the festival of Venus Verticordia was connected with the building of her temple. This goddess was associated with the cult of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx in Sicily; during the Second Punic War, in the year 217, this goddess, under the name of Venus Erycina, was formally introduced into Rome at the command of the Sibylline books, and given a temple on the Capitoline. A generation later, in 181 B.C., another temple of Venus Erycina was built outside the Porta Collina. But, though Aphrodite was a goddess of gardens (Pliny, H.N. xiv. 23; cf. Plut. Aem. 62), this deity of Mount Eryx was pre-eminently a goddess of love, with a pronounced accent upon illicit love. A reaction was inevitable, and about the beginning of the Christian era the temple of Aphrodite was erected to Venus Verticordia (Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρσάκης; cf. Paus. ix. xvi. 3; L. Freiler and C. Robert, Gr. Myth., Cambridge, 1894, i. 368), who 'turns the heart back' from evil passions (cf. Val. Max. xv. 12.; Pline, H.N. vii. 120.; Solin. i. 129.). In 114 B.C. a temple was erected to this same goddess (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 183 ff.; Ov. Fast. xvi. 22) as an atonement for a prodigy which showed the anger of the gods at an account of the uncleanness of three Vestal virgins. We do not know where this temple was (Servius, ad Aen. viii. 636, wrongly places it in the valley of the Circus Maximus, confusing it with Murcia). Thus by the end of the 2nd. B.C. Rome was equipped with two forms of the worship of the goddess of love—the Venus of Mount Eryx, representing licentious love, and the Venus Verticordia, whose festivals—an accession, though this was not connected with the floral festival of the Roman calendar—were held during the last quarter of the Republic. Venus assumed three more forms. First, under the leadership of the dictator Sulla, who translated his name Felicis into εὐφροσύνη and devoted himself especially to the promotion of the cult of Venus Genetrix (Aphrodite Αρσάκης), it was especially her function as a goddess of gardens that appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.

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Greeks Aphrodite; that even here the Greek ideas of womanly loveliness were echoed, for it is clear that a corrective was sought; and found in Venus
Verticordia; that in the last century of her Republic three of her great rulers paid homage to Venus
as their ideal prototypes; and, finally, that the example of Julius Caesar's cult of Venus
Genetrix elevated Venus into the goddess of the Imperial household during a large part of the
Imperial age. LITERATURE.—On Venus in general: G. Wissowa, Religions
und Kultur der Römer, Munich, 1912, pp. 231–239; W. W.
Pfister, Venus in the Roman Odes, Göttingen, 1881; P. E.
Aust, Rel. der Römer, Munster, 1899; J. Marchard, Röm.
Sternenkunde, ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1865, ii. 574f.; L.
(good, but out of date). In addition to the special references
given above, see, for Herentis, Wissowa, in Roscher, i. 299f;
for Odacina, Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, v. 604; H. Steud-
ing, in Roscher, i. 921; G. Gilbert, Gesch. und Topog. der
Stadt Rom im Altertum, Leipzig, 1835–36, i. 236 (to be
used with caution); for Libitina, Wissowa, in Roscher, ii.
334f.; Gilbert, i. 176; for Murech, Wissowa, in Roscher, ii.
332f.; Gilbert, i. 71.
JESSE BENEDICT CARTER

LOVE (Semitic and Egyptian).—I. Among the
primitive Semites.—No written records or oral tra-
ditions have come down to us from that remote
time when the forefathers of the several branches of the
Semitic race, together with the aboriginal people of
Central Arabia. Our knowledge of that period is derived
solely by the comparative method of research,
which assumes that common elements in the life,
thought, and language of the Semites are the
inheritance of their earliest ancestors. The
love-songs of the Babylonians, the Egyptians,
the Hebrews, and the Arabs disclose many common
features that we may hesitatingly assume to have
flared from the fountains of primitive Semitic thought.
The poems of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs in
particular have preserved the ancient type with
remarkable fidelity. For generations this poetry
was transmitted by oral tradition, but in the second,
or the third, century of Islam the songs were
collected and written out by the grammri-
arians. The most important collections are the
Hamāda, which contains 884 songs, or fragments;
the Mu'allakāt, or seven most famous poems;
the Mu′aṣṣālāt, a collection of thirty odes, the
Diuwān, or collected poems, of Labīd; and the
Kīthāt al-Aqālīm, which contains the traditions in
regard to the lives of the poets and the circum-
stances of the composition of their songs.
Love is the emotion that finds most frequent
expression in the old Arab poetry. Every ḍaṣāda,
or ode, is normally accompanied with a account of the
poet's affection for some woman and his grief at
separation from her, and continues with a descrip-
tion of the way in which he solaced himself for
her loss by war, or by adventure on his feet camel or
horse. The ḍiṭa, or fragment, the other main
type of Arabic lyric, is often merely a portion of
an ode. Where it is an independent composition,
it usually has love for its theme. The seven
Mu'allakāt are all love poems, and the 124 songs
of the fourth division of the Hamāda all treat of
this subject.

These poems show that, although Arabian society
had already passed into the patriarchal stage in
the pre-Muhammadan period, yet many traces of a
primitive matriarchal organization still survived
(s. above, p. 229). The greatest liberty existed in
the relations between the sexes; and women
were free not only to choose their husbands, but
also to receive in their tents lovers of other tribes.
During the winter the rainfall was sufficient to
come into the desert, and the climate was
mild and verdure, and to replenish the springs that dried up
in summer. Then the tribes forsook their
permanent headquarters by the perennial springs, and wandered far and wide over the plains. The clans
were brought into new temporary relations, and
their men and women, the important personal
ties become mutually acquainted. The result was
numerous inter-tribal attachments.
The poets relate how they first met their lady-loves,
and were captivated by their beauty; then how they
won her consent; and, finally, how the
example of 'Umaria while she was bathing, and would not return
them until they promised to carry his horse to
her camel. Duraid fell in love with al-Ḥāja, herself a poetess, while,
secretly clad, she was anointing a sick camel with
her oil. Under such circumstances it is unsafe
machine to say that unless the poet's heroines
were able to describe the charms of their mistresses with
as great detail to those of a favourite she-camel. Large parts
of the poems are devoted to word-pictures of the beloved
that are as circumstantial as the praise of the
faints among women in the Song of Songs. As among the modern Orientals,
loveliness and heavy perfumes are specially admired in women.
When an attachment was established, the poet made secret
visits by night to the tent of his inamorata. If she were a
maid, she went out with him into the solitude of the desert,
dragging a heavy garment behind her to obliterate the foot-
prints in the sand (Mu'allakāt of Ḥatta, 87 f.). If she
were a mother, she remained in her tent, receiving her cares
with one hand, while with the other she stilled her babe (ib. 18).
The poet protested his devotion and fidelity, and besought
her to cease coquetry, and give him her love; and, he assures
us, her entranced were not in vain. Often the lady belonged to a
hospitable tribe, and such visits were accomplished only by
stealing past the sentries at the risk of life (see Ṣ̱. 119). The
poems speak also of accounts of such women as had visited the
Imra-ḳays even boasted to 'Umaria of the number of women
that he had loved in the past (ṣ. 5, 10).

All this is accompanied by a conception of the
winter rains and the drying up of the springs and the
pasture. Then the tribes moved away to their
distant homes, and the lovers were separated. The
poet describes how he watched the tent of the beloved had stood and found it deserted. They called to
mind the happiness that they had known there, and
bitter tears, and refused to be comforted. All the poems of the
Mu'allakāt begin with this theme, and they show rare
beauty and pathos in their descriptions.

Love of family and friends also finds frequent
expression in the old Arab poetry, particularly in the
lamentation of the most numerous and most
beautiful products of the lyric art.

This passion, like all strong human emotions,
was ascribed to the direct influence of a divinity.
Possibly in the earliest times a special demon pre-
sided over love in distinction from the powers that
presided over reproduction and birth. Traces re-
main of an old Arabian god Wadd, i.e. 'love'
(see J. Weilhnisen, Bestes arabischen Heidentums,
Berlin, 1897, pp. 14–18; Ṣ̱. 62). Little is
known about his character, but he may be a
personification of love similar to other Semitic gods
such as Gil, 'joy', and Pūba, 'fear' (Ṣ̱ 91f.).
His erotic character is evident in the Nābiqha preserved by Ibn Ḥābil and cited by
Weilhnisen (p. 17):

'Farewell Wadd, for sporting with women is no longer per-
mitted us, since religion is now taken seriously' (i.e. since the
introduction of Islam).

However this may be, it is certain that, long
before the separation of the Semitic tribes, the
function of inspiring love had been assigned to
the great mother-goddess ʿAshtar, the giver of
springs and the producer of life in all realms of
the organic world. Under the varied forms that
this divinity assumed in different Semitic lands
she was everywhere the goddess of love. The
love that she inspired was not merely sexual, but
also maternal, fraternal, and sexual. In the
To depict the Send, she is occasionally mentioned
by the titles al-Lāt, 'the goddess,' and al-ʿUbba,
'the strong,' and the infrequency with which she
appears is almost certainly due to the intro-
scription of Allah ʿilā ʿAllāh. In other Semitic liter-
tures she is constantly described and invoked as
the awakener of love (see ʿAshur, vol. ii. p. 115 f.;

This goddess is the subject of the numerous
poems in their primitive matriarchal stage of social
organization. She was the analogue of the mother
matriarch, free in her love, the fruitful mother
of her clan, and its leader in peace and in war. In
her supremacy there was a potentiality of monotheism popularly felt. In the face of this, a fact of deep importance for the growth of the religion of Israel that its starting-point in primitive Semitic religion was not the delusion of nature, but the delusion of maternal love. In the cult of the mother-goddess there existed the assumption of the Prophets that God is most truly revealed in unfailing human love, and the message of the gospel that the supreme revelation of God is the perfect Fatherhood.

2. Among the Hebraic Semites. — When the matriarchal form of society gradually gave place to the patriarchal, it was no longer natural to think of the chief deity of the tribe as a mother, but rather as a father. Two things might then happen to the old mother-goddess 'Ashtar. (1) She might be degraded to the position of consort of one or more male gods. This was the step taken in Babylonia, Syria, Canaan, and most other parts of the Semitic world. It involved a surrender of the inestimable monotheism that was characteristic of primitive Semitic religion, and an adoption of polytheism. It also involved an over-simplification of the sexual element in the conception of deity. (2) 'Ashtar might change her sex and become a father-god. Thus the monothestic tendency of primitive religion was at last overwhelmed by the matriarchal element would be blended with the maternal in the conception of the tribal god. This was what happened in the case of the Semitic race, to which the tribe of Judah is the most typical example. Ancient Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Moab, 'Ashtar changed her sex and became the masculine 'Athtar (= 'Ashtar) who retained feminine characteristics (see Etrusci C. L. 118); cf. also vii. 429). Ammon and Edom also were tribes that were matriarchal and apparently had no feminine associate. Jehovah was originally a god of this sort. He was the father of His people, who united maternal characteristics with paternal, and who reigned without a consort. This is a phenomenon of great interest in the development of Hebrew monothism. By it sexual dualism, the curse of other Semitic religions, was avoided, and at the same time maternal tenderness was retained as a fundamental element in the conception of the deity.

3. Among the ancient Egyptians.—Our knowledge of love and gods of loving the Egyptians is derived from the pictures on the walls of the tombs and temples, and partly from occasional references in the elegant literature, but mainly from collections of popular love-songs. The chief of these are the London MS (Harris 500), which dates from about 1400 B.C.; the Turin MS, which dates from about 1200 B.C.; the Ghizeh ostraca, from about 1530 B.C.; and the Paris fragment, which may be a copy of an original of the Middle Empire. These were first published by C. W. Goodwin, T.S.B.A. iii. (1874) 380, and G. Maspero, J.A. 6th ser. i. (1883) 5; and in a much more correct edition and translation by W. M. Müller, Die Lyrik der antiken Aegypter. They contain true folk-poetry, free from the artificialities and tediousness of the ordinary Egyptian classical verses and of the ordinary Oriental literature, and in their simplicity and directness they make a strong appeal to modern taste and interest. The poems in these MSS show the same loose arrangement that is seen in the Hebrew Song of Songs.

The Egyptians belonged to the Hamitic stock, which was closely related to the Semitic; and from the earliest times they were mixed with influences of Semitic population. It is not surprising, therefore, that their deities existed in general and under similar names in both. The earliest times seem to have been organized matriarchially (see A. Erman, Life in Anc. Egypt, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 155), and at this time their marriage, which was a fact of deep importance for the growth of the religion of Israel that its starting-point in primitive Semitic religion was not the delusion of nature, but the delusion of maternal love. In the cult of the mother-goddess there existed the assumption of the Prophets that God is most truly revealed in unfailing human love, and the message of the gospel that the supreme revelation of God is the perfect Fatherhood.
In connexion with these poems a number of gods, such as Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefer-Atum, and Amon (ib. 18, 22), are invoked to favour one's suit; but the proper divinity of love was Pet, 'the sky,' who, under the forms of Nut, Neith, Bast, Hathor, and a variety of other local names, was the chief Egyptian goddess. She was conceived either as a celestial cow, whose belly formed the dome of the sky, or as a water-calf, with horns rearing on her brother-husband, the earth-god Keb. Under the form of Hathor, 'abode of the sun,' at Denderah she attained the greatest glory, and became one of the chief divinities of the empire. Here she was depicted as a benevolent-faced woman with the ears of a cow, or with a head-dress consisting of the horns of a cow enclosing the solar disk (see ERE vii. 439p). Since she was originally a sky-goddess, her function as love-goddess must be regarded as secondary, and as due to Semitic influence. The Semites who settled in Egypt in the earliest period found in her characteristics as mother and as cow the nearest counterpart to their own mother-goddess 'Ashtar, and accordingly attributed to her all the erotic qualities of the latter. Thus she early became the Egyptian form of the Amur-goddess, and was regarded as identical both by the Asiatic Semites and by the Egyptians. The Canaanite 'Ashtar was depicted with the attributes of Hathor, and Hathor with the attributes of 'Ashtar. During the XIXth dynasty 'Ashtar survived (1286–1072 B.C.), and received worship in Egypt under her own name, or under the epithet of Kadesh (see ERE iii. 182a, 184a).

4. Among the Hebrews.—We know that love-poetry, 'qir'a', is a name borrowed from such incidental allusions as Am 6, Is 5 29, but specimens of these compositions have as a rule been excluded from the books of the OT. Only the Song of Songs, alone, and this only to an anachronistic exegesis, has found a place in the sacred canon. This is to be regarded as a collection of folk-songs, similar to those found in modern Palestine, which were sung at weddings in the villages round about Jerusalem. As such it is an invaluable source of information in regard to the Hebrew conception of love. The collection as a whole dates from the Persian or Greek period, but its folk-songs may have a much greater antiquity. Besides these primary sources, we have numerous incidental references to love in the other books of the Bible.

The seven songs of the OT show that women enjoyed much of the freedom that existed among the primitive Semites and the Egyptians. They dared to love even before they had been wooed (1 S 18, 22), and they were allowed to express their choice in marriage (Gen 24:24). In the Song of Songs the woman is fully as ardent as the man. The same passionate intensity that existed among the primitive Semites was found also among the Hebrews. The Song of Songs bears a close resemblance to the love-poetry of the ancient Arabs and of the Egyptians. It describes the physical charms of the beloved with the same sensuous detail (e.g. 4:10–12, 17–19, 20–22). The beauty of the beloved is invested with an air of authority by the honours and titles that are assigned to her. She is called 'queen of flowers,' 'a beautiful young lady,' 'a woman of beauty,' 'a woman of name,' and is endowed with the appellation of 'lovely.' The love-couplet shows also numerous cases of strong paternal love (Gen 25:1–37, 2 S 12:27–18:2), and the love of David and Jonathan stands out conspicuously as the most perfect friendship in all literature (1 S 18, 29, 2 S 13).

With all these forms of love Jahweh, the God of Israel, was closely connected in the early Hebrew consciousness. There is strong evidence that He was originally the tribal god of the folk who dwelt at Mount Sinai, and that He was the God of Israel through the works of Moses. Among the Kenites He can have had no consort, for otherwise she would have been adopted by Israel at the time of the conquest of Canaan, but in the old Hebrew religion we find no trace of any such goddess. Jahweh must, accordingly, have belonged to the class of Semitic gods that have been considered above (2), namely, mother-goddesses that were transformed into father-gods in consequence of the transition from the patriarchal to the patriarchal form of society. As such He united with paternal characteristics all the maternal characteristics of the ancient Semitic chief goddess 'Ashitar. (1) He was a god who manifested Himself in life-giving springs (ERE ii. 282p, 285p). (2) He was regarded as identical both by the Asiatic Semites and by the Egyptians. The Canaanite 'Ashtar was depicted with the attributes of Hathor, and Hathor with the attributes of 'Ashtar. During the XIXth dynasty 'Ashtar survived (1286–1072 B.C.), and received worship in Egypt under her own name, or under the epithet of Kadesh (see ERE iii. 182a, 184a).

(3) He was the creator of animals; the Passover was celebrated in acknowledgment of His gift of the young of the flock, though these were still known as 'Abode of the god' (Gen 30:22). He was also invested with sexual love; circumcision, a primitive Semitic rite of preparation for marriage, was the special badge of loyalty to Him (Ex 42, Gn 34). In sacrificing to Him the Hebrews were reminded of the love which He displayed over sexual love; circumcision, according to the Semitic etymology of His name, is that which is in effect 'a living reproduction of His thigh' (Gen 4:24). The 'ashera, the symbol of the mother-goddess, stood originally beside His altar (2 K 13:16, 21, 23). The 'qadhesh, the name of a goddess, was the word used for 'abode of the god.' The man with the word was the goddess, and the woman with the word was the god of love. The account of the marriage, the love of the young wife, was never lost in the later development of the religious of Israel.

The message of Moses, that Jahweh, the God of Israel, was the creator of animals, shows the eternal love of the god to the children of Israel, and that He had chosen to be the father of Israel. The reference to the love of the god towards the children of Israel is found in 'Ashtar-Ishar see ERE ii. 125f., vii. 429–431. These facts seem to show that the Kenite Jahweh was the old Semitic goddess of love and fertility who had been transformed into a father. The love of the god towards the children of Israel was not wholly lost in the later development of the religious of Israel.
forth the redeeming love of Jahweh in the deliverance from Egypt and in the gift of the land of Canaan became the keynote of the religion of Israel. From His people He demanded exclusive worship and a love for Him like His love for them. As early as the Song of Deborah His worshippers are called His 'lovers' (Jg 5:4). It is clear also that from the first Jahweh demanded a kindness to fellow-Israelites similar to that which He had shown when He delivered them from bondage. Thus for Israel Jahweh became the God of love in an ethical sense that had not yet appeared in any other Semitic religion.

After the conquest of Canaan Israel was confronted with the problem of the relation of Jahweh to the gods of Canaan. This problem was solved by the identification of Jahweh with the b'\text{\textit{alim}} and other male divinities of the land, so that their sanctuaries and rites became His, and they ceased to exist by being absorbed into Him (1Es 11:391). With 'Ashhtar, 'Anath, and other goddesses the case was different. They could not be identified with Him, and He had no consort with whom they could be combined; consequently they remained His rivals with whom He waged war to the death. In all the pre-Exilic literature Jahweh is never once said to have participated in this war, but it is certain one of His primitive functions, apparently because this was regarded as the work of His rival 'Ashhtar. Everything connected with the sexual life of Israel is rendered 'tabu', that is, 'taboo' from participating in the worship of Jahweh, because of the association with the hated mother-goddess; yet, with curious inconsistency, Jahweh was still regarded as the giver of children.

In the Prophets from Hosea onwards the moral love of Jahweh that had appeared already in the Mosaic religion received fresh emphasis. In his love for his wife Hosea saw 'the beginning of Jahweh's speaking' unto him (Hos 1:2). When she forsook him for her lovers and plunged into the depths of degradation, he found that he could not give her up, and, when the opportunity came to return her to her father, and bring her back to his home, he eagerly embraced it (3:2). Through this experience of unselfish love in himself he received his vision of the love of Jahweh for Israel. Jahweh had taken Israel as His bride at the time of the Exodus and had loved her ever since with unflinching fidelity; she had forsaken Him for the b'\text{\textit{alim}} of Canaan, yet He could not give her up. He must send her into exile to reform her, yet He would not abandon her. This message of Hosea is echoed by all the other pre-Exilic prophets, and finds its noblest expression in the words of Jer 31, 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love, and with tender mercy hast thou loveth me.' The recognition that in unselfish human love the truest revelation of the character of God is found.

In return for His love Jahweh demanded the univocal love of Israel. This teaching found its classical expression in Dt 6, 'Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.' The recognition of Jahweh's love for Israel carried with it a demand to return in kind love for Israelite's treatment of fellow-Israelites. This thought runs through all the pre-Exilic prophets, and is finally summed up by the Holiness Code (c. 800 B.C.) in the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour (i.e. fellow-Israelite) as thyself' (Lv 19:18). Even the alien residing in Israel was to be treated kindly (Dt 10:19, Lv 19:34), but the extension of this love to the Gentiles was not yet imagined (Dt 14:19-15, Lv 25:44). The interpretation of Jahweh's love in the terms of wedded love reacted also upon the conception of marriage. In the post-Exilic period monogamy became the rule, prostitution was condemned, and men were urged to cleave their fidelity to their youth (Pr 5:19-20). This higher ideal of marriage is nobly expressed in Ca 5:1: 'Love is as strong as death, passion as inattainable as Sheol. The flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of Jahweh. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it. If a man should give all his possessions in exchange for his lover, he would not sell her for all his possessions, because his love is regarded as more precious than all worldly possessions, and as a flame kindled by Jahweh Himself in the soul. An utterance of such purity and profundity concerning love is not found in the whole range of classical letters of the west.

Jesus took up the prophetical conception of the love of God for Israel, and clarified and intensified it by teaching that love was not merely an attribute, but the very essence of the divine nature. The Prophets said, 'God has love'; Jesus taught, 'God is love' (1Jn 4:8). He also declared the universality of God's love, which had not yet been grasped by the Prophets (Jn 3:16). He reaffirmed the old commandments, 'Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thy heart,' and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and gave them new emphasis. His juxtaposition of them, through which love to man became the supreme expression of love to God, and by His new interpretation of 'neighbour' as meaning every fellow-man (Mk 12:30, Lk 10:28). He recognized that the Israelite's love to his fellowman's love to God to and to man were perfectly manifested, and therefore He proclaimed Himself as the supreme revealer of God and the reconciler between God and man.

See, further, 'Jewish' section above.


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whose claim on his allegiance be, as a true man, admits. Furthermore, in the natural exercise of his quality, the loyal man applies it to all persons and groups of persons in whom he recognizes any claim of bounden duty or faithful service.

But not only is the range of application wide; the claim for loyal service goes very deep; it is the service of those who desire to serve, and to do so up to the limit of their ability. The law is to lay within them, written on their hearts, as the Scripture says, and incorporate in their will. The whole of Ps 119 is, indeed, an expression of the loyalist spirit in application to the Divine law. The devotion expressed by this loyalist in religion is entire; the Divine law is conceived as not perfectly apprehended by him, but he sets no limit to his desire to fulfill it to the end. It is by this note of unlimited purpose, upheld by faith and chastened by humility, that the loyalty of the Psalmist stands out in contrast to the spirit of precise legality, limited by the letter of the law and its tradition, that marked certain developments of a later era. This distinction between the loyalist and the legalist may be found in all times and all places. It applies to allegiance of every kind, whether in the matter of thought, or to human ordinance by ancient tradition, modern statute, authoritative utterance of prophet or king, the word of a leader, the rule of a communal organization. This is the loyalist spirit. It requires that the law is told, breaks no rules; he keeps faith to the word that is written and can be read. There is the loyalist who does this but can by the nature of his spirit be counted on for more, who puts his whole mind into his duty, who forms his spirit in accordance with the spirit of the purpose to be served.

Loyalty, then, may be defined as the quality of character which is free from all genuine service to the appointed person or the appointed cause. Thus the perfectly loyal person is certain to obey, to serve, despite all obstacles, at all costs, to the best of his ability, to those he regards as the best of his abilities. He who bears himself so is loyal, in the sense of obedience implied, that he uses all means to make himself efficient in knowledge and skill and in understanding the requirements laid upon him. The perfect loyalist of story corresponds to this description. Of a loyalist known carrying out his instructions— which are his loi—with zealous care to undertake them so that, by fulfilling them in the spirit as well as in the letter, he may, if the law demands, also, even should the letter fail. He has to be intelligent, alert, resourceful—not merely obedient to precise instructions given—and these qualities he needs the more in proportion to the importance and difficulty of his task. It follows that the development of perfect loyalty throughout a company requires that the duties should be accurately apportioned in accordance with the abilities of each member. It requires also that opportunities for the training and exercise of latent abilities should be given to all. This ideal does, in fact, appear, both in pagan heroic story and in medieval romance, as characterizing bands of pre-Christian heroes and bands of Christian knights.1 The unwritten law—not mere personal law, but a pact of comradeship—that bound the Round Table knights to pursue and to defend the law above all, is a notable case in point. The two chief cycles of Irish Gaelic story are noteworthy also in this connection. Later comes the age of chivalry with its blemish of bounden duty, and yet its law above all, universal in scope. The two chief cycles of Irish Gaelic story are noteworthy also in this connection. Later comes the age of chivalry with its law above all, universal in scope.

2. Loyalty and fealty. — 'Fealty,' from Latin fidelitas, 'faithfulness,' has an equivalent in all the Romance languages, and so has 'loyalty.' But loyalty was neither of these. English adopts the French loyal to mean 'law-fulfilling' in the sense of the Sermon on the Mount, and distinguishes it from 'lawful,' or 'legal,' which means allowable, and from 'law-abiding;' which connotes submission to the law, the passive quality of the orderly citizen. German translates by specialization and slight change of significance, using such words as 'Mannigfaltigkeit und Juriste' (ordinance and coordinate) and Vaterlandstreue (fidelity to the Fatherland) the quality, of course, exists in many diverse applications, and, though fidelity or fealty is not identical with loyalty, the one characteristic is apt to be accompanied by the other. Loyalty connotes a certain specialization of good faith and faithfulness towards the person, principle, ideal, or covenant in respect of which it is expressed; it lays stress on this obligation of specialized fidelity rather than on any wider duty of humane comradeship and general goodwill. Nevertheless, there is close affinity between these qualities, the deeper motives of which are widely overlapped. The good comrade who, in time of danger or trouble, takes up his responsibilities with settled mind and faithfulness sustains them is apt for loyal service wherever his allegiance is to a higher cause, however conceived, or to human ordinance by ancient tradition, modern statute, authoritative utterance of prophet or king, the word of a leader, the rule of a communal organization. This is the loyalist spirit. It requires that the law is told, breaks no rules; he keeps faith to the word that is written and can be read. There is the loyalist who does this but can by the nature of his spirit be counted on for more, who puts his whole mind into his duty, who forms his spirit in accordance with the spirit of the purpose to be served.

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3. Personal honour expressed in devotion to social ends. — The free development of fealty by self-discipline to social ends, formalized in the particular case, may be studied in the literature of chivalry and romance. The practice of knighthood, however, is much older and pre-Christian; and, as far as records go, it was sincerity and loyalty that were main dramatic motives in all these.

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childhood is educated carefully in all manly accomplishments, and in all social courtesies, including respect for women, children, and grey hairs. He emerges from his tutelage free, companionable, and courteous, a strong individual. But this is not all. Not the least important part of his education is the contribution which he makes to the formation of his character by laying bonds or obligations (in the Gaelic geis) on himself that he will never refuse assistance to a woman frequently occurs, and may supply occasion for the turning-point of the story. Others are of the nature of obligations to a king, leader, or comrade, or to all the members of a band. King Arthur and his Round Table come to mind, or, for those who know Gaelic story, Fionn and the band of heroes whose story has been a fund of moral instruction for western Irish children to this day. Some stories turn on a conflict of two loyalties, each claiming dominion over the loyal soul. The discussion of such difficult situations, however, is not in terms of loyalty, but in terms of keeping faith; in a certain typical case where the vows appear to be of equal weight the decision is given on grounds of common sense quite modern in complexion, whether exerted with or without effect.

This practice of self-made vows in the social interest has, no doubt, been a principal factor of moral education, in its best form of self-discipline for each individual, and in the formation of the moral character of the West of Europe, where mild forms of government by loose tribal organization of free men prevailed. Faith to a self-made vow covers all cases of voluntary allegiance, and so, as the feudal system was estabished, the man of the West of Europe understood himself instinctively of this free man's social virtue by the institution of the oath of fealty from the feudal subordinate to his over-lord. At this point loyalty emerges; fealty and respect for authority maintain each the other and are fused. Fealty, however, is not exhausted in the compound. It remains as the quality of faith to the pledge once given, the central virtue of the self-respecting hero who cannot be false to his word. Carried to the point of fulminating in spirit, rather than merely in letter, this implies not being false to the reasonable expectations involved in mental understanding towards his fellows and himself. The ideal of the self-made man signifies all this. Such a one is 'loyal,' or 'leet,' so far as his conduct goes, but in his motive he is primarily 'feal.' It may be that only he himself is aware of the motive of his action; he cannot doubt the motives are mixed, but it seems probable that in many, or indeed most, cases either one or the other is the backbone of the composite characteristic. If so, it is important that in the education of each person sufficient demand should be made on the leading trait to evoke it strongly, and sufficient social opportunity given to direct its practical expression in terms of the other—the faithful soul realizing itself in service to others, the loyal spirit fulfilling its service by self-reliant intelligence and steadfast faith.

A Political LoyaltyPatriotic loyalty is an object in feudal and modern times. Loyalty connotes attachment to some definite authority which has a right to be served. The growth of the feudal system in Europe was favourable to the special personal turn which its application took. The political problem was the organization of many small groups into one large inclusive group, or nation, especially for purposes of defence against some common foe. The national sentiment was conceived and expressed largely in the series of loyalties from man to master that bound each to his feudal superior, from the lowest vassal upwards to the supreme over-lord or king. Each primary group was sufficiently small, and grouped round a leader sufficiently well known, to bring out men's natural instincts to follow their chief, to cleave to him truly, to give him allegiance, acclaim him lord, and be his men. This loyalty of the most picturesque and primitive type, rooted, moreover, in a high mood to which religious enthusiasm is akin. What the man was to the lord, the lord was to his over-lord, and so the national system was linked up unit by unit into the composite over-lordship of the king. The system of loyalties, as signified in this actual system of political allegiances, would in the perfect State have likewise been linked up, all loyalty centring in the king. When the kings of France succeeded in making all the under-feudatories take the oath direct to the king, they established themselves as the centre beyond all doubt. Under absolute personal government the king stands for le roi; his will—bound more or less by his coronal oath—is the standard and subject-matter of service due; his under-lords are subordinates commissioned to use their subordinates as his servants in so far as he may require.

The reality, to be sure, was never so systematic, and bred many other qualities, bad and good, besides its medium of high-toned loyalty. It is, however, certain that no system by such a system was not by encouragement given to so useful a quality. Thus the situation was favourable to much praise of loyalty as a prime virtue in the mouths of the upper classes and in the mouths of their dependents—poets and men of letters generally, lawyers and all who had to do with the executive government, whether on the national or on the local scale. The loyalty of the feudalism declined, or was broken up, the source of authority gradually defined itself anew as duplex in form: (1) the king administering the realm in accordance with the law, and (2) Parliament, i.e. the Diet of the nation, Lords and Commons, wielding sole power by joint action with the king to change the law. The Lords were, in the first instance, the true peers of the king—the displaced feudal lords—and the old sentiment of feudal loyalty continued for long to be expected more or less by them and conceded less or more. As local magnates of one sort or another, they have in this country had a prolonged and honourable reign. In France they disappeared entirely and politically, as did the king himself, at the Revolution, and as later did the pseudo-king or emperor in 1870. England is still in process of change as regards the sentiment of the rural and the town; but certainly it is no longer necessary to consider loyalty as a sentiment greatly affecting the relations between ordinary people and the Parliamentary peers who are lords of the soil. No historic sentiment of the kind attaches personally to the elect of the people in the House of Commons. Each commands the loyalty of his own supporters in his own constituency, so long as he and they are in general agreement on political issues. But he is not in any sense la lait to them, except in so far as he adopts, and with sufficient ability expounds, those principles of national policy which are common to them and him. The feeling to which the expression of fealty—not the maximum of fealty—but of loyalty; they support him so long as he continues to support that policy with which they continue to agree. Personal loyalties, of course, endure, but they are not in the nature of the case. There is a very real loyalty, however, to 'the party' as a whole—either party—and to the leader of the party, also, more especially when he is a strong and attractive figure satisfyingly to the moral sense, arresting to the imagination, strong and of a good courage.

But for the civilized world of Europe in general little importance in the first instance attached to
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Parliament in any form as an object of loyalty. The king and the law emerge from the feudal system as claimants by moral right on the service of men. The sphere of service to which loyalty properly belongs implies the sphere of duties and restrictions enforced under fear of punishment. Loyal service to the king included, as of course, loyal obedience to the law; but loyalty, no doubt, was more consciously directed to the king and to courts than to the law, though courts were advanced to personal devotion. The Bourbons in France and the Stuarts in England assumed themselves to be kings by Divine right after the manner of the Roman emperors—in effect, claimed all loyalty, and from many obtained it, as due to the king. The revolt in England took its stand on the law as binding on the will of kings, and claimed restitution of the powers as rights guaranted by ancient charter. The English Revolution of the 17th cent. was, in effect, not a revolution but a restoration of the ancient constitution, cleared, however, of feudal complications, the great Whig families standing with the common people, and the Royalists, who more especially esteemed themselves as loyalists, with the defeated dynasty. In due course there emerged two widely different systems and gallant endeavour on the one hand, and conflicting ways of the court de facto on the other, the British Constitution—or rather its first edition—with all its 20th cent. characteristics latent, and sure to develop as the king lived.

Here it is, a sufficiently complex object of loyal regard:

(1) The law of the land as the one authority which all must obey; and all commands by persons in office must be in accordance with it.
(2) King, Lords, and Commons making one Parliament; and these three only, and by consent of each, can change that law, order taxation, or decree the appropriation of the revenue to the purposes of Government.
(3) The king and his ministers, by whose advice all his decrees are made, whom he appoints by the established custom of the constitution from the leaders of the political party which commands a majority in the House of Commons; the maintenance of this power is guaranteed by the Commons on the Power of the Purse.1

So there emerged slowly in England the modern State, which has emerged elsewhere more suddenly and with less of the attractive complexity of detail which links it with its own historic past. This is what stands for le loi to the modern Englishman. As an object of loyalty it has advantages over some other examples of the 'Mixed State.' Not only is the British Constitution built as it is in order to preserve intact the ancient liberties of the people which had been lost, but affords, by the very act of maintaining them, it is apt, therefore, to excite a high degree of enthusiasm in the minds of all those who care about history, all those who lay store by the liberties of the people and the powers of the House of Commons. To them the members of that House, and especially the two front benches, whichever party is in power, constitute the political aristocracy, in the fine Platonic sense. If they are loyal citizens, they will be loyal in the full sense to their own front bench, and law-abiding to the other front bench if it happens to be in power. In stormy times, when great principles, on one or other or both sides, are at stake, the adherents of the party likely to be defeated steady their minds to bear the shock by a very real loyalty, pitched finely in the more abstract point of view to the Crown and Constitution, whatever betide. This link is an efficient and practically upheld by the consciousness of historic continuity throughout all changes, each having been effected by self-evolution within the Constitution itself; the King's prerogatives that have come under the power of Commons have done so by the King's consent; the House of Lords, too, in 1911, submitted to the limitation of its veto.

5. Grades and modes of loyal sentiment in modern life.—Among persons outside the large circle who take part in public life, the sentiment of political loyalty is probably in many cases practically non-existent, or at least very shallow, except, indeed, when roused by some real or imaginary national danger. This, no doubt, is the reason why some newspapers bristle with intimations of national danger when, a general election being at hand, it seems necessary to awaken the latent patriotism of voters. Of the others—the great majority, it may be hoped—there are those to whom the ideal of the nation to be served, in some small way or other as one can, makes a constant appeal as steady as that of his lord to the devoted henchman. For some this social service lies entirely outside the sphere of State control; for others it consists in service under, or cooperation with, the State. In all cases it is better done by those who interest themselves in the public administration as it is related to their work, so that they may use it to better effect by working loyally with it. State Insurance, Old Age Pensions, and similar legislation for children are cases in point; voluntary workers disposed to loyal co-operation can do much. No form of loyalty is more honourable than this.

6. Loyalty in the public services.—Persons who are in the service of the State are, of course, the servants of the Executive. Efficient service according to agreement, and reticence in confidential relations, and abstinence from public comment on the policy either of the ministry they serve or of the opposition they may have to serve—these make up the obvious minimum of their bound duties. To reach the maximum that are needed: (1) zeal in the service because it is the service, and (2) self-identification with the instructions under which they work, or loyal adherence to the leader under whom they serve. Under adverse circumstances

1 Since the battle of the Constitution had been fought to a large extent on the people's claim to be taxed only by their own consent, and all powers of taxation were concentrated in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the Power of the Purse should be stoutly claimed and rigorously retained by the Commons; and this it is, followed, by the logic of events, that no ministry could remain in power that did not command the confidence of the Lower House.
these conditions may fail to be possible in whole or part; in that case the loyal temper still shows itself by putting the best face upon the matter and keeping silent.

It is in the military and naval services more particularly that the idea of service, as to the king direct, counts for most. Here we are back to primitive requirements. The soldier is under bond to risk life and limb—respectfully, and respecting this word is vital to his character—respect without limits—and this, in the last resort, is self-devotion unto death. The good soldier's loyalty, no doubt, is often fealty pure and simple, as, e.g., it certainly is when he has naturally no sentimental tie to the service in which he finds himself. Normally, however, we may take it to be a compound mixed in various proportions, into which enter loyal attachments to his sovereign, his country, his leader, his comrades, and the flag he follows, the last being a symbol of all these things and of his own self-respect as bound to stand or fall by them.

7. Problems arising from the complexity of the modern State.—Casual reference has been made above to non-political loyalty as between friends of a voluntary group or a natural social order. Clearly this is not the primary application of the word, but the tendency to use it in this, rather than in the political, is becoming. This is due, no doubt, to that confusion of ideas as to the political object of loyalty consequent on the complexity of the modern State. Angry politics are apt to use the word 'disloyal' rashly to denote persons who differ from themselves as to the right balance of power in the State and the focus, consequently, of right loyalty. Thus claims have sometimes been made in the name of loyalty to right of attack on the lawfully constituted State, as, e.g., in the case of constitutional reform to which a minority strongly objects. This implies confusion of ideas between the State in some special sense—e.g., apart from the principle of development which it contains—and the State as it is, including its provision of a sovereign authority empowered by law and precedent to make changes in all things, including itself. A somewhat wilful confusion of ideas to the opposite effect is also possible between hostility to the personal and policy of the ministry of the day, which is the normal motive-force that sways the political pendulum, and the question of government which might happen to be led by that ministry, and the majority of which takes responsibility for its doings. The complex character of the modern State lends itself to such confusion of feeling in times of stress and change. Every attempt at large reform divides the citizens into two camps, each vowing loyalty to its own ideal of the State in some particular. This is partly loyalty, which is quite consistent, as the inner circles fully understand, with perfect loyalty to the actual State as by law established—that self-conserving, self-developing organization of King, Lords, and Commons with which we are all familiar. An attractive focus for the loyal sentiment of the simple or careless citizen, who makes no attempt to join issue in the political dialectic, is provided by the presence in the trio of the hereditary monarch in his uplifted place, holding his supreme veto to be used only on the side of the majority in the House of Commons, subject to the delaying powers of the House of Lords. The number of persons in Britain whose sole effective loyalty centres in attachment to the Crown is probably large; it counts doubtless for much also in the British colonies.

8. The focus of loyalty in republican nations.—In republican States this focus is supplied—as far as it is supplied at all—by a more vivid consciousness of the organized nation as a self-governing whole, the ark of whose covenant is the Constitution. The ideal of the republic as the lode-star of loyal sentiment is highly developed in France. The French mind has perhaps a natural genius for the concrete ideal, as indeed is perhaps implied by its tour of speculation on the subject, respect for thought—by means of generic terms that fire the imagination. In the United States of America loyal affection is rather to the composite nation in reference to all its interests, and this is the basis of its own—a wonderful 'Union' of diverse elements, run by a carefully planned political machine, which would do its work much better if all the citizens in every section were more enthusiastic in serving it according to their lights. The idea of the Republic as an organization of free citizens for purposes of self-government seems to have lost for a time something of its pristine freshness and attractive force. At any rate, it is of the United States rather than of the United States Republic that many Americans think as the focus of their political loyalty. This much may be said in their defence, but, of course, in all cases the ultimate end of the political art, and the final object, therefore, of that sentiment which reverses as its proximate end the national institution.

9. The ideal of loyalty.—To be loyal is to be much more than law-abiding. Whether the object be a person to whom we owe duty or affection, the community of persons to which we belong, the institutions under which we live, the service to which we are pledged, or the law—human or divine—by which we ought to regulate our conduct, the loyal man is distinguished from the law-abiding man as one who serves with his whole heart and mind, making of himself a veritable organ of expression for the purpose, or the master, or the mandate, under which he serves. No voluntary sins of commission, omission, or明明ance does he permit himself. We realize him at his time of special effort in a passion of service, every faculty awake and urgent to achieve his end. And in the intervals of passivity his mind is clear and steady—stayed, as it were, on his whole nature as a rock. Self-training to this effect in any school of wholesome service must work like a leaven on character as a whole. Even under questions of judgment which do not happen, as far, as all experience of public service shows, to make a man. But it must be remembered that, without either a morally attractive cause or wise and sympathetic leadership, the loyal sentiment which is the motive of self-training is not adequately evoked. History and literature abound in examples. Three lines of thought, independent of each other and contrasted, may be distinguished in their logical order here. (a) The heroic romance of Western Europe, developing through the centuries from its original sources in Classic lore, deals largely in loyalties within the smaller social sphere, intimate, personal, and glorified by affection. Patrioticy loyal in this dawn of the civilized world has little to do with government, but is steeped in a vivid idealism; the race-life and the home-land are seen as of infinite value, objects in effect of religious faith, worthy of devotion through the obscurity of the moment. The effect is the primitive loyalties—to kindred, friendship, race, and land. Nor is the spirit which forms them dead; it does not die so long as a race either vaguely or clearly believes in itself as having a part of some high in the fulfillment of human
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destiny. This is why the history of any nation true to itself is capable of being treated as the development of an ideal implicit from the first.

(b) For the ideal of personal virtue relative to civic institutions, and for the fundamental theory of the State in the post-Exilic, we go back to the Greeks, and specially to Plato in The Republic and The Law. It is his conception of the individual soul in relation to the State that concerns us here. Plato, in his State, as he teaches, should be built up within the soul. Thus—wielding his thought to our inquiry—we may say that the soul of the loyal citizen is trained, or trains itself, into accordance with the ideals realized in the constitution of the State. Thus he exceeds the law-abiding, and is the loyal, man. Further, it is implied in Plato's thought that all those who have political power the loyal ones are they who cultivate their philosophic attitude to perfect the ideal of the State in the soul, in order that they may labour to develop the organization of the real State and bring it into harmony with the ideal.

This obviously is what the sincere modern statesman does, or thinks he is doing. It is a necessary part of his loyalty that he should spare no effort in its promotion. Moreover, in the modern self-governing State, every enfranchised citizen shares this duty.

(c) Finally, we find in post-Exilic Judaism the same spirit of exactitude as to the law—allegiance to the law embodied in a written code that he who breaks may read. The Davidic monarchy had come to an end; the high priest held the supreme office as chief ruler in the little theocratic State. But from the time that Ezra had read in the ears of the people all the words of the book of the law which he had brought from Babylon, the Jew who was faithful and pious felt that the law was above the priesthood and that he was to obey it and understand it for himself. Externally the Jewish people had many masters after this; internally—in his own mind—each pious Jew spent all his loyal sentiment on the law of his God. This was no short commandment, but the whole law, dealing with conduct in all social relations and with ceremonial ordinances in considerable detail. The Jew who obeyed the law was, in quiet times—except for taxation—to all intents and purposes a free man. The ideal of his State in its essentials was built up in the mind of the properly instructed Jew; if a professing Jew, he obeyed, whether grudgingly, willingly, or loyally, i.e. with his whole heart and soul, according to and to obey more perfectly. In that perfect and inward obedience his freedom was realized, though it was not his quest. The Psalms and the Prophets abound in expressions of this loyalist spirit applied to the Supreme Law:

* Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes; And I will keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law. Yes, I shall observe it with my whole heart." (Ps. 119:13-16).

So runs the Psalmist's typical prayer, and it continues in the same strain, asking for help to go in the path, to incline his heart aright, to turn away from vanity, to establish God's word unto His servant. In NT times, we find in the elaboration of the latter-day Pharisees prevailed, the great Master Teacher set over against it the true doctrine of loyal observance, the fulfillment of the law by being the kind of person who expresses its purpose naturally in all his acts. "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill" (Mt. 5:17).

A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth that which is good (Lk. 6:45). And later, St. Paul, following the same line of

* "The law of thy God which is in thine hand; it is called in the decrees of the great king Antæsusius (Lær 7:14)."

thought, attains to the vision of the 'liberty of the sons of God' (Ro. 8:23). Thus the cycle of reason on the highest as on all lower planes is complete, from the free man's faith through loyalty to the higher liberty of devoted service to the ideal in his soul.

LITERATURE.—Little of note appears to have been written dealing directly with this subject. (a) It enters into the history of the development of the State more especially as a serviceable motive-force in the medieval growth of the legal system: see Cambridge Medieval History, ii. (1913), ch. xx., Foundations of Christian Society (Origins of the Middle Ages), by F. W. Carruthers, Chivalry, London, 1911; Essay on Romance and Chivalry, do. 1870, containing extracts from Hallam and Sir Walter Scott, are also interesting. (b) The primitive ideal of heroic character to which the political virtue corresponding may be traced in Celtic and Teutonic States and in their later developments, (c) under the influence of medieval chivalry, and (d) in recent years. Sufficient exemplification will be found in Velazquez Sagas and Grettir the Strong, tr. E. Magnusson and W. Morris, Three Northern Love Stories, London, 1879; E. Hult, Chivalrie, the Hound of Ulder, do. 1913; T. Wolleston, The High Deeds of Finn, do. 1910; T. Malory, Morte d'Arthur, ed. do. 1894, and its primitive prototype, the Welsh Mabinogion, tr. Lady Charlotte Guest, do. 1877.

S. BRYANT.

LOYOLA.—St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits (n. v.), was the youngest of the eight sons of Don Beltrán de Yáñez de Oñez y Loyola. The name Lopez was also borne by the boy, and some time between 12-16, he changed it to Loyola. It is often designated (so, e.g., in AS and in the British Museum Catalogue) as a simple blunder, due originally to the carelessness of an anotary. He was born in the house, or cortijo, of Loyola, in the Province of Guipuzcoa. The year of his birth is disputed. Astrain (Hist. de la Compañía de Jesús, i. 3 ff.), the best modern authority, assigns it to 1491, but others have thought 1495 more probable (cf. Tau's Centurii, in Christi Life and Death, July 1900). The name Ignatius, by which Loyola is now generally known, was not that which he himself used in his youth. Down to 1537 Inigo (not, however, Inigo in the modern mode of speaking, or the proper expression of the inviable signature, but he then began to use sometimes Ignacio, sometimes Inigo, and after 1542 Inigo hardly occurs at all. It seems certain, though early biographers intent on embellishment have glossed over the fact, that the future ascetic passed an unbridled youth, following the course which was then almost inevitable for all who adopted the career of arms (Ascanio, l. 12-16). But at the siege of Pampeluma in 1521 he was dangerously wounded by a cannon-ball, and in a long convalescence which followed he gave himself up to reading the lives of Christ and the Saints, with the result that, after many years and much conflict, he decided to make a complete change in his own way of living. As soon as he was able to travel, he journeyed to the monastery of Monseñor, made a very devout profession, and, after a sort of vigil of arms, divested himself of his knightly attire and went forth to beg his bread. He then took refuge for nearly a year in a cavern near Manresa. The life that he led in this retreat was one of terrible self-maceration, marked by tempestuous inward trials of which he has left a relatively full account in the autobiography. It was during his stay at Manresa that he drew up, at least the broad lines of, his most celebrated work, the manual of ascetical discipline so widely famed under the name of the Book of the Spiritual Exercises. There seems no reason to claim such originality for this system of spiritual training as to exclude the influence of earlier ascetical writers like Garcia de Cineros of Monseñor (see J. M. Besse, in Revue des questions historiques, i. (Paris, 1897) 22-91) and especially Gerard de Zurqien and Johannes Maria Vermonius, brother of Ignatius, of the famous book of (The Life; but, as Watrington has shown, the combination of these materials into one instrument employed for a clearly recognized and uniformly consistent purpose is entirely the work of Ignatius,
and bears the imprint of his eminently practical mind.

It must always be remembered that the Spiritual Exercises is not a book intended merely for reading and reflection, but a manual of training to be put into practice. In particular, it differs from such a work as A Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and it would be as vain to expect literary graces in the Exercises as in a proposition of Euclid. After some preliminary considerations, from the mind of man, the exerctant is directed, during a week or ten days and always under the advice of a competent spiritual guide, to occupy his mind with the recollection of his past sins and of the punishment which they have deserved, and to cultivate a sense of shame and sorrow, bringing external adjuncts to bear to deepen the impression—e.g., by depriving himself of light, warmth, unnecessary food, and all intercourse with his fellows. After this preliminary discipline, he is introduced to the study of the life of Jesus Christ, who is set before him in two powerful military parables as a chieftain appealing for volunteers to aid Him in the task of reconquering the world from the dominion of sin and the devil. It is easy to see that Loyola's thought had been powerfully influenced by the still vivid remembrance of the struggle to free Spain from the yoke of the infidel. The meditations of this "second week" of the Exercises are intended to occupy another ten days. By this time it is assumed that the well-disposed exerctant will have been brought to the point of resolution to leave all things and follow Christ if God should make it plain that He was calling him to a life of humiliation and self-sacrifice. A formal election of a state of life is introduced, accordingly, at this stage, and the two remaining "weeks" of the Exercises are intended to confirm the choice so made. In the third week the exerctant is bidden to use much bodily penance and to meditate on the Passion of Christ. In the fourth he is directed to allow the body its need of rest and refreshment, while the mind is occupied with consoled thoughts derived from the consideration of the Resurrection of our Saviour and the remembrance of the joys of heaven.

It was natural that one who laid so much stress upon the study of our Lord's life upon earth should feel the need of coming as closely as possible into contact with the scenes of those events with which his mind was filled. Accordingly, in Feb. 1529, Ignatius set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, living on alms and, to a large extent, travelling on foot. He reached the capital of his country, and thence sailed to the Holy Land, so that almost a year elapsed before he found himself back in Barcelona. That he was specially called to labour 'for the greater glory of God' had by this time become a deep conviction, but the precise manner in which he was to further the work of Christ on earth does not seem to have been made clear to him until many years later (see F. Van Ortyy, 'Manisses et les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus,' in *Annalen de Bollandiana*, xxvii. (1908) 303-418). Still, he seems to have realized, at least vaguely, that to become an efficient instrument for good he required a better education than he then possessed. Thus we find him at the age of 33 learning the rudiments of Latin with the school-children of Barcelona (1524-26), and thence proceeding to the Universities of Alcalá, Salamanca and Paris. A personality like that of Loyola was bound to influence men wherever he went, and it is not altogether surprising that he fell under the suspicion of the Inquisition, on account of the disciples who gathered round him and to whom he imparted what he had learned. (Cf. p. 189.)

The clear and vivid expression of his own austerity of life. At first he seems to have been careless of what men said of him, conscious of his own integrity; but later he found that these suspicions hampered his influence for good, and he went out of his way to court and even to insist upon a judicial inquiry. The proceedings before the Inquisition, so far as they have been preserved, are printed in the *Scripta de Santa Ignatii* (Antwerp, 1589-92), partly on account of the hindrances to his work for souls which these suspicions engendered, partly, it would seem, in the hope of finding companions more in harmony with his ideals than any whom he had yet met. These delays, however, and Ignatius, in Feb. 1528, made his way to the University of Paris. There at the Collège de Montaigu and afterwards at that of Sainte-Barbe he pursued his studies for the priesthood. At Sainte-Barbe he must, at least occasionally, have encountered Calvin, who had studied there himself and still visited it in 1533. For his support Ignatius, owing in part to his unsellish generosity to his countrymen, had to depend upon alms, and during the begging expeditions made in the vacation season to the end he visited London, Bruges, and Antwerp. Conversions and persecutions in abundance were also still his portion, but in Paris he found at last what his heart had always craved—

a group of companions capable of sympathizing in his high ideals, and of an intellectual force which would appeal to those who were to form the basis of his Order. The story of his conquest of Francis Xavier by the constant repetition of the words 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul?' is well known. He must, while earlier recruit was Peter Le Fèvre, whose position in the University was already an influential one. To them were added James Laynez, Francis Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez and Nicholas Bobadilla. Laynez and Salmeron were destined to play a great part as theologians in the Council of Trent. Laynez was also to be Loyola's successor as second General of the Society. But even in 1534, when on 15th Aug. these friends met together in the chapel of St. Denys at Montmartre, and at the mass of Le Fèvre, who was so far the only priest amongst them, took vows of poverty and chastity (Astrain, i. 79), there seems to have been as yet no clear design of founding a religious Order. The third vow, which they added to the other two, pledged them only to make the attempt to undertake apostolic work in the Holy Land; but if, after a year's waiting, it was found impossible to obtain passage thither, in that case they were to place themselves at the disposition of the pope, for any work that he might assign them. This it was that actually happened, and the war broke out between the Sultan Sulaiman and the Venetian Republic. There was no longer any possibility of obtaining a passage to the Holy Land. The little band of companions waited the prescribement of a religious Order. The following year, and meanwhile Ignatius himself was ordained priest at Venice (24th June 1537), and he and his companions spent the interval in serving in the hospitals and in apostolic work in many different Italian towns. Eventually it was decided that they ought to address themselves to the pope, then Paul III., and, in spite of contradictions, they had a most favourable reception. It was apparently only at this time that they finally organized their society as a formally recognized religious society living under obedience seemed to take shape in their minds. It was characteristic of Ignatius that he always attached much more importance to the inward spirit than to the written letter. Even after he had recognized the fact that in order to perpetuate their work they must be bound together in some system of rules and must know how to provide written constitutions. But the various stages in the development of the Order now followed rapidly. Already in 1537 the companions had found it necessary to give themselves a collective
name, and they agreed that, if interrogated, they should describe themselves as belonging to the
'Company of Jesus' (Astrain, i. 89). When they had found favour with the pope, the scheme of a
definite religious institute (formula instituti) was drawn up and moved in the benedictine minds
towards ecclesia, 27th Sept. 1540. On 4th April
1541 Ignatius, in spite of his own reluctance, was
elected superior, and from that date until 1550 he
lived himself at Rome in compiling constitutions.

The Constitutions of the Society wereliterally rapid-
ly written by Ignatius, and, as the twelve volumes of his correspondence attest, the official business connected with his office of General steadily increased day by day until his death on 31st July 1556. Ignatius was inter-
ested, and he considered it the duty of his subjects
to be interested, in every form of religious work
which was for the greater glory of God. Although the
Counter-Reformation movement, it would be a
mistake to regard the Order as having been instit-
tuted with the conscious design of counteracting
the religious teaching of Luther and Calvin.
The central idea, which is found alike in the Exercisees
and in numberless passages of the Constitutions,
and which may be taken as the dominant concep-
tion of the Ignatian spirituality, was the
endeavour to assist in and carry on the work of rescue
and sanctification for which Jesus Christ had come
on earth. Loyola was not in any way a man of
brilliant intellectual gifts, but he possessed clear
judgement and indomitable will; and, contrary
to the idea so often formed of his religious descend-
ants, he was by the testimony of all who knew
him a man who was absolutely fearless and straight-
forward in religious conflicts. He was
beatiied in 1609 and canonized in 1622.

LITERATURE.—The first place among the sources for the life of Ignatius Loyola must always be given to the so-called 'Auto-
biography' (by Ignatius, 1556). Thereafter appeared under the title of the Testament
Ignatius Loyola, London, 1590. See also J. Susta, 'Ignatius von Loyola's Selbstbiographie,' in Rittenhagen's Zeits. fur
Eigene Geschichtswissenschaft, xxvi. (1906). A vast number of books and papers which bear upon the history of Ignatius and the Society may be found in the other volumes of the Monuments Historiques Soc. Jes. The biography of Ignatius by
Pedro Ribadeneyra, which appeared originally in more than one edition—the first at Naples, in 1572—is also re-edited in A. Soc. etc. A young disciple of the saint, who knew him and
wrote his biography, is Ribadeneyra. There is an important authority in the 'Translations of this life have been published in French
and many other languages. Of the 17th-cent. biographies of Loyola by far the most valuable is that of D. Bartoli, who had
important original materials at his command. The best available
ed. See Freytag with supplementary notes, by L. Michel
(Bartoli, 'Histoire de S. Ignace de Loyola,' 2 vols., Lille, 1888). Of
other lives the best are C. Geffrot, 'Les Deux siecles d' Ignatius
von Loyola,' Innsbruch, 1845, Eng. tr., London, 1851;
'Steuart Ross,' 'Life of St. Ignatius Loyola,' London, 1857;
Ec. de Mexico, 'Testamento de S. Ignacio de Loyola.' An excellent
short sketch is that of H. Joly (St. Ignace de Loyola,' Paris,
1904, Eng. tr., London, 1905). But by far the most trustworthy source of information among modern works is to be found in
A. Astrain, 'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus.' Madrid,
1893; this volume having entirely devoted to the period of the
life of Ignatius. It may be supplemented for French affairs by
H. A. de Nancarrow's 'Vie de S. Ignace de Loyola en France,
Paris, 1910; and for those of Italy by P. Tacchi Venturi,
'Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia,' 2 vols., Rome, 1895
and later editions. See also J. Creisel, Span. Ignatius in Barcelona, 1906.

Few of those who have studied the life of Loyola from an anthropological and sociological point of view have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves accurately even with the facts of
his life, and still less with the geographical
work, very hostile in tone, of the ex-Jesuit M. Mir, 'Historia
terminos domestica; or, the life and person of S. Ignatius,
Loyola, and the Genealogies of the Society.' Halle, 1876, but on this see
Anoetica Hollandica, 1896, 449-454.
Even more fantastic is P. Müller, 'Die Jesuiten von de Jesuiten in der Zeit der Lehenordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17ten Jahrhundert, Munich, 1910.
The only works of St. Ignatius besides his letters are the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus.
A facsimile of the first 'Exercitio' of the Exercises was printed in
1590; it is known as the 'Exercitio Spiritualis,' and, as to the
Constitutions, a facsimile of the original Spanish text has appeared, Constituciones de la Compagnia de Jesus, reprodu-
ciones fotocopiadas, Rome, 1898, with valuable illustrative material.

HERBERT THURSTON.

LUCAN.—See ANTIOCHENES THEOLOGY.

LUCY.—See CALENDAR, CHARMS AND AMULETS, DIVINATION.

LUCRETIUS.—Titus Lucretius Carus was a Roman poet (9?-55 B.C.) who, in the last
century of the republic, accepted the philosophy of
Epicurus, and expounded it to his countrymen in
a noble didactic poem, entitled De Rerum Natura.

1. Life and writings. — Little is known of Lucretius except that he was born
at Carthage, published his first work in 105 B.C. (De Rerum Natur.), and died by
the Eusebian chronicle, under the year of Abraham 1923 (= 94 B.C.):
'Titus Lucretius poeta auctus. Postea annum pulcro in forestam venus, ut singulis libris per annum maxima conscripsisset, qua postea Cicero emendavit, propria alia interiecta a ceteris et, ut videtur, aliud distincta. This strange story of madness and suicide, which
Tenayon has made familiar, is, however, derived ultimately from Suetonius, de Vit. Illust., and, if
it is true, is a most important point of basis, of the
life of (cf. Laehmann on i. 922. p. 63 of his ed.; Munro, ii. 1 f.; Sellar, Roman Poets of the
Republic, p. 238 ff.). But there is an error of four or five years either in the birth year or in the age
assigned to the poet, most likely in the former.

According to Donatus (Vit. Vergy), Lucretius died on 15th October 55 B.C., and not, as Jerome's figures
would imply, in 51 or 50 B.C. This is confirmed by the
cartil aged mention of the poet in a letter of Cicero to his brother Quintus (ad Quint. fr., ii.
ix. 4). This letter, written early in 54 B.C., pre-
supposes the publication of the poem and, presumably, the poet's death. For on one
alone most scholars agree that de Rerum Natura, like Vergil's Aeneid, had never found a final revision
from the author's hand; certain passages, especially in the first three books, seem to be after-
thoughts or additions imperfectly adjusted to their
context. In the death of external testimony, something may be gleaned from the poem itself.

It seems clear that the author was a Roman noble, well acquainted with the luxury of the time (ii.
24-28, iv. 75 ff., 975, 1121) and with the rivalry and ambition of political life (ii. 11 ff., 40 ff., v. 1120 ff.). Strongly impressed by the crime and bloodshed of the
civil wars (i. 29 f., 40-43, iii. 70-74, v. 999 ff.), he deliberately chose, almost alone among the
Romans, a contemplative life (i. 922 ff., ii. 1 f., iii.
1 f.). Further, we see that on an observer a poet's clear, minute, exact observation with a poet's love
256-251, 472), that he had unbounded reverence for
Epicurus, both as a scientific discoverer and as a
moral reformer (i. 9-30, v. 1 ff., vi. 1 ff.), that
Democritus and Empedocles were also objects of
respectful admiration. In Lucan: the poet and
that he never mentions the Stoics or the
Socratic Schools, although sometimes alluding to
their doctrines, 'quod quidam fingunt' (i. 571; cf.
600 ff., 1095, ii. 107-175). He dedicated the work
to Memmius, the patron of Catullus, who was proctor in 68 b.c., and at that time an opponent of Cæsar. He addresses Memmius as an equal; the Lucretian belong to a genus distinguished in the early annals of Rome, and the cognomen Carus is said to be attested for an individual who was a writer on the atomic theory (bk. i. and ii.) and its applications to the relations of mind and body (bk. iii.), the wraiths or images whence he deduces the popular belief in the future life (bk. iv.), the origin of our world, of civilization, and of language (bk. v.), and the phenomena of sky or earth which are supposed to come from the vengeance of the gods, such as thunder, tempests, earthquakes, and volcanoes (bk. vi.). He admits that the system which he advocates is unpopular (iv. 18 ff.), and fears that Memmius will some day fall away (iv. 102 ff.). He therefore provides an antidote. Poetry is the honey at the edge of the cup which shall make palatable the medicine of truth. It is no less obvious that the sympathy evoked in the reader, the effect upon his imagination, is bound up with the philosophic propositions (Cic. de natura deorum, ii. vii. 76). A philosophical argument is ill-adapted for hexameter verse, but the mental power and perseverance displayed in so arduous an undertaking call for unstinted admiration. The difficulties of such a task apart, science, and to overcome them so far as may be at once his merit and his delight. His grasp of his subject with all its perplexities and problems bespeaks a logical mind, and he is eminently successful in discovering and marshalling whole groups of particular facts which lead up to and illustrate a general principle (i. 159–214, 260–328, ii. 333–390, 581–609), in the use of analogies, and in vividly picturing the consequences of hypotheses (i. 215–264, 963 ff., 988–995). It has been conjectured that the poet followed the larger epistome of Epicurean doctrine mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (x. 39 f., 75 [Gianesi, i. 10]). Whether this is so or his choice and arrangement of topics are dictated by his own immediate purpose must remain an open question. In any case the idolatry of the disciple and his close study of the master is evident. Yet with all the possibility of uncertainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the exposition, with its flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is not less rich and varied. It is directly to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outlines left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see preceding note).

2. Atomic theory. Lucretius begins by advancing the two propositions (1) that nothing can arise out of nothing, and (2) that nothing can be annihilated, which he proves separately from the order and regularity of the processes of nature, as especially seen in the generation of the species of organic life. The obvious objection that we cannot see the particles dispersed when a thing is destroyed is met with by analogies from the potent invisible agencies at work in the world. The existence of empty space (vacuum or void) is then proved from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for all the things we experience. The opposite view, that the world is a plural, is next refuted mainly by the consideration that condensation and expansion no less than motion imply the existence of a vacuum. Next, the existence of any tertium quid other than body and empty space is denied. All other nameable things, even time itself, must be regarded as the qualities (whether essential properties or transient accidents) of these two forms of reality. Body is then divided into simple and composite, according as it is or is not conjoined with void. The composite are what we call things (res generis), the simple bodies are atoms (materias, corpus corpora generatil, semina rerum, corpus corpora corpora). To postulate the existence of atoms is to deny the infinite divisibility of matter. And here again Lucretius employs his favourite negative procedure, following out the consequences of infinite divisibility to absolute annihilation, which he has proved impossible. Infinite divisibility would be incompatible with the natural laws (fodera naturae) which regulate the production of things and the permanence of organic species; for, unless the constituent atoms of things are unchangeable, there will be no uniformity of nature, and it will be uncertain what can and what cannot arise. Summing up the arguments and collecting what is said elsewhere in the poem, we arrive at the following conception: an atom is a little hard kernel of matter, quite solid and therefore immutable and indestructible (since heat, cold, and moisture, the destroyers of the composite things about us, cannot enter where no void exists). Each atom is a distinct individual ("sola pollicita est suavilis individua"), a part of the whole, a part of all parts, of which, however, it is not compounded, for they have no independent existence; hence it has size, shape, and weight, but no secondary qualities, no colour or temperament, no sound, no smell, no sense in the different qualities of composite things being due to the variety of atomic shapes, which, though very great, is not infinite. After refuting the divergent views of Heraclites, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras (l. 622–920), Lucretius proves by a variety of arguments that both matter and space are infinite, and refutes the opposing view that all things tend to the centre of the universe and the assumption of antipodes which it involves. He subsequently deduces from infinite space and infinite matter an infinite number of worlds, which come into being, grow to maturity, and ultimately perish (ii. 1021 f.).

3. Climax or swerving. Atoms are in constant motion. They move through space (1) by their own inherent motion, and (2) in consequence of collision. Some atoms of intricate shape form after collision, that is, by coming in contact, the things we call hard; others rebound to greater distances and thus form softer substances; others, again, do not unite at all, but wander freely through space. It is his own swerving or accidental motions (mutus intestinum) atomic groups or molecules increase in complexity and size until they reach the limits of visibility, like motes in the sunbeam (v. 125–141). It will still be our task to understand the relation between these internal atomic movements and the motion of the group of atoms as a whole, if we take Gianesi's admirable illustration (l. 111 ff.); as a swarm of insects moves slowly through the air in one direction, the individual insects of which it is composed are executing all manner of far more rapid movements, some of them in divergent or even opposite directions. The first motion of the swarm of insect forms, is inconceivably rapid and uniformly in the same downward direction; the apparent upward motion of some sensible things is shown to be not inconsistent with this. It will be certain times and places atoms, travelling downwards by their own weight, and therefore in parallel lines, swerve a very little from the perpendicular. The least possible change of inclination must be assumed, although it is imperceptible to the senses. Otherwise atoms would never collide, so as to unite and give birth to things, for in empty space, where there is no resisting medium, heavy and
light atoms fall with equal velocity, so that the heavier would not overtake the lighter. There is a further proof of this in the consciousness of spontaneous initiative, the power by which each living creature generates what will leads, the somethings which struggles and resists when we move involuntarily under compulsion (I. 216–238).

For our spontaneous movements originate in sole atoms, and their existence at all can be explained only by assuming a certain instability or contingency in the movements of such sole atoms. Thus the mind does not feel an internal necessity in all its actions, nor is all motion linked together in an unceasing chain of cause and effect (as the Stoics maintained), but atoms initiate motion, breaking through the decrees of fate. It will be seen that the postulate of uniformity—the decrees of nature which govern the birth and growth of organic species—to which appeal is so often made in the poem, is subject to certain limitations of which our information is imperfect. This being the case, it is not altogether strange that, while M. J. Guyan deduces from the 

climata universal contingency in the Epicurean scheme of nature, T. Gomperz and Usser incline to regard it as no more than a consistent determinism in opposition to the fate (Usser, I. 1235).

I. 4. Isonomy.—The atomic motions which go on now are the same as they have always been and always will be. What they have produced they will equally produce; for the essence of matter being constant, there can be no complete change of conditions and no change in the order of nature. The main distinction is between motions which tend to foster birth and growth and those which tend to destroy, whether the aggregate formed be inanimate or a organism. The forces of production and destruction alternate preval (ii. 1105–1140), but we always produce, during which time we may with a sense of the whole universe, the result is equilibrium, as is an indecisive battle (ii. 569–580, v. 380–415). This principle of equable distribution is best known from Cicero, de Nat. Deor. t. xix. 50, but undoubtedly it was familiar to Lucretius. Combined with the infinity of atoms of every shape, it guarantees that fixity and perpetuation of species to which so often appeals as a fact. That in an infinite universe the possible is also the real is the premise underlying some of the astronomical portions of the poem (cf. v. 526–533).

I. 5. Psychology.—The poet undertakes to prove that the senses, at least, part of a man as the hand or foot, and has therefore to refute the theory once current and last represented by Aristo-

toxenus (iii. 130–132) that it is a harmony or immaterial relation subsisting between corporeal elements or parts of the body. Though a single nature, it consists of two parts, mind (animus, mens) and vital principle (anima), the seat of feeling, the former lodged in the breast, the latter diffused all over the frame. The single nature which mind and feeling unite to form, is like everything else, material—an atomic aggregate formed of the very finest atoms of (1) wind, (2) heat, (3) an invisible medium, a medium in which sensation begins. The preponderance of one or other element in the single substance compounded of the four explains the diversity of character and the variety of forward and slow in animals and men. Soul and body, like mind and vital principle, form one whole, so constituted that neither can exist without the other (iii. 94–416), and this is enforced by twenty-eight arguments against the immortality of the soul (iii. 417–829), whence it follows that man's fear of death is unreasonable. The impassioned discourse on death in which these conclusions are driven home (iii. 839–1094), while sharing the defect of all attempts to 'make fear
dig its own false tomb,' is yet by its moral earnestness and depth of feeling one of the most impressive passages in literature.

The atomist theory of perception is developed at great length in bk. iv. Images or films (αἰσθήματα) are continuously parted from the surface of things and streaming off in all directions, but we see them only when and where we turn our eyes to them. An image rushes before it the air between it and the eye. This which is a certainty in Isonomy or contingency in the movements of such sole atoms. This takes place almost instantaneously; we do not see the images singly, but there is a continuous stream of them whenever an object is seen (iv. 239–258). The theory of images is applied to those cases where the senses seem to be mistaken. The true square tower at a distance looks round, because the images are blunted in their long journey through the air. In this and similar instances the eyes are not deceived. What they see they rightly see; it is the mind that errs in the inference which it draws. The poet lies in the opinion which the mind superimposes upon what the senses really perceive. The sceptic contradicts himself. For how does he know that nothing can be known? By what criteria he distinguishes knowing from not knowing? The senses are true, all equally true, for each has a distinct power and faculty of its own which the others cannot challenge or convict of error, nor is a single sense at one time more certain than another. The mind itself depends upon the senses, must be false if they are false, and with the overthrow of reason life itself would be impossible (iv. 469–521). The mind, moreover, receives its impressions from images, but these images are finer than those by which we see, hear, taste, and smell. Moreover, they do not all come directly from the surface of actual objects; sometimes images are formed by our thoughts, or, as a centaur, or they may be spontaneously formed by atoms in the air. In sleep, when and memory are inactive, images still find their way to the mind, writhings of the departed being one special kind. Dream images appear to move because some are coming, some going, in continuous succession, so that they appear to be the same in different postures. In the least sensible time many times are latent in which true things appear. Unless attention is directed to them, they pass unheeded. This explains why we think of what we will, and different men have different thoughts ...
produce. The monstrous births perished because they could not grow up and continue their kind. Many species must have died off, because they lacked natural weapons of defence or could not be utilized as much as man. But the union of two incompatible natures in the fabled creations—centaurs, chimæras, mermaids—is impossible. At no time did they exist (v. 878-924). This account mainly follows Democritus, but in the primæval monsters the influence of Empedocles is discernible.

7. Anthropology.—Civilization is the product of a long course of development. The sketch of man's gradual advance from primitive savagery (v. 925-1457) is not without interest and value even in the present day when so much fresh material has been accumulated and is continually enlarged. Men at first were harder and more like the brutes than now. Knowing nothing of tillage, they lived on acorns or berries, without fire, clothes, or houses, without law, government, or marriage. Their foes were the beasts, from whose fury they suffered. Civilization began with the use of nuts and skins and the ties of family life. Then came compacts with neighbours for friendship and alliance; and then speech, a natural impulse quickened by habit. The next step was the discovery of fire from lightning or the friction of branches. Further improvements led to the building of cities, the allotment of lands, and the discovery of gold. With the origin of political liberty, comes the body of religion. Another important discovery was the use of metals, especially iron and copper, which were accidentally discovered when the burning of woods caused the ore to ram. Hence came improvements in warfare, the extension of agriculture, and the invention of weaving. The art of music followed. When a knowledge of all the useful crafts had thus been attained, progress was steady.

8. Religion. —The popular faith, with its whole apparatus of prayers, vows, offerings, and divination, had been rejected not only by Epicurus, but by almost all philosophers since the feud between poesy and philosophy began with Xenophanes and Heraclitus. Lucretius is bitterly hostile; his indignation at the evil wrought by religion glows throughout the poem as fiercely as in the famous description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (i. 80-101). But it is not merely popular superstition that he condemns; he is equally opposed to the philosophic monotheism or pantheism of Plato and the Stoics, and to the hyper-religious ‘natural theology.’ The negative propositions which he maintains are all-important. (1) There is no purpose in nature; the argument from design is dissallowed in advance; adaptation is the product of experience.

‘nihil ideae quantum naturae in corpore ut uti possessum; sed quod naturae, id procerat tumum’ (v. 834 f.).

The bodily organs were not given in order to be used. On the contrary, the eye preceded seeing, and man had a tongue before he could speak. Thus the activity of the senses is explained on mechanical principles without assuming final causes, and a similar explanation holds for all other activities, nourishment by food, and growth, walking and locomotion generally, sleep and dreams. Hence (2) there is no divine providence. The course of the universe is protected and guarded, and that it is the most fitting example of what we mean by insensible and insinuate (v. 110-145). (4) The world was not created by the gods. What could induce them to take such trouble inconsistent with their majesty? Or, supposing them willing to create, whence came their notion or preconception (τρόπων) of man before he existed? (v. 181-186)? On the contrary, the world and all that therein was good, bad, and neutral, all union of causes through the fortuitous concourse of some part of an infinity of atoms in some part of infinite space (ii. 991 f., v. 187-194). But negative metaphysics is not all. On the positive side the existence of gods is proved by the agreement of all nations, although the fables and legends told of them (ii. 600 f.) must be rejected. The gods are blessed and immortal. They need nothing of mankind, bestow no favours, take no vengeance (ii. 646-652). Their abodes, which in fineness of structure correspond to the impalpable nature of the divine body, too delicate for our sense to perceive, are in the intermundus (a word not used by the poet), or lucid interspaces between the worlds. They touch nothing that is tangible for us, since that cannot touch which cannot admit of being touched in turn (v. 148-152). There is a significant reference (iii. 819-823) to the conditions under which alone immortality is possible, namely the absence of destructive forces or their being kept at bay, or being neutralized by divine forces (see Giussani, i. 259). Not content with proclaiming the true doctrine, Lucretius goes on to explain how the false arose. The belief in gods arose from the images seen by the mind in waking hours and still more in sleep. Such images were seen, not of mere size, beauty, and strength. As these shapes were ever present, and as their might appeared so great, men deemed them to be immortal and blessed, and placed their abodes in the heavens because the unexplained wonders of the heavens had already excited awe. Thus all things were handed over to the gods, and the course of nature was supposed to be dictated by their nod. This fatal error sprang from the instinctive fear which associates with divine vengeance the calamity and ruin wrought by storms and earthquakes (v. 1101-1249). Lucretius more than once exults at the overthrow of this delusion (i. 62-69, ii. 1090-1104, iii. 14-30). On the other hand, it is obvious that he has gone too far in his concessions to anthropomorphism. The criticism which he successfully applies to the incongruous creations of legend, centaurs, and chimæras would, on his own grounds, be just as valid against the blessed immortals. The superhuman beings whom he in fact represents as buttressing the universe (v. 1122) are no more a help than are the pantheistic divinities purified, refined, and rationalized.

9. Ethics.—In a poem professedly dealing with physics we hardly expect to find a systematic treatment of ethics, yet there are enough short notices or digressions in which the subject appears (ii. 16-61, 172 f., iii. 14-16, 439 f., 978-1023, v. 9-31, v. 9-41) to establish the author’s complete agreement with the teaching of Epicurus. The end is pleasure—in other words, to secure that pain hold aloof from the body, and that the mind, exempt from cares and fears, feel its own true joy (ii. 16-19). Whoever has been born must want to continue in life so long as fond pleasure will keep him (v. 177 f.). Gratification of desires which, though natural, are not necessary affords no true happiness. The tortures of conscience make a hell upon earth. Tantalus and Sisyphus are like are types of men tortured in this life by various lusts and passions. The pangs of remorse are emphasized as well as the constant apprehension that, though the wrong-doer has lìthereto eluded gods and men, he cannot keep safe. ‘Whoever shall then, by his vileness foully, / Epicurus is extolled as the saviour who, seeing the miserable condition of mankind, partly from ignorance, and partly from mistaken fear of the gods and of death, proclaimed those truths which
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alone can bring salvation; that death is nothing to us, that the gods do not interfere with the course of nature. The frequent reference to temporary concourse of atoms, and man himself a still more ephemeral combination in that world. These are the doctrines which, he thinks, will redeem mankind. But, while master and disciple are long and loudly in the literal acceptance of these propositions, there is a marked difference in the spirit of their teaching. Starting with the proposition 'There is no joy but calm,' Epicureans deduces his ideal of a simple life, to which only he is refused. His knowledge is an anastere hedonism; the pleasure which is the universal law and condition of existence is not indulgence, but peace and a pure heart (v. 18). From all this the order makes quite demands of the soul, which rises, one might almost say, to the intensity of religion. Under this aspect, his earnestness has its counterparts in the Divina Commedia or Paradise Lost.


LUGH.—See CELTS, FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Celtic).

LULLISTS.—Among the figures of the 13th cent., none is more picturesque, none more representative of the great forces, spiritual and mental, of the age than Raymond Lull, 'The Illuminated Doctor,' logician, philosopher, scientist, poet, missionary, and martyr. He was born at Palma, in Majorca, in 1256, when the first spiritual enthusiasm of the Franciscan movement was dying away. During his boyhood the spiritual Franciscans were making desperate, but vain, efforts to maintain the simplicity of the original vow of poverty which had been the joy of their founders. Human nature made it inevitable, however lamentable, that an Order should possess property. Another deviation from the singleness of mind of St. Francis was, happily, inviolate also. During his life a brother was not allowed to possess a wife, and learning seemed as alien as riches. But true devotion cannot be permanently content without the offering of the realms of mind as well as of soul and body. Thus was born the writings of Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull, members of Franciscan Orders of the next generation, an enthusiasm for learning linked with an enthusiasm for Christ as intense as that of Brother Giles and Sister Clare. These are the figures who are setting amid the dim foundations of the great Palace of Science, blinded by the suspicion of the narrow-minded orthodox, strenuously maintaining the nobility of the offering of science, knowledge, and thought at the foot of the Cross. They were fervent lovers of Christ who stood at the parting of the ways of Scholasticism, still recognizing and using its words and its processes, but adding the facts and inferences of modern science. Their lives were enthusiastic fulfillments of the command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind.'

Lull was seneschal of the household of James II. of Majorca, and till the age of thirty he lived the ordinary life of a libertine noble. Suddenly conscience was aroused, and in his chamber, as he was writing love poems, he beheld the vision of Christ on the Cross, and heard Him say, 'Oh Raymond, follow me henceforth.' Then came the agony of conviction and the determination to forsake the world and follow Christ entirely. Two aims at once filled his life—to gain martyrdom, and to convert to Christianity the Saracens around. He would use no carnal weapons; he would go to the Holy Father and to Christian kings, and induce them to establish colleges for the intellectual education of the unbelievers. For himself he would write a book so irrefutable as to ensure the conversion of Saracen, Jew, and heretic to the Catholic faith. A sermon on the pronunciation of St. Francis of Assisi completed his resolution; he left wife and children with sufficient for the necessities of life, sold all else, and went forth in earnest at the new life. He kept a cell for himself on Mount Randa, and there during nearly ten years he sought to fit himself for his work. By the advice of his friends he chose this solitary study in preference to the University of Paris, the centre of the intellectual life of Europe. He learnt Arabic from a Saracen whom he bought as a slave, and narrowly escaped being murdered when this instructed Muslim realized the object of his study. The crown of his long preparation came when eight days of profound meditation were succeeded by an illumination which Lull himself always claimed as a direct divine inspiration. Under this impulse he wrote the Book of Fargno, the first of Lull's works, and the most associated with his name. By its methods he felt sure that the truths of Christianity could be so irrefragably stated that the infidels could not possibly refuse acceptance of them. Nothing is more striking in the subsequent history of the philosopher and his followers than the absolute conviction, which they all shared, of the direct divine origin of the mode of reasoning here initiated. The assertion is crystallized in the title 'The Illuminated Doctor' by which he is always known among succeeding generations of Lullists. The woodcuts adorning the great folios in which Salzinger has issued his works all represent the divine beam of light shining down upon him. Enthusiastic disciples confidently appeal to the logical power of the processes as more than possible to effectuate successful results. The unbiased judgment of our own day fails to discover the same immense value or power.

It may be briefly characterized as a mechanical method by which all possible subjects may be subjected to all manner of questions, and in which an empirical, and learnings be obtained. The apparatus in its original form is a number of concentric circles divided into compartments denoted by letters of the alphabet. These letters denote in different circles different ideas. Thus we have in one nine subjects God, Angel, and Devil, one set of the Negative, the Elementary, the Instrumental. In another circle we have nine subjects: Goodness, Wisdow, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory. In another we
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have nine questions: Whither? What? Whence? Why? How large? At what? Where? When? Where? One of these circles is fixed, the others rotate, and we thus obtain a complete series of combinations, first of questions and then of statements. The precise form of the operation varies; in some works we have triangles of various colours intersecting each other. Elsewhere we have a tree with roots, branches and twigs, each labelled with some term contracting from the general to the particular, or vice versa, with each step corresponding with the steps of the apparatus. But in every case the general idea is the codifying of every possible statement on all subjects. The method, intended first exclusively for Christian apologetics and then for sceptical thought; through Maimonides (p.v.) and Michael Scot it gained the ear of a section of Scholasticism and won over as votaries many in the University of Paris, the important centre of the world. In attempting to save its orthodoxy it asserted that what might be true in faith might be false in philosophy. This was the special heresy against which Lull spent his life; the authorities at Paris eagerly sought his assistance in combating the heresy which threatened to capture the whole University. The contest was so keen that Lull himself was obliged repeatedly to obtain certificates of his own orthodoxy. At the Council of Vienne Lull worked hard, though apparently without success, to secure an edict forbidding the teaching of Averroism in Christian schools. It lingered for a couple of centuries longer, more and more tending to materialism and finding its chief sphere in the medical school of Padua. Lullism always provided its strongest foes.

When nearly eighty years of age, Lull set off on another missionary journey to Africa; his fervid exhortation roused the fury of the Muslim mob, and he was stoned to death at Bugia on June 30, 1185, thus gaining the development of the common people: his great religious romance Blanquerna was written in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan; his ecstatic hymns entitled Hours of the Virgin, with many others of his works, in Catalan alone.

Round Raymond Lull there has gathered a misty halo of romance and unorthodoxy through his incursions into the world of alchemy. His Franciscan supporters are eager to free him from this charge, which has repeatedly brought him within danger of the censure of the Church. He is stated to have learnt from Arnaud of Villeneuve the secret of the philosopher's stone. There is a tradition, exceedingly doubtful but not entirely discredited, of a visit to England to make gold for Edward II. in return for his help against the unbelievers. Certain it is that a number of works on alchemy are assigned to his name which were obviously not written by him. It is proved that on Lull has been fixed the discredit of certain works on magic by another Raymond of Tarascon, a renege converted Jew, who were condemned by Pope Gregory XI. But we must remember that alchemy was the beginning of natural science, that the early alchemists were religious men who commenced their studies to show the divine power of God; and that the man who believed that he had discovered a universal transmuter of the elements of thought might not unnaturally aim at a universal transmuter of the elements of matter. The pious idea was that there is one great principle running through the universe, since it is the expression of one divine mind. Scattered among his acknowledged writings are repeated references hinting that he thought much on alchemy, though he did not expect impossibilities from it. We can well believe that he wrote as well as thought on the subject. Indeed, Roger Bacon (de Emendandis Scientiarum, bk. iii.) refers to the fact of such writing.

The last period of Lull’s life revealed a foe within the Church against which he fought unceasingly. Round the name of Averroes (Ibn Rushd, † 1198; see AVERROES, AVERROISM), the Arab interpreter of Aristotle, had been gathering the thoughts and theories of Muslim, Jewish, and Scholastic successors, diverging gradually into the banishment of the Deity beyond the reach of prayer or care for the individual, the denial of individual immortality, and ultimately even asserting the identity of the soul of all men. Averroism thus, while using the name of a single devout Muslim, was really the composite deposit of heresies or heretics. His own islands, Cyprus, and Armenia certainly saw many converts, and the ban of death did not prevent his returning twice to Africa. The accumulations of his much wider travel need further proof.

Lull’s scheme for colleges for the study of missionary languages bore fruit for a time in a foundation by his own king, in 1276, of a college for the training of missionaries in Majorca, but it was not until the Council of Vienne, in 1311, that papal authority was given for schools for Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee in the Roman Curia, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and Paris. It is interesting thus to realize that in Lull’s enthusiasm we have the germ of the Hebrew professorships at our English Universities, as well as the broader ideas of missionary education which he and Roger Bacon alike impressed upon the Church. The same instinct which sent Lull to talk to Saracens in Arabic led him to overlap the limits of tradition and to write many of his works, both philosophical and theological, in his native Catalan. He was a pioneer in that movement which, by entrusting to vernacular languages thoughts hitherto imprisoned in the Latin of the learned, gave a new dignity to national speech, and tended to the development of the common people: his great religious romance Blanquerna was written in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan; his ecstatic hymns entitled Hours of the Virgin, with many others of his works, in Catalan alone.

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hieracy in 600 passages taken from Lull’s works. Franciscan apologists assert that Eymeric was a disciple in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which was the special enthusiasm of the University of Paris and was warmly advocated by Lullists, and that this was the seed plot of Eymeric’s opposition. The Inquisitor asserted that 290 Lullist errors had been condemned by Gregory XI. in 1376. This bull has never been found, though the papal archives have again and again been searched. In 1439 the Punic Lull, Paris, 1900 (edifying but inaccurate); S. M. Zwemer, Raymond Lull, First Ame of the Modern, New York, 1902; and W. T. A. Barber, Raymond Lull the Illuminated Doctor, London, 1908. For further bibliography see L. Cho- narta, Repertoire des sources hist. du moyen age, bio-bibliographie, new ed., Paris, 1905-07, cxxxix-393.

LUMBINI.—A pleasure, or small wood, mentioned in Pali records as the birthplace of the Buddha. It is now occupied by the shrine of Rummimuk in Nepal, approximately in 33° 20' E., 27° 20' N., about four miles north of the frontier between the British possessions and the Nepalese Tarni, and half a mile west of the river Tilar. The references to it so far traced in the N. Indian Pali books are only three. One is in an old ballad, containing the prophecy of the aged Asita about the infant Buddha, this Asita story being the Buddhist counterpart of the Christian story of Simeon. The ballad is certainly one of the very oldest existing Buddhist documents, and must be earlier than 400 B.C. It is now included in the anthology called the Sānāvītika, which was published in 1908 at Venice, and it states at verse 783 that the child was born in the village of Lumbini (Luminbeingy qame). The other two references are in the Kathā Paṭthā, composed in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. by Tissa, son of Moggallana, a monk and director, and in the Pali Nīlapiṭakikā, or Repertoire for PTS, London, 1894-97, pp. 97 and 559) it is stated that ‘the Exalted One’ was born at Lumbini (Lumumbiṣyā jāta).

Our next point of information is the inscription found on a pillar in Dec. 1896. The pillar had been known for years to be standing at the foot of the small hill on which the tiny shrine is situated, but the fact that the word ‘village’ or ‘monastery’ appears in the inscription is confirmed by the excavation. The inscription is in old Pali letters, and in a dialect which the present writer would call Kosalī—a dialect so nearly allied to the literary Pali of the canon that one might prefer to call it Pāli. The translation is as follows: 1


There are slight differences in the translations by various other scholars, but not as to the double inscription on the fact that the Buddha was born at the spot where the pillar was erected. 2 The letters are beautifully clear, each being nearly an inch in height. When the present writer made a copy of them in 1900, though they had then been three years exposed to the light, they seemed almost as if freshly cut. In the dim light of the cell above, containing the shrine, each discerned a slight relief representing the birth-scene. But the Brahman who claims the right to the petty income arising from the pence of the penitent refuses any proper examination of it. So far as a cursory inspection of the gold of the inscription, it seems to be much later than the inscription.
the conversation between Asoka and his guide Upagupta on the visit recorded in the inscription. Perhaps the tradition that Upagupta, very possibly another name of the 
Katha Vattlha, accompanied him is historical. Though its date is unknown, it must be at least five centuries later than Asoka, who spoke, of course, the language of his inscription, and would not have understood the words here put into his mouth.

Still later are certain references in the Pali commentaries written at Kachchhipura 1 or Anuradhapura 2 (q.q.v.). In order to explain how the birth took place in a grove, they say that the mother, on the way to be delivered among her own people, was taken with the pains of delivery half-way between Kapilavatthu, her husband’s home, and Devadaha, her father’s home. This is quite probable; but, on the other hand, it may have been suggested by the meagre facts recorded in the ancient books. Neither the Buddhist Sanskrit writers nor the Pali commentators could have understood the long-buried inscription even had they known of its existence.

It is very interesting to see that this spot, so deeply revered by all Buddhists, should have retained on its site for centuries traces of neglect and desertion. Watters says that ‘according to some accounts 3 it had been named Lumbini after a great Koliyan lady who had dedicated it to the Buddha as a place of pilgrimage. There are other instances of a similar kind; but, unfortunately, Watters gives neither name nor date of any of the Chinese books to which he refers. We know that both Skākyas and Koliyās found difficulty in pronouncing the trilled r. Perhaps this was true of all Kosala. The inscription at Lumbini, for instance, has kōja for reja; and Lumbini itself is often written in Pali MSS with a dotted r. which may represent an untrilled r. Thus Rumminḍi stands for Lumbini Devi, the goddess of Lumbini. But that goddess was not really a goddess at all, nor even Lumbini, but only the mother of the Buddha. We have no evidence as to when or how the transformation took place. And in face of the stubborn opposition of the Nepalese Government, and of the Brahman who has this fact in his favour. Thinks there, is very little hope of any further excavation at the site to throw light on this question, or to explain the divergent statements of Chinese writers as to what they saw at the place.

1 LITERATURE.—See the sources cited in the article, and cf. also art. Kapilavastu.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

LUNACY.—See INSANITY.

LUSHAI.—The Lushais are a composite community, consisting of those groups which were absorbed and reduced to a more or less complete unity by the skill and sagacity of the Thanga chiefs of the Lushai clan in the last century. They practise jhuming, a form of cultivation which involves constant moves from one site to another. In this fashion is found for some at least of their peculiar characteristics.

Each village is a separate State ruled by its own chief, who usually belongs to the Salai clan, whose talent for government has made them the masters of nearly the whole of the area now known as the Lushai Hills. The sons, as they reached maturity, were provided with a wife and followers, and were sent forth to found new villages. The youngest son was the head of the clan, whose ascendency in the village administration, and each village possesses, in addition to the council of elders, officers to settle where the jhumus are to be made, and also a village crier, and puthion (lit. ‘much nother’). The population of a Lushai village consists of members of different clans and tribes brought under the unifying influence of the predominance of the Thanga chiefs. Their religion, therefore, exhibits traces of a mixed origin; there are features in it which recall some of the more notable characteristics of the systems of their congeners, east as well as in the more distant north, all of whom speak cognate dialects.

The Creator is a spirit called Pathian, beneficent, but with little concern in the affairs of men. Subordinate to Pathian is a spirit Khuavang, whose appearance to men causes illness. He is also spoken of as a personal genius—an idea which is still further elaborated in the belief in the mivengtu, the watchers of men. Each man has two souls, thlarao, the one wise and the other foolish. One mivengtu is good and the other evil. The huai are demons inhabiting water and land, are all bad, and are the causes of all sickness and misfortune; the lushi are spirits of particular animals, whom they control; the spirits of the dead need constant propitiation and receive offerings of firstfruits. Each clan has a spirit, or clan deity, sakhu, to whom the初级 chief is addressed by the pathian (who may be a member of the clan), and identity of chants and ritual is a sure proof of membership of the clan.

The rites performed for the purpose of addressing some definite spiritual being may be separated from the rites which seem to be efficacious without the intervention or mediation of any definite spiritual being. The sakhu chants recorded by Shakespeare are accompanied by sacrifices of a sow. The sacrifices to huai, supposed to frequent houses and villages, are various, new a pig, new a cock, and sometimes a goat being offered. Three sacrifices should be performed after marriage. Dreams afford an indication of the necessity for the performance of one of these rites. Temporary tabus, closely akin to those so common in the Naga area, are part of the appeasement of the clan deity appearing the huai of the woods and waters is not dissimilar, but some of the most efficacious rites are the patent of certain clans. The villages close their gates on the occasion of an epidemic of cholera, so as to exclude all visitors from the infected area, and frighten away the demon causing the sickness by erecting a rough gate across the road leading to the distressed villages, which they man with straw figures of armed men; they suspend from the gateway the portions of the dog sacrificed in these emergencies, which are reserved for the demon—as a rule, the extremities with the heart, liver, and entrails. Some of the birth-rites are addressed to huais, while others are seemingly of almost automatic efficacy. In the second category of rites are those which are performed to bring luck to a straying soul (for more sometimes one of their souls, to produce children. To afford protection against sickness, to secure good hunting and to ascertain the luck of the intended chase, to benefit the crops, to obtain power over the spirits of animals and men killed in this world, and to secure freedom from the ghost of the slaughtered enemy. The series of five feats which affect the future life in important ways are religious rites of a specially interesting nature. Full details of the rites are accompanied by a regulation requiring that the social group concerned, be it a household or a whole village, shall abstain from all but the most
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necessary work, and shall not leave the prescribed area. The Blacksmith's forge requires sanctity, and is a place where persons who have accidentally come into contact with any noxious influences may take sanctuary and be purified. The priesthood consists of the psalmists and the members of special classes. Any one can obtain by purchase the idol, songs or charms which form the stock-in-trade of the psalmists, whose success must depend largely on luck and short memories of his faith.

The first man, Pupawla, or the ancestor Pawla, possibly in revenge for his death, stands armed with bow and pellets at the entrance to the spirit world. Each has the thangkhun, i.e., those who have performed the series of five rites (fasts, as they are sometimes called) in this world, none can escape his aim. Yet he spares still-born children or those who die young, for he heeds their plea that, had they lived, they too might have performed the due ritual and so been free to enter with the thangkhun into Pielri, where all is pleasant. Those whom Pawla wounds go to Mitti Khua. Their wounds swell painfully for three years, and for a like period the scar remains. Thereafter they die again, are born as butterflies, and then die again, to reappear as dew on the ground. From them they ennoble the lives of a man, and others are reborn as human children. In addition to the personal advantages of the thangkhun rites, the man may take his wife with him to Pielri, whence there is no return to incarnation, and he may wear certain special clothes, build a verandah at the back of his house, enjoy a window in his house, and put an additional shelf near his bed.

The Lashris are a superstitious people, and believe firmly in witchcraft; not very long ago, to test the efficacy of the belief that the victim of witchcraft would surely recover if he could but taste the liver of the wizard, they killed three whole families who were thought to be bewitching an aged chiefness, cut the livers of the wizards out, and carried them back, only to find that the old lady had died in their absence. Naturally le mawern saumun is an expert at the black art, but their neighbours return the compliment to them in full.

Certain persons, especially women, can put themselves into a trance (zawl) and commune with Khnavang, from whom they acquire information as to the particular sacrifice required to cure the sick. The process of divination employed on these occasions requires the use of an egg and a shallow basket of rice, in which appears the footprint of the animal to be sacrificed. Possession by the spirit of a wild animal (khawring) is contagious and hereditary, and takes the form of passing from the hostess to another woman, who speaks with the voice of the original hostess. The belief in the power of men to assume the form of a tiger is common.


LUSTRATION.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTHER.—1. Life.—The career of Martin Luther naturally divides into three periods—the first or preparation (1485–1517); the second, or protest (1517–21); the third, of construction (1521–46). He was born at Eisleben in Saxony on 10th Nov. 1483. His birthplace was only the townhouse of his parents; they had come thither from Moehra, the real home of the family, some 80 miles to the south-west. The father, as an elder son, had no share in the paternal estate, and was, therefore, in straitened circumstances, until, by his daily labour in the copper mines, and by economy and thrift, he became proprietor of mines and furnaces, and an influential member of the community. Both as a child in his home and in his early school days, Luther knew what the struggle with poverty meant. As he advanced, his father was at first unable to provide him with the means for a liberal education. Both his father, John Luther, and his mother, Margareta Ziegler of Eisenach, were deeply religious, and subjected him to a strict discipline, continued to the time of which he was first sent, that was rationalistic rather than evangelical. His childhood was spent at Mansfeld. His elementary training was received chiefly at Eisenach, among his mother's relatives, and his University course at Erfurt, an institution which, at his entrance in 1501, was over 100 years old, and the most numerous attended of the German Universities. Intended by his father for the legal profession, he devoted his first years at Erfurt to classical literature and philosophy. While he read with absorbing interest the Latin classics, and derived from them the benefit of a wider horizon and a deeper acquaintance with human nature, it is a great exaggeration to affirm, as some recent writers have done, that they made him more of a humanist than a theologian; for he read them most carefully, although he was sensitive against the excessive devotion to the purely formal that dominated the humanistic school. His teachers in philosophy were nominalists, who introduced him to Ocean, Briel, and Gerson, and instilled a critical disposition towards the current scholasticism. Attaining A.B. in 1502, and A.M. in 1505, he reluctantly began the study of Law, for which he had little taste. His dissatisfaction with the calling in which his father had thought him was intensified by spiritual conflicts, brought to a crisis by the sudden death of a friend by his side—whether by a bolt of lightning or by assassination can scarcely be determined—and by his own narrow escape in the storm that is said to have destroyed his friend. In obedience to a vow made in the moment of peril, he turned his back upon the world two weeks later, and entered the cloister of the Augustinian hermits at Erfurt (17th July 1505).

Purity of life, deep moral earnestness, devotion to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and ability as a preacher and edifying minister, made him by 1510 popular and influential among the Augustinians; but it is incorrect to infer from their name any special interest in Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace. With all the intensity of his nature the young novice devoted himself to the scrupulous observance of every detail of the requirements of the Order, and rose rapidly in the esteem of his brethren and superiors. He found edifying spiritual advisers in an aged monk whose name has not been preserved, and especially in John Staupitz, his Vicar General. Some of his modern critics accuse him of morbid conscientiousness and needless scrupulosity in his conceptions of truth and duty. The rules of the Order came to him, with all the claims of divine commands, which he could not decline to observe in all their strictness, without, in his belief, sinning against God. Nor could he be reconciled with anything less than certainty with respect to his relations to God. It matters little that, as has been recently urged, in some of his earlier discourses, composed while he was still a monk, as, e.g., in the lately discovered lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, evangelical statements can be found foreshadowing his future position. For it is no uncommon circumstance for writers advancing towards a conclusion, amid many vacillations, to fail fully to grasp the import of their own words.1 In 1507 he was ordained to the

priesthood, and his father, with a large retinue of personal friends, honoured the occasion of his first celebration of the Mass; but that, even then, the breach between father and son was not completely healed appeared at the meal which followed, when the son, in his blunder, 'wished the clergy that obedience to parents is a command from which no dispensation could be given, and that what they esteemed a call from God might be nothing more than a delusion of Satan.' 

In Nov. 1508 as instructor in Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, founded only six years before, Luther was delighted, when, four months later, as a Bachelor of Theology, it was his privi-
lege to lecture also on the Holy Scriptures. Re-
called the succeeding autumn to Erfurt, he was assigned the task of lecturing on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Two years later (1511) he was sent to Rome to represent Staupitz in regard to certain business affairs of the Order. This visit was of the highest moment to Luther's subsequent career. His most recent Roman Catholic biogra-
grapher, Grisar, candidly says that the Rome which he visited was the Rome of the then ruling Julius II. and his predecessor, Alexander VI.— Rome glorified by art, but the deeply degenerate Rome that appeared on the threshold of the Renaissance.1 He was grieved by the many abuses forced on his attention; and, notwithstanding the credulity with which, as he afterwards acknow-
ledged, he accepted much of what he there saw and heard, and by which the whole Roman and authority had had upon him was greatly weakened. The story of his experience on Pilate's Staircase rests solely on the testimony published after his death by his son Paul. Rapid promotion followed, as a testimonial to the success of his mission. Re-
ceiving the degree of Doctor of Theology at the age of twenty-nine (1512), he accepted it as a special call 'to explain the Scriptures to all the world,' and broke the traditional modes of instruc-
tion by his method of lecturing. Although he retains the 'four-fold sense' of Scripture, he lays the chief stress upon the allusion to Christ in all the prophecies of the OT, and interprets the Psalter by the gospel of the NT. From the OT books he turned to the NT, treating successively Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. From the moment of his return to Erfurt and turned to Augustine, and from Augustine more and more to Paul. The mystical writer, John Tauler, and the anonymous author of The German Theology had a decided influence on him. His time, how-
ever, was largely absorbed by administrative duties. In 1515 he was appointed Vicar, with the oversight of eleven monasteries.

It was in the midst of these responsibilities that he became involved in the controversy concerning indulgences (q.v.). The doctrine of indulgences was rooted in the denial of the completeness of the satisfaction for sins made by Christ. This satis-
faction, it was taught, had value for original sin, and, beyond it, was made for actual sins only by commuting the penalty from one that was infinite, and beyond man's power to afford, to one that is finite. In his lifetime man's salvation was either in this world or in that which is to come. Penitence, it was further taught, consisted of contrition, con-
fession, and satisfaction, made by the penitent. Such satisfaction could be made only for such sins as were recognized by the sinner. But, as in this

1 H. Grisar, Luther, i. 41

of supererogation—a fund upon which the Church, through its head on earth, could draw, so as to grant indulgence by the payment of an equivalent. Heretofore, no more had been claimed for a letter of indulgence than an abbreviation of the pains of purgatory for those which had already paid them. As the granting of these letters afforded large revenue, abuses constantly grew. It was the most convenient and effective way of raising funds for Church purposes, which had already been sold to the agents who collected them. The luxurious habits of Leo X. and especially the completion of St. Peter's church at Rome rendered this expedient very serviceable at this time. Albrecht of Branden-
burg, Archbishop and Margrave, had contracted to collect fees from this source, with the stipula-
tion that he retain one half. He commissioned as one of his agents John Tetzel, a Dominican monk and emotional preacher, who, by his appeals to the terror of his hearers, created great popular commotion wherever he appeared, and urged them to purchase his wares. It would not be difficult to accumulate from Roman Catholic writers abundant censure of the course of Tetzel. For more than a year Luther, entirely ignorant of the connexion which both Albrecht and the pope himself bad with Tetzel's transaction of the indulgences, turned a distance; but, as Tetzel drew nearer Wittenberg, the revelations made to Luther as a spiritual guide in the confessional compelled him first to appeal repeatedly to his ecclesiastical superiors, and, finally, when these appeals were unsuccessful, to pub-
lish his Ninety-five Theses for an academic dis-
cussion in the University. The effect which they produced, as well as the publicity which they received, was beyond all expectation. While in these Theses he strikes boldly and remorselessly at the very roots of the abuse, he is evidently still feeling his way, and has not entirely freed himself from some positions that were afterwards very forcibly repudiated.

There were formal answers the next year by John Eck and Silvester Prietrias, which called forth responses, with characteristic vigour, from Luther. There was a barren conference with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg (Sept. 1518), and another with Miltitz at Altenburg (Jan. 1519), followed by the Leipzig Disputation (beginning 23rd June), in which, after four days and turned to the theological disputes. After the Leipzig days, Luther's debate with Eck began (4th July) on Church authority, significant because of the advance shown by Luther upon anything that he had previously written or said. The matter of the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, and the censure of the Council of Constance for condemning Hus. The aid offered from the camps of humanism Luther not only declined, but repelled, as he wished to make it clear that his protest rested upon entirely different grounds from theirs. The year 1520 is noted for three monumental treatises, two polemical, one irenic and constructive. Of the former, the first was his famous 'Appeal to the Christian Nobility,' which might appropriately bear the title, 'The Responsibility and Duty of the Laity in Spiritual Affairs,' and the second, 'The Babylonian Captivity,' a searching criticism of the sacramental system of the Roman Church. The latter, 'The Liberty of the Christian Man,' has evoked the following tribute from one of his most prominent critics: 'One cannot help asking how the same hand which delighted to shatter as with a sledge-hammer all that had hitherto been held sacred and inviolable, could alone humble the God of love, the choirs of divine love' (Janssen, Gesch. des deutschen Volkes, Englt. ed., iii. 330).

The bull of excommunication promulgated by the pope on 15th June 1520 did not reach Witten-
berg until four months later, and was formally burned by Luther before the students of the
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University (10th Dec. 1520). On 16th and 17th April 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms, and declared that he could not retract. There were too many political complications involved to enable the Emperor to act promptly against him, and before such action could be taken the Elector of Saxony, and the Lutheran princes, withdrew him, and continued the Diet. Luther continued to travel, and to return to Wittenberg, where he remained in retirement until the following spring.

The translation was thus an important work, the translation of the Bible into German. The NT was translated, from the second edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus, within three months from the time when it was begun. The translation was completed with him when he returned to Wittenberg from his exile (6th March 1522), and appeared the succeeding September. The translation of the OT was a much more difficult undertaking, in which he had the assistance of Melanchthon, Aegolius, Roeter, Foerster, and others, and was published in parts, until in 1532 the entire Bible appeared complete, followed by an appendix.

On his return to Wittenberg the character of his labours was much changed. He had at once to meet with decision the radical reaction against Rome, which had resorted in some cases to revolutionary, and in others to precipitate, measures. Three days after his return he began a series of eight sermons, preaching daily, into which he threw all his energy to check their excesses and, against them, to define the principles for which he had been contending. The reformation of the churches in districts no longer under the dominion of the old Church now became necessary, to prevent them from being misled by the confusion that had been introduced, and in order, by a re-organization, to build them upon solid evangelical foundations. Henceforth, while the polemics against Rome did not cease, and almost equal energy was directed against the opposite extreme, he was occupied largely with constructive work—the visitation of churches, the preparation of Church constitutions, the re-organization of schools, the revision of the liturgy, the establishment of services, the composition of hymns, and the publishing of popular sermons, not only for private edification, but especially as models for the inadequately prepared preachers, besides his lectures to his classes and incessant correspondence and conferences—until, from sheer exhaustion, he fell a victim to disease, while acting as a mediator between the counts of Mansfeld, and died in his native town of Eisleben (18th Feb. 1546).

Among the more important events of this later period of his life are his marriage with Catherine von Bora (1525); the Marburg colloquy with Zwingli (Oct. 1529); his second period of isolation, at the castle of Coburg, during the Diet of Augsburg (1530); his conferences in 1533 with representatives of the English Church, which had an important influence on the English Reformation and its literatures; the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 with Bucer and other representatives of the Reformed Church; and the Schmalkald Articles of 1537. Probably the point that has occasioned most comment is Luther's pronouncements regarding the indulgences and concern for the welfare of women, and the public opinion which followed his interview with Philip of Hesse in 1540 (see W. W. Rockwell, Die Doppelte des Landgraf Philipp von Hessen, Marburg, 1904).

The Apparent Greatness of Luther lies largely in the versatility of his gifts and the readiness with which he could call them into service. His intensity, concentration, earnestness, directness, and action are constantly present. Beneath his efforts there is always some important practical end. His scholarship has a higher end than mere love of learning. He availed himself of the weapons of humanism, so far as he could use them, without being in any sense a humanist. He had lectured for years on the poetry of the Greeks and the scholastics. His writings abound in numerous historical allusions, without suggesting that he ever could be rated as a historical investigator. He was rather his devotion and love for the Christian that is ever leading him the more deeply into the treasures of Holy Scripture, to find therein the solution of the problems of human life.

As a professor he was neither a scientific exegete nor a systematic theologian. He cut loose from all scholastic formulæ and methods. While he could not entirely escape from the influence of medievalism, he was in constant antagonism to its authority. Even in the class-room he was a great preacher, stimulating the thought and life of his pupils, instead of retaining stereotyped definitions.

His lectures were almost entirely confined to particular books of the Bible, which he expanded with great freedom of manner. As an author, it is in his form rather than his matter that he reflects the present moment. Eminently conservative and slow to adopt the Age of Enthusiasm, when once he has reached it he writes in an intense glow of feeling; words crowd upon the other with great rapidity of thought, and with wealth of illustration often of the most homely character. He never has difficulty in making his meaning intelligible. He can write with equal ease as a scholar or for the plainest of the people. He loves paradoxes. He concentrates his attention intensely on the particular form of the subject before him as to make no qualifications in order to forestall possible incorrect inferences or misrepresentations. The whole, real Luther can be read only by placing side by side his declarations under varying circumstances, and against opponents that widely differ. Few writers, therefore, can be so readily perverted by partisans. His language is not infrequently round, and his allusions such as were in keeping with the rude age in which he lived.

He was master of the art of translation. Not verbal exactness, but the precise reproduction of the very spirit of meaning of the original in the language of the simplest people of a later age, was his aim. His German Bible is a modern book, which at last fixed the form and became the standard of modern German. His hymns are paraphrases of Scripture, or free renderings of the old Latin hymns of the Church. His sermons are most frequently expositions of long passages of Scripture, and grow naturally out of the text, as applied to contemporary circumstances and conditions; and hence generally reflect that with which his attention at the time was chiefly occupied. They have come to us mostly as taken down in shorthand by some of his hearers, and not in finished form from his own pen.

His contributions to the re-organization of churches are embodied not only in documents that bear his name, but also in those of his co-labourers. Malsch the Augenstädter, and other reformers, applied the principles which he laid down, and acted with his constant co-operation and advice. He was the advocate of liberal culture, the study of the Greek and Latin classics, the education of a free public for women, and free public instruction for war, from precipitate and revolutionary methods of reform that he proceeded with the greatest caution, unfolding what had been fixed and approved by long usage, until a break in the past was no longer possible, but, when the critical moment came, always acting with promptness and decision. His aim was not
even a restoration of Scriptural models, but the
continuance of whatever in life, worship, and
organization is other than Scriptural. Ex-
ternal union was approved only as it was the ex-
pression of a preceding inner unity. Agreement
as to the faith of the gospel was the condition of
an accepted Church union, which was esteemed
valuable only as the servant of faith; hence the
faith was never to be adjusted to the supposed
expediences of union.

As a theologian, his chief effort, on the negative
side, was to free theology from its bondage to
philosophy, and to return to the simplicity of
Scripture. He was dissatisfied with technical
theological terms, because of their inadequacy,
even when the elements of truth which they con-
tained restrained him from abandoning them. He
was not without a historical sense and a reverence
for antiquity, provided that it was subjected to the
tests of Holy Scripture. Scripture was not to be
interpreted by the Fathers, but the Fathers were
to be judged by their agreement or disagreement
with Scripture. It was his especial privilege to
have entered into the spirit of St. Paul as none
before him, not even Augustine. Luther's theology
is Pauline theology, in the language of modern
times. It begins and ends with the revelation
of God in Jesus Christ. Christology is the key to all
knowledge of the church and attributes of God and
the doctrine of the Trinity. Christ is the in-
terpreter of Scripture. All doctrines are to be con-
sidered in their relation to Christ. With Augustine,
he taught the organic union of all men in Adam,
and the organic union of all sins in original sin.

Original sin is emphasized rather as the corrupt
state resulting from the Fall than as the act itself
wherein this state proceeds—a state of spiritual
death, from which man can neither of himself escape
nor contribute towards his deliverance. The
incarnation presupposes man's sin. God became
man in order, by His sufferings and death, to
divine human nature. While the divine human
nature is preserved, the divine inseparably per-
vading and energizing the human; the human
sustaining and imparting to the human its infinite
efficacy. The humiliation (kenosis [I. V.]) is not of the
divine nature, but of the divine person in His
human nature, for it is not synonymous with
incarnation, but is only a determination of the
human nature, glorified from the first moment
of its union with the divine. Redemption
is made for all men and all sins, although not
received and realized by all. The doctrine of pre-
destination, he insists, should always be treated as a
supplement to Christology, since what God has
determined concerning our salvation from
eternity? He has revealed in the gospel, and, there-
fore, the gospel itself exhibits the contents of God's
eternal decree concerning salvation. The blessings
of salvation, to be realized, must be appropriated
by faith; but this faith is God's gift. Man cannot
believe in Christ, or come to Him, by his own reason
or strength. It is the office of the Holy Spirit alone
to bring man to Christ and Christ to man, to call,
enlighten, and regenerate. If man is saved, it is
entirely by the work of the Holy Spirit in applying
redemption through Christ; if he is lost, it is en-
tirely by his own persistent resistance of the
offers of divine grace. There are no degrees in justifica-
tion; it is perfect and complete, however weak
the faith that apprehends it, since the righteous-
ness which it imparts is the perfect righteousness
of Christ. If regarded as forgiveness, where the
least is involved, he considers the least sin is
unforgiven, none are forgiven. But justification is
even more than forgiveness.

Christ and man have exchanged places; so that,
while all the guilt of man is assumed by Christ,
all the righteousness of Christ is transferred to
man. Hence the confidence of man before God
is kindred love. As an active principle, faith not
only receives what God offers, but also receives
the new powers imparted with justification, exercises
itself in obedience towards God, and in efforts for
the good of man.

It is as impossible to separate works from faith, as it is to
separate heat and cold from fire' [I. V. I. L. c. 22, p. 163.]
This passage has called forth the unqualified commendation of
the Roman Catholic theologian, J. A. Mosler, although he in-
correctly adds that it is 'in the most possible contradiction
with the Lutheran theory of justification' (Symbola, Mains,

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit comes to men only
in and through the Word and Sacraments, through
the word of the Law, producing sorrow for sin,
and through the gospel, i.e., the promise of
the forgiveness of sins producing faith. The office
of the Sacraments is to individualize the general
promise of the gospel. The chief thing in baptism
is not the water, but the Word, which, in and
with the water, is applied to the person baptized.
The chief thing in the Lord's Supper is not the
boily eating and drinking, but the assurance
of the given body and blood of Christ, which is
visibly presented to you, which is avisible word,
guests, and sealed by the elements and the heavenly
mystery that they offer. Since, wherever this
Word is preached, whether orally or visibly in the
Sacraments, the Holy Spirit is given, the
Sacraments become marks, designating where at
least some truly believing children of God are to
be found; i.e., they indicate the presence of the
Church, which otherwise is a matter of faith, as
the Creed confesses: 'I believe the catholic
Church, the communion of saints.' The direct
relation of each individual to Christ, unmediated
by any other agency than Word and Sacrament,
creates the spiritual priesthood of believers, and
obliterates the distinction between an order of
priests and laitymen. The ministry of the gospel is
not a priesthood, but an office of the Church for
the administration of Word and Sacrament, in
which administration ministers are only the exec-
tutives of the congregation, and, through the
congregation, of Christ Himself, who has called
and ordained them. Distinctions of rank among
ministers are not unnatural, and in some cases
may be very advantageous when agreed upon
simply according to human law. Uniformity of
Church government and ceremonies is unnecessary,
however desirably it may be as a matter of expedi-
ency. The Church has no power but that of the
Word. Even in regard to those matters where the
Word of God allows no freedom, we have no
greeting to attempt to constrain others by any other
means than by the preaching of the Word.

'I will preach and talk and write against these things, but
no one will I attempt to force' (Eight Sermons preached at
Word that has created the heavens and the earth must do this,
or it will be left undone.' (C.)

The dualism in ethics that pervaded the mediaval religionism, according to which there is
an inherent antagonism between the spiritual and
the material, the heavenly and the earthly, en-
tirely disappeared in Luther. The separation caused
by sin is removed by redemption and regeneration,
and the spiritual now pervades the material,
the heavenly the earthly. Hence the believer is
not only a spiritual priest, but also a spiritual king,
and lord over all things; and his chastened enjoy-
ment of them belongs to that gratitude which he
owes the Redeemer who has provided them for
him. Nevertheless, and when the least sin is
unforgiven, none are forgiven. But justification is
even more than forgiveness.
LUTHERANISM


Protestantism, and especially Lutheranism, stands out as a new phenomenon in history. The reasons for this are the peculiar nature of the Protestant Church and its message. It is not simply a new form of religious belief, but a new way of life and thought. It is a revolution in the way people think and live, in their relationship to God and to each other. Lutheranism is not just a set of beliefs, but a way of being in the world.


LUTHERANISM.—Notwithstanding the protests which Luther himself raised against it, the term ‘Lutheran’ was soon applied in the 16th cent. to the church and doctrines of his followers. His voluminous works, many of which reaching us through the notes of others instead of from the pen of the author himself, the memoranda of friends, and the results of his own memory, fragmentary as many of his conversations in the bosom of his family, his most confidential letters to his most intimate associates, humorous and satirical as well as serious, afford an inexhaustible mine for students of successive generations. Researches in archives heretofore closed and in libraries where they have lain unnoticed are bringing to light MSS of decided historical importance. Thus, in the last year of last century, his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, for which scholars had long been looking, were found in so public a place as the Berlin Library, shortly after a student’s note of the same lectures had been found in the Vatican Library, and succeeding only by a little over ten years the discovery of lectures on the Psalms, belonging also to his formative period. New biographies from both old and new sources, the latter as professed to apply with rigid impartiality the highest standards of historical criticism, succeed each other with a frequency that is remarkable when considered that he has been dead for over three centuries and a half, showing clearly that the last word has not been said on many questions that he started, and that cannot be answered without a thorough study of his own presentations.

LITERATURE.—(O) Of the more recent Roman Catholic criticism of Luther and his work, the following may be mentioned: J. Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 4 vols., Munich, 1874-91, Eng. tr., 10 vols., London, 1896-1911; H. S. Denifle, Luther und Lutherwissenschaft, 2 vols., Mainz, 1904-5; H. Grimm, Luther, 3 vols., Freiburg in Br. 1911-13.

(9) Among the replies called forth are the following: J. Ketten, Luthers und Janssens, der Deutsche Reformator und ein ultramontaner Historiker, Halle, 1893. R. Seeberg, Luther und Lutherthum in der neuesten katholischen Deutung, Leipzig, 1904; T. Kolde, P. Denifle, seine Beschaffenheit, Luthers, d. 1904, J. Hausserleiter, Luther im roman. Urtheil, d. 1904; C. F. Hauser, Ein Wort zu Denifle’s Luther, Tübingen, 1901; G. Kawerau, Luther in kath. Behandlung, Glossen zu H. L. B. F. 1904; K. Schulten, Luther’s Ethik, in the pamphlet of L. G. Evers, and Denifle, G. Ketten, and H. Beunaris, Luther’soldt der neuen Forschung, Leipzig, 1911, 1914.

(10) Among the collected works of Luther have been comprised in seven editions of varying excellence and completeness: the Wittenberg (1555-57); the Jena (1555-63); the Altenburg (1555-65); the Leipzig (1779-40); J. G. Waith, (Jenick’s of 1750-58), of which the St. Louis (1836-1901) is a thoroughly revised reprint; the Erzengl (beginning in 1829); the Weimar, the fullest and edited with greatest critical accuracy, under the patronage of the German Emperor. It was begun in 1833, and is still far from completion. For details concerning these editions see PB. 209, art. ‘Luther.’ A very convenient edition of select works, edited with critical care and with introductions, is that of G. Buchwald, G. Kawerau, J. Köstlin, M. Rade, and E. Schmidt, 6 vols., with 2 supplementary vols., 3rd ed., Berlin, 1905. Of greater scientific value is O. Clemen, Luther’s Werke in Auswahl, 2 vols., Born, 1897-1914.

(11) The list of biographies begins with that of Melanchthon, published the year after Luther’s death, in the introduction to the Latin volume of the Wittenberg edition of Luther’s works. Mention may be made of the following: M. Meurer, Leipzig, 1815; V. Weber, Leipzig, 1815; J. Köstlin, ed., G. Kawerau, Berlin, 1901; T. Kolde, Geschichte unseres Jahrhunderts, 1837; W. Hausrat, Berlin, 1904; and the English biographies of C. Becher, London, 1884; H. E. Ellis, London, 1894; T. B. Lindsay, Edinburgh, 1900, and esp. in his History of the Reformation, 1908; H. E. Smith, London, 1911; H. C. McNeill, et al., 1911. A very abundant, but most excellent and suggestive, classification of biographies and other writers on Luther, according to schools, is the work of

1 Critically edited and published, with historical introductions, by J. Freden, Luther’s Vorlesungen über den Hamburger Brief, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1898.
or Church body. Where the doctrines of the Confessions are held and confessed, even though the Confessions themselves be not authorized, the Lutheran character of the teaching is established; while, on the other hand, where the contents of the Confessions are not cordially received, as a matter of faith, i.e., as derived from God's Word, and there is no subscription to such Confessions with qualifications expressed or with mental reservations, the test is not met. A real Confession is one not merely a verbal or written declaration of Christian freemen of the liberty that they have attained in Christ, and of the limits within which this liberty is to be found and exercised (cf. art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 845).

What are known historically as the Lutheran Confessions are not attempts to summarize the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as are various other Confessions in Christendom that are, in reality, systems of doctrine. The confessional development of Lutheranism has proceeded on the principle that Holy Scripture is its own interpreter, and needs no formal explanation by Church authority, unless the meaning of Scripture be involved in serious controversies that greatly agitate the Church and call for the careful guarding of the purity of the gospel. It would not be possible to perversely alter it. Articles of faith that have not been attacked or misrepresented need no confessional treatment. A Confession, from this view, should never be an exhaustive presentation of the Church's faith, but there should be a readiness, as new controversies arise, to meet them with the same weapons and in the same spirit with which preceding controverted points have been treated. Hence the Augsburg Confession closes with the words: 'Let those who, from false claims, mistreat the holy name of the Lord, pronounce it according to the Scripture.'

The Lutheran Confessions have thus been determined by certain practical ends in view at several crises in the experience of the churches that call themselves Lutheran.

Of these Confessions, the two Catechisms (cf. art. CATECHISMS [Lutheran], vol. iii. p. 250 ff.), both written by Luther in 1529, are handbooks of elementary religious instruction rather than theological documents. The four theological Confessions are: the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Articles of the Formula of Concord, the Schmalkald Articles, and the Formula of Concord. The first of these chronologically, as well as by general recognition, the Augsburg Confession, was prepared by Melanchthon for presentation at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. It is an irrecusable document, emphasizing the points of agreement with the Roman Church, in the hope that some way might yet be found to avoid a break in the Western Church. The term 'unaltered' is used to distinguish the Confession presented at Augsburg from unauthorized revisions made by Melanchthon personally in 1540 and 1542, in the interests of a nearer approach to the Reformed. The fact that the term 'unaltered' may not strictly belong to the very text—since the original copies placed in the hands of the Emperor Charles V. have both been lost, and Melanchthon was compelled to reproduce the Confession from the very full notes of himself and his colleagues for publication the succeeding spring—does not justify the rejection of the distinction made by the majority of the two owners of the unaltered Confession. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) is a full and learned defence, also written by Melanchthon against the criticisms contained in The Confutation of the Augsburg Confession by Schmalkald Articles. The Schmalkald Articles (1537), prepared by Luther, with a long Appendix by Melanchthon, mark a stage in the controversy with Rome when the differences were no longer reconcilable. The Formula of Concord, (1577, or even earlier), gives a decision concerning controversies among Lutherans, as the other Confessions had treated those which had assailed them from without (see, further, art. CONFESSIONS, § 13).

Differences between Luther and Melanchthon were intensified among their followers. These differences, due primarily to differences of temperament, training, and religious belief, as well as to the personal rupture between them. Melanchthon, gentle, timid, and sensitive, loved the retirement and occupations of the study, and shrank from conflict. Far more of a humanist than Luther, he was swept by the force of events, and, much to his regret, from classical studies into the current of theological discussions. He had passed through no such inner spiritual conflicts as had Luther. Accordingly, he excelled in the sphere of the formal rather than of the material. No one could give such accurate and graceful literary expression to Luther's thoughts. But, when Luther's influence was removed, he was not only vacillating, but dominated by two principles, viz. a much higher regard than Luther for patristic authority, and a greater concern for the external peace and integrity of the Church. Lutheranism was often involved in negotiations with respect to Church policies, which compromised his position, and brought into prominence his great contrast with Luther in this particular. Notwithstanding his sharp arraignment of scholasticism in the first edition of his Locy Communes (1521), he soon manifested a bent towards the principles which he had repudiated, placed undue importance upon the philosophy of Aristotle, and became the founder of Lutheran scholasticism. The perpetuation of these two types of thought has caused not only differences in regard to the attitude of their adherents to individual Confessions, but also a stricter or a laxer standard of Confessional subscription. The Formula of Concord is a formal repudiation of Melanchthonianism in its divergence from Luther.

Of the two principles of Froissard, the formal and the material, it has often been observed that Lutheranism lays greater stress upon the material—'justification by Faith alone'—than upon the formal—'The Sole Authority of the Holy Scriptures.' Indeed, Church and State have never separated, the Scriptures are regarded as the absolute norm of revealed truth rather than as a magazine or receptacle in which the truth is stored. For it must not be forgotten that the gospel itself was proclaimed orally before it was committed to writing, and was no less the power of God unto salvation where thus preached, or where taught by those who had heard it from the first ear-witnesses, than when read on the printed page. Nor can the Scriptures be correctly apprehended except in a regenerative a new spiritual sense is imparted.

When even the most able and learned men upon earth read or hear the Gospel of the Son of God, and the promise of eternal salvation, they cannot from their own powers apprehend, understand or believe and regard it true, but the more diligence and earnestness they employ to comprehend with their reason these spiritual things, the less they understand or believe, and before they become enlightened, or taught of the Holy Ghost, they regard this only as foolishness or fictions, 1 Cor. 2. 14 (Formula of Concord, vol. ii. ch. ii. 9, Eng. tr., H. E. Jacobs, Book of Concord, p. 259).

The true interpretation of Scripture is to be found only as the relation of each part to Christ as the centre is correctly apprehended, and this is possible only by the regenerated man.

While protestings against all ecclesiastical authority that arrayed itself against Holy Scripture, Lutheranism lays great stress upon the continuous witness to the truth of the gospel, given through
the Holy Spirit, as this truth is applied and developed from age to age in believing personalities. Such believers, according to its teaching, constitute the Church, and whoever is not a member of the Church. In this respect its doctrine is in contrast with that of Rome, on the one hand, which lays so much importance upon the decisions of the externally organized and manned Church, and, on the other, which is apt to isolate the individual from his historical relations and the mediation of those through whom Word and Sacraments reach him. The relation of this controversy with the relation of the Holy Spirit to Word and Sacraments, since, besides being a source of revealed truth, it regards the Word as a real means of grace through which alone the Spirit calls, illumines, regenerate, sanctifies, and sanctifies; and the Sacraments as efficacious instrumentalities by which the promise of the gospel concerning the forgiveness of sins and the grace of God is individualized.

Like all ideals, those of Lutheranism suffer various modifications as embodied in a concrete form in external organizations. The union of Church and State in European lands has not only prevented the principles of Lutheranism from being applied in entire consistency to practice, but has also often interjected adjustments of theory and policy foreign to both its spirit and its teaching. Its influence in Reformation, so at all times, since, there have been those whose intense conservatism has shown the presence of a Romanizing, or whose greater freedom that of a Reformed, tendency. Indifferentism, Unionism, Mysticism, and Rationalism have had their learned advocates among those claiming the Lutheran name, and within Church organizations known as Lutheran, just as the Chelsea Church has much within it for which Christianity is not responsible.

days, when three were permitted. In 1563 a further act was passed against outrageous and ex-
cessive apparel, while in 1564 there was a more
detailed sumptuary law. The inflow of precious
metals to Europe after the discovery of America,
followed by the extended use of coin, increased the
stock of several classes of goods which previously
had been excessively rare and costly. Hence commod-
ities which had been of great value became relatively less expensive. This increased the
organization of industry facilitated production, so
that Adam Smith was able to point to the fact
that the most common artificer's accommodation
exceeded that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten
thousand naked savages (Wealth of Nations, bk.
i. ch. i.). Sumptuary legislation in England may be
said to have ended with the Tudors. Mercantilism,
in its encouragement of manufactures, tended to
permit the production of luxuries for exportation.
The growth of foreign trade enabled seafaring
nations to participate in it and in the re-exporting
of rare and costly goods. Accordingly, though
there remained a sturdy body of opinion against
luxuries generally, and more especially against
those luxuries brought from foreign countries,
such as china, precious stones, and oriental
wares, the growth of wealth and activity in
England, in Scotland, on the other hand, as late as 1681 the
Scotts Parliament prohibited the importation of a
long list of foreign commodities which were held to
be "sumptuary" in character. The increased taxation
followed by the acceptance of the doctrine of
laissez-faire (q.v.) made the State less disposed to
interfere with private expenditure unless upon
moral or social grounds, as, for instance, in the
regulation of wines and spirits. In the 19th cent.,
the principle of the taxation of luxuries came to
be more and more recognized, partly on the ground
of restraining the consumer from a species of con-
sumption which was hurtful to himself (e.g., taxa-
tion of spirits), partly as raising revenue from what
were admitted to be superfluities, and thereby col-
lecting revenue from classes who would not pay
taxes on necessaries (e.g., tea and sugar taxes).
Few taxes may be regarded as having a sumptuary
element, such as the tax on armorial bearings or
those on male servants and on motor cars.

2. The economic questions arising out of the
existence of luxuries are of great importance. Men who
approach the problem of luxury from the historical
side are inclined to urge against it that it has been
the cause of the fall of great empires. Frequently,
indeed, it is the first symptom of decadence, but a closer analysis tends to show that
the moral weakness had already shown itself, and,
as it increased, it manifested itself in public and
private extravagance, while extravagance again
gave fresh impetus to the forces of political and
social disintegration. In these cases it is clear
that the evil lay in the abuse of luxury.

Some of the most powerful economic motives are
to be found in the desire of men to realize an idea
or scheme of life which seems to them an improve-
ment on their present one. Once their pure bodily
wants are satisfied, their further desires may be
centered on this ideal. This, however, is not strictly
accurate. In a great number of occupations the
worker who is able to satisfy the former wants
only would not be efficient. Therefore one must
extend the meaning of the term "luxury" so as to
include in it all those things which are required
for efficiency. What is consumed beyond that
point may well be described as consisting of
luxuries. It follows that the term "luxury" must
be understood in relation to time, place, and
the general circumstances. It is easy to determine
whether any specific commodity is a luxury to a
given individual in regard to whom the necessary

1 The matter is stated this way to allow for the possibility
that the producer of the luxury may save a portion of the
profit which he has realized from its sale. Such savings would
be available for new production.
LYCANTHROPY—The word 'lycanthropy' is used in two senses. (1) It may indicate merely a form of madness in which the patient imagines that he is an animal, especially a wolf, and acts as such. This disease was common in antiquity, and especially in the Middle Ages, doubtless as a result of the wide-spread belief that transformation into animal form was possible (§ 3). (2) It indicates the popular belief that on occasion a human being can actually transform himself or herself into a wolf, or be transformed into a wolf or some other animal. In this form he slays and eats men. But, if wounded while in his wolf form, it is found that a corresponding wound exists on the human body from which the transformation has taken place. When wounded or killed, the werewolf's human form is restored. While the wolf transformation is that which is or was commonest in Europe, it is by no means the only one. For this superstition is practically world-wide, and everywhere it is generally the fiercest and most dreaded animals whose shapes are assumed by the wolf transformations has been most usual in all parts of Europe and in N. Asia from early times, but in the North of Europe the bear form is also general, and in modern Greece the boar. In Abyssinia and E. Africa the hyena form is taken; in other parts of Africa the hyena, leopard, lion, and sometimes the shark, crocodile, or even the elephant. In India and other parts of Western Asia the tiger form is usual; in Borneo and Shos the tiger or leopard; in China and Japan the tiger, fox, etc. In N. America the wolf form is mostly found; in S. America the jaguar. But, while in regions where such wild animals have become extinct the old tales are still told, no other less harmful animal forms are believed to be taken by witches or sorcerers—e.g., those of the cat, hare, etc.—and in these animal shapes considered the 'sorcerer' is supposed to be done, while the idea of the wound being continuous in the animal and human shapes ('repercussion,' see § 5) also prevails.

'lycanthropy' is derived from Ancient Greek 'λυκανθρωπία, 'man, or the state being άνθρωπος (cf. πουάνθρωπος, 'man, man'), the common English name is 'werewolf,' Lit. 'man-Wolf,' A.S. wer-mann, O.H.G. wiermann, Norman guermain, etc.; 'man'; cf. O. It. fer, lat. uf, and cf. 'werwolf'). The French name for werewolf is loup-garou. In this case garou has been thought to be corruption of wer and loup, but this is miscalculation. The Old French romance contains the forms wera, wera, enema, 'to change one into an animal.' Bistoria for blot-garou (Ges.-&- entertaining.

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LYCANTHROPY

zari. The Kallikantzari are beings of monstrous form, hurtful and evil, who destroy men and carry off women, and sometimes make a meal of their prey.1 Lawson considers that the Kallikantzari represent the ancient Centaurs, whom he regards as a Pelasgic tribe of Centaureti credited by the Achaeans with shape-shifting. Some connexion also exists between them and the mummies of the Dionysia who represented the satyre and Silen. The story of the dog-devouring part of the tribe could change into ravening werewolves in time of drought, others into vampires or kites.2 Among the Semites lycanthropy was not unknown, but recorded instances of the belief are few.3 Among the Sclaven in Hesse the whole tribe could change into ravening werewolves in time of drought, others into vampires or kites. The Arabs also regarded some men as having the nature of a hyena, and said that, if a traveller and his men were shot up with one of these and a hyena came, it would go at once to him.4

The belief among the Celts is illustrated by a story told by Giraldus Cambrensis. An Irish priest was met by a wolf in Meath and desired to come and see his dying wife. They were natives of Osmy, whose people had been cursed for their wickedness by St. Natalis, and were compelled to take two by two a wolf-shape for seven years, returning to their own form at the end of that time. The priest was persuaded to give the bale-wolf the sacrament, for the other turned her skin down a little, showing that she was an old witch. Giraldus also says that the Irish never hesitated to give his advice on this case at the synod of Meath two years after, and that it was referred to the popular custom.5

A citation in the Book of Ballymote (1406) says that the 'descendants of the wolf' in Osmy had the power of changing themselves and going forth to devour people. St. Patrick is also said to have cursed a certain man in Ireland so that they and their descendants are werewolves at a certain time every seventh year, or for seven years on end.6 These may be explanatory legends about older wolf-totem clans, later accursed of lycanthropy as an already current superstition—when totemism was requiring an explanation, as in the case of the wolf-clan in Arethia. To the same category may be referred the statements of early writers on the Sclaven who went to Ireland in the effect that the Irish took wolves as godfathers, prayed to them to do them no ill, and used their teeth as amulets. Lycanthropy ran in families, and here also it may point to an older totem clan. Laignech Faelad and his family could take a wolf-shape at will and kill the herd, and Laignech was called Faelad because he was the first of them to go as a wolf.7 In Irish and Welsh Marches transformation to wolf-form of oath-breakers by a stepmother or of a husband by a wife is not uncommon.8 Giraldus already refers to the belief that hags in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland can change to hares or to snakes in their milk. But, with St. Augustine, regards this supposed change as a delusion of the senses.9 This belief is thus contemporary with that in lycanthropy, but long survived it. Later Celtic witches—Irish, Welsh, Manx, Scots—usually turn into hares or cats, less often into dogs, weasels, ravens, porpoises, whales, etc., for the purpose of doing mischief. In Donegal the change is said to be effected by a hair rope made of a stallion's mane and by the recital of charms. In some cases the transformation is confined to certain families. Such witch animals can be shot only with a silver bullet. When followed up, the woman was revealed her true form and is found to have a corresponding wound. A Miller in Cork who saw many of


cats attacking his flour threw his knife at them and cut off the leg of one. Next morning he found a tear in the skirt with hair cut off, and concluded that she was a witch. Hares are usually thought to be unlucky, and are suspected of being witches in disguise. The ancient Welsh laws already speak of their magical character, regarding them as companions of witches, who often assumed their shape.1

The Slavic werewolf is referred to under DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavie), vol. iv. p. 624.

Fljorien, mentioned by Herodotius (iv. 105), were a Slavic people (cf. E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102 f.). The Scythians and Greeks said that every year each Neurian became a wolf for a few days and was then restored to human shape. Among the Magyars witches and wizards assume the form of horses, cats, etc. If the former are caught and shod or the latter injured, they are found next morning in human form with iron shoes on hands and feet or seriously wounded.2 Hertz notes the sinister character of the belief through its connexion with that in the vampire, the names for both being inter-changeable.3

The Serbians think that the vuokolok have annual gatherings, where they hang their wolf-skins on trees. Should such a skin be taken and burnt, the owner of the skin is said to turn into a girdle of human skin laid across a threshold by a witch in a house where a wedding is taking place will cause all who step over it to become wolves. In three years’ time, if the hag then puts her other wolf- skin to turn them with skins with the hair turned outwards, they resume their human form. This is a Polish belief. In White Russia the werewolf is sometimes a man transformed by the devil, and, contrary to the usual belief, he is harmless, but is driven to wander from place to place.4

In a Polish story a wolf seizes a girl at a merry-making and carries her off to the forest. Years after, one of the peasants meets his long-lost brother, who concludes that he was the wolf changed by sorcery, that he had carried off the girl, who had died of grief, and that then he was convinced with man-skin and killed as many as he could. He had come to see his home once more, but must resume his wolf- form immediately, which he did.5 In another case a peasant, released from his wolf-shape, returned home to find his wife married again, he cried, ‘Why am I no longer a wolf that I might punish this woman?’ Immediately he was re-transformed, and killed his wife and child. The neighbours came and slew the wolf, when the body was seen to be that of a man.6

Olaus Magnus says that at Christmas many werewolves are on the prowl, and try to enter houses to drink in the cellars. Between Lithuania, Samogitia, and Livonia the wall of an old castle with thousands of wervolves come to try their skill at leaping. The unsuccessful one is beaten by one of the captains or by the devil. The method of transformation was to drink to one in a cup of ale and mumble certain words. Then he could assume or lay aside the wolf form when he pleased. The Livonian werewolves collected at Christmas, and crossed a river which had the power of changing them to wolves, like the lake in Arcadia. They resumed their human shape at the end of twelve days. In Livonia a servant whose power as a werewolf was disputed went down to the cellar and soon after came out as a wolf. Thedogs bit out one of its eyes, and next day the man appeared with one eye.7


3 In Scandinavian and Germany the superstition was well known, and here the wolf, and in the former also the bear, were animals into whose form the transformation took place. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence in the 8th cent., mentions the belief.1 The change was caused by a man himself—e.g., by donning a wolf-skin (ulfhorn, hence the name `skilvanger'; cf. Lat. lupus, wolf-gourd, or a girdle of human skin; or it might be forced upon him—e.g., by throwing such a skin or girdle at him, or by shaking a wolf-skin glove at him. The latter, at least, was done on a dunghill, and was held in place by a buckle with seven catches. When the buckle was broken off, the transformation ceased. In such cases the man was a wolf or bear by night, and a man by day; or he assumed the animal form for nine days, or even for three, seven, or nine years, the eyes alone retaining a human appearance. He howled and devoured like the actual animal. Such persons were said to be elti eikhorne, ‘not of our form,’ or hamnarr, hambleg, ‘changing form.’ In some instances the gift of transformation was imparted by trolls. Burehard of Worms speaks of certain Parcae who by the blood of a birth can cause the child may later transform himself into a wolf or any other form.2 In later times Finns, Lapps, or Russians were thought by Scandinavians to have the power of changing into wolves, who were therefore disliked. The belief was apparently much mingled with and probably influenced by the fact that wild warriors and outlaws—e.g., the berserker—were wolf-skins or bear-skins, but wore armour or clad themselves in these, while they were often victims of ungovernable passion and acted as if they were animals.3 This is illustrated in the earliest Scandinavian instances of the werewolf—‘that contained in the Volunga Saga (chs. 5–8).

King Volsung had ten sons and a daughter, Sigrj, who was married to king Siggeir. Siggeir later slew Volsung and bound his sons in the stocks. There plus of them were devoured by an old she-wolf—the mother of Siggeir, who had taken this form. Through Siggy’s craft the tenth son, Sigmund, overcame this werewolf and went into hiding. Sigr exchanged form with a sorceress, and had a son by a sorcier, called Sindolf. He and Sigmund took to wandering life, and, on one occasion, came to a house where two men were sleeping, with wolf-skins hanging above them. For nine days they were wolves and on the tenth day came out of their skins. Sigmund and Sindolf donned the skins and became wolves, and each went his way to see if either of them had the wolf-skin on. Later these were more than seven men without bowing for the other. In the sequel Sindolf slew three men without Sigmund’s knowledge, and hearing of this, flew to his throat and wounded him. When he was healed his brother had done for doing their wolf-skins, they agreed to lay them aside for ever, and burned them in the fire. Of this wild tale Baring-Gould (p. 58) has said that it is ‘divested of its improbability, if we regard these skins as worn over their armour.’ While this is true, and while wolves, ‘will,’ means also ‘will,’ the story is an important witness to the belief itself, as is seen from the words of Gudmund to Sindolf, ‘Thou thyself hast eaten wolves’ meat and murdered thy brother. Thou hast often sucked wounds with cold mouth, and sunk, losthomme to all men, into the degrees of wild beasts’ (Vigfusson-Powell, i. 323). In another wild tale from the History of Irielh Kraka, Biren was transformed into a bear by his stepmother, who shot a wolf’s-skin glove at him. He lived as a bear and killed many of his father’s sheep, but by night he always became a man, until he was hunted and slain (See W. Scott, Minstrelsy, London, 1839, p. 304).

1 M. F. Bemer, ‘Recherches sur la lycanthropie,’ Mem. de la soc. des amis de France, nov. ser., x. 236. For further references to the Slavic werewolf see G. Krek, Einleitung in die slaven Literaturgeschichte, Leipzig, 1890, p. 410; and for Lithuanian material, A. Berzemiker, Lisuotaice Forenkiai, Gatington, 1899, p. 671.

2 Paul de Boveri, ‘Der Abend-Diabol’ (PL lxxxv. 578–827).

3 Baring-Gould, p. 96.


5 Vigfusson-Powell, i. 423; Baring-Gould, p. 304.
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The poet Ari has a curious tale of two "skin-changers," Darleg och Dedal, in which a woman transforms herself into the latter of a bear. They fought, and next day were found in bear form. Modern collections of Scandinavian and German Marchen contain many werewolf stories.

In one Swedish tale a coffin was transformed by a Vargorgoed or "wolf-god", because he had defiled himself when tending a cow. Years after, he appeared at his house, and regained his human shape when his wife gave him food.1 In a Danish tale a man, when in his wife's company, noticed that the time of the accustomed change drew near. He had her stand upon a chair when his shape changed. When he returned, she was a wolf with a twisted head, and Satan himself she was.2

Spoken of in many Germanic folk-tales, the werewolf assumes human form at will. He is often found, with the moon, in the form of a wolf, with the form of a sheep, or in human shape. The most celebrated cases of werewolves in literature are of the following:

In a Norwegian tale a shepherd found a wolf-skin by the sea, by which he became a wolf at night.3 In Brittany, a peasant was transformed into a werewolf by the gods and became a god himself.4

In the old German literature, the werewolf is called a werwolf, stuffed with straw and made to resemble a wolf. In modern times, the word "werwolf" is used in connection with the wolfman, a human being who assumes the form of a wolf, and is usually known as a werewolf.5

The legend of St. Roman in medieval Brittany told how he had taken the form of a werewolf and had eaten children.6

Cervantes, in his Don Quixote, tells of a certain Don Quixote de la Mancha, who, in his adventures in the province of La Mancha, is transformed into a werewolf by the devil.7

In English and Scotland werewolf stories are scanty, but there are traces of the superstition in early literature. The word werewolf in the sense of 'rober' occurs in the Laws of Canute, and it is also found in the Roman de la Rose, in which a young lady is changed into a wolf by the wolf-god, and rescued by a young man who had been transformed into a wolf in the form of a deer.8

In the early Middle Ages, the werewolf was believed to be a child of the devil, and was regarded as a thing to be feared and hated.9

The werewolf is a popular theme in literature, and is found in many works of fiction and poetry. The most famous werewolf story is probably the one told in the novel "The Wolf-Man" by Jack London, in which a man is changed into a werewolf by a curse. The story has been adapted into films and other media, and has become a popular icon of popular culture.

1 Thorpe, ii. 64.

2 Jb. ii. 168.

3 Jb. vii. 327.

4 Jb. viii. 66.

5 Jb. p. 69.

6 F. B. de Soria, Quisiendo de lo que se escriba, ch. 20, in Bibliotheca Teutonica, ed. by Fr. J. B. von Hertenstein, 1807.

7 Hertz, p. 714; Thorpe, i. 1914.

8 Rhys, i. 596; Dalby, pp. 55, 550; J. Napier, Folklore, Pahuyu, 1973, pp. 70, 119; A. E. Bray, Border of the Famen and the Wolf, London, 1900.

9 A. K. Lycanthropy, from the Greek lycans, meaning "wolf," and anthropos, meaning "man," is a term used to describe the mythical or actual transformation of a human being into a wolf, or the belief in such transformation. The term has been used in various cultures and time periods, and has been associated with various beliefs and practices, ranging from religious and spiritual beliefs to superstitious practices and cultural legends.
grows in them. They devour their children, then those of relatives, then children of strangers. Doors and locks fly open before them by night. In the morning the skin is doffed. If the skin is found and burned, then the woman suffers fearful agonies. Thus Passangers in Malaya. In Asia Minor generally werewolves are feared especially at Christmas and in Holy Week.

In India, the tiger is the fiercest creature known, its form is supposed to be adopted. A resemblance to tigers is the monomaniac is said to be consecrated to the man-tiger. In most instances the Hindus attribute the power of shape-shifting to the aboriginal tribes. Numerous stories are current regarding man with the power of becoming wer-tigers—e.g., among the Khonds (with whom, by the aid of a god, one of a man's four souls becomes a milepa tiger), the Lahsals, Kuki.

Tylor describes how a Kol, tried for murder, maintained that his victim was a wer-tiger, which he had followed to the man's house after it had killed his wife. The relatives of the victim had admitted that they had suspected him of such power and had handed him over to the priests, who slew him.

Sometimes the eating of a root is believed to produce the change. Occasionally the witch assumes the form of a badger and carries off children. Witches also-rich黑白 about on tigers or in the water at crocodiles, desecrated with glaring eyes, and heads turned round. Wizards also have tigers as familiars, or, as a Thana belief has it, mediums are possessed by a tiger-spirit. The souls of these slain by tigers are believed to pass into tigers to slay and devour in their turn, or to sit on the heads of tigers and direct them to their prey, calling out in a human voice so as to attract the unwary.

In Indonesia the wer-tiger is very commonly believed in among the Malays, Dayaks, etc. Sometimes the power of transformation is thought to be current among the same tribe, even among the Korinchi Malays. There are many tales of men leaving their garments in a thicket, whence a tiger has presently emerged, or in human form vomiting feathers of owls eaten when in their tiger form. A wer-tiger slain was found to have gold-plating in its teeth, as the man who assumed tiger form had. The Laivas of Burma are also regarded as wer-tigers.

While the wer-tiger is very dangerous in Java it is believed to guard plantations against pigs, and the change is effected by spells, charms, fasting, etc. In Malayia the medicine-man is sometimes possessed by a tiger-spirit, and acts as a tiger when exercising a spirit from a sick man.

A gruesome Malay story of a Semang who became a tiger (Si Riau) tells of how the man was hanged, and sucked blood rather than a fish, is told by H. Clifford. The tiger burst into a hut where several people were collected. One of them was able to reach a shelf near the roof, and from there he saw how the tiger killed them all and drank deep draughts of blood. One girl he first played with as a cat with a mouse, and all night he tossed the bodies about and tore them, disappearing at dawn.

Another story tells how the transformation was seen taking place. A bride saw her Korinchi husband returning home as a tiger, which thrust its head above the top rung of the entrance ladder. It pulpitomed and changed, and the face of the husband came up through the face of the beast. Later this wer-tiger was caught in a trap, but escaped, when it was tracked to the house. There the man was said to be sick, and

1 A. F. L. M. von Hartmann, Transmogrifica, London, 1854, p. 359; El. EEE, ii. 360.
2 SBE rev. (1900) 411.
3 Pl. xx. (1909) 117; Tyler, PC 34, 299.
5 Crooke, PLR 516.
6 Il, II, 357.
7 T. W. WEBBER, Forests of Upper India, London, 1892, p. 27; El. EEE, i. 211.
10 E. T. Dalton, Descriptions Ethnol. of Bengal, Calcutta, 1877, p. 251.
11 Crooke, PLR 516.
12 Il, II, 357.
13 T. W. WEBBER, Forests of Upper India, London, 1892, p. 27; El. EEE, i. 211.

The tiger familiar spirit is also possessed by certain men, and after their death their spirits appear as tigers, or the medicine-man has subject to him an actual tiger which is immortal (Benua of Johore). The soul of a dead wizard enters the body of a tiger, and its purpose is left in the tiger for four days until the change is effected.

A curious Malay belief concerns the fold in which tigers possessed of human souls are penned. Periodical attacks of fierceness come on them, when they break bounds and go after their prey. Passing through another door they become men, and on returning through another tiger they become tigers again. Their chief is always in human form, and enters the bodies of sorcerers when they invoke the tiger spirit.

The transformation into tiger form is effected in different ways: by sympathetic magic—e.g., donning a sarong (yellow with black stripes) and repeating charms—by offerings to evil spirits, by charms, or by a mysterious poison which is supposed to affect the soul: or the power is conceived as hereditary. Among the Semang the medicine-man heightens incense and maintains himself on it. Presently fur and a tail appear on him, as he himself believes, and he goes about for twelve days destroying cattle. Then he returns home and is sick, vomiting bones. During the twelve days his wife must not look at him. If after two years keep the fire burning and burn incense, else he would disappear. Such a wer-tiger cannot be shot, as it disappears so quickly.

Various beliefs are held regarding the transformation among the Malays—the whole body takes part in it, or merely the soul substance, the body remaining at home.

Among the wild Malays of the Patani States there is a belief in badi, or mischief, caused by a body after death and devours the semangat or, sometimes, the liver of passer-by. Birds and beasts also have badi or, in the case of tigers, leopards, and jungle cats, seguang or secur; and, if a man is affected by this, he goes mad, and either imitates the actions of the creature or is subject to an abnormal growth resembling one natural to it.

In the Lombok the crocodile form is assumed by certain men in order to destroy their enemies, and many strange stories are told of them. This form is also taken among the Klemantas, one group of whom claim the crocodile as a relative. One man found that his skin become rough, his skin as a crocodile’s, and a tail forming, until he was completely transformed. He made his relatives swear that they would never kill a crocodile. Many people saw him in crocodile form.

In China there are various wer-animals—tiger, wolf, dog, fox, etc. The change is usually a bodily one, but an ethereal human double may pass into an animal either before or after death. There are many literary notices of such transformations.

An early instance is mentioned in a document of the 2nd cent. B.C., in which, after the crisis of evil spirits, a man changed to a tiger and killed his brother.

Such transformations are often ascribed to delinquent patients, and, if the patient does not kill a man, he may return to human form. This suggests a popular confusion between the fancies of insanity
and actual belief in the power of shape-shifting. Sometimes the transformation is ascribed to a community of aborigines, and is effected by magical means. In other cases the cause may be divine dispensation, or be because of the neglect of religious duties. Here the victim goes mad and turns into a tiger. In some instances he is covered with a spotted skin by the god, as in European cases, where a wolf-skin is used. Stories of transformation by the witch are current in China. Weasels and tiger-skin are said to be found in China.

A 14th cent. writer tells how he saw a man slowly becoming converted into a tiger, and his face adorned with spots and stripes. During the night he ate a hog. Other cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence. Wer-tigers and tigers are sometimes favourably disposed and give presents. This is especially the case with wer-tigers on behalf of those who excite their love.

The wolf transformation is also known. In 1880, an old man was found lying on the ground, and his life was supposed to be taken away by a wolf. The people believed that if the man would return to his house, the wolf would come to him. The man agreed, and when he came back to his house, the wolf transformed itself into a tiger. The tiger then devoured the man.

In 1890, there was a case in Japan where a man was transformed into a tiger and was devoured by a tiger.

The Ninko fox can also take various forms, especially that of a pretty girl, in which shape it will even marry a man. These foxes also possess magical powers, and can cause death or illness, but they are dangerous if ill-treated. Some Samurai families are believed to own foxes, which steal for them or torment their enemies. Foxes to whom some kindness has been shown, or who have been treated kindly, will eat the door of it with money, etc., part of which turns to grass. Often the house in which the fox lives is illusory and cannot be found again (see FAIRY, vol. v. p. 679). Men possessed by foxes run about yelling and eating only what foxes eat, but the possessing goblin-fox may be exorcised.

The same fox-belief exists in the Ainu, and with them the fox has both good and evil powers, and can cause death. Foxes also exhume and eat corpses. But the same powers of transformation to human form are ascribed to the hou, mole, crow, etc. The possession of the hou, for example, and especially the case, can enter into and bewitch a man as a punishment; the victim eats a cat, wastes away, and dies mewing like a cat. This may occur when a man has killed a cat. To prevent possession by its spirit, he must eat part of its liver.

The Eskimos and some American Indian tribes also possess the fox superstition. The wer-animal superstition is found in Africa in connexion with a variety of savage beasts. All over N. Africa it is believed that the jinn can take animal forms—wolf, jackal, lion, serpent, scorpion. This is also true of the giilas, who appear as men, women, and animals, and feed on dead men. They are also called the Nogitsune, or the goblin-fox. It is also known that the jinn can assume the shape of the budos, which change into hyenas and kill and devour. They are distinguished from ordinary hyenas by greater malodour. The budas are sorcerers: they are found among the Falashas and Agoss, are supposed to be budas. Hyenas have been killed with earrings in their ears, and these are believed to be budas, though it has been thought that sorcerers put earrings in the ears of young hyenas to bolster up this superstition. The budas have a king in the neighbourhood of Abolo to whom they bring offerings of corpses daily. As blacksmiths are a hereditary folk, their sorcery is also hereditary, but a budu confers the gift on his children by a mysterious subscription of herbs. Cases of transformation are believed to have been actually witnessed. In one such case...

1cf. the Raihnanthi belief that the black bear 'takes the form of a beautiful woman at night, and to be able to eat her if they are not wary' (M. L. Danes, FL. xii. (1903) 265).


4 Dennys, p. 96; H. J. Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskamo, Edinburgh, 1893, p. 141.

5 E. W. Lane, Avarition Society in Middle Ages, London, 1883, pp. 34, 45.


the buda sprinkled ashes over his shoulders, and the change began. Besides killing men and drinking their blood, the buda takes possession of his victim, entering his body by a look, or when he is eating. He can kill by a single glance. He lives on the remains of dead animals, and sometimes digs up corpses to eat them. This is also done by actual hyenas.\(^1\)

The belief in the wer-hyena occurs from the Soudan to Tanganyika, and is perhaps strengthened by the fact that wizards at their meetings bow and Caper like hyenas, eat horrid food, and commit excesses of fright which makes the onlooker mad. Even in the daytime their glance causes a deadly sickness. Certain tribes in the Soudan are supposed to possess this power of transformation, but it is dangerous to shoot them. One of them who was shot was seen to enter the hut of a wizard, who then cried out and the man went after the man who followed him to the grave.\(^2\) Generally among the black races the usual animals, besides the hyena, are the lion, leopard, and crocodile. In Nubia old women are considered hyenas, and antelope, and the bodies of these animals by night.\(^3\) In the Soudan the hyena shape is supposed to be assumed at an ant's nest. The Aveinda wizards receive powders of wild beans from spirits called vibanda.\(^4\) The Manyamwesi of E. Africa think that sorcerers can transform themselves into animals in order to injure their enemies.\(^5\) In E. Central Africa the bewitcher (mfti) can turn himself into a hyena, leopard, crocodile, etc. He then digs up dead bodies and eats them. Sometimes the change takes place after death, and, if the creature kills people, some method of appeasing it is necessary. He can be driven away by the infirmity of Makanga to have a wife who at night opens the door of the kraal to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goat was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together.\(^6\) Among the Tumbuka of Central Africa certain women wander about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions.\(^7\) In W. Africa the Yoruba think that the wer-hyenas assume their animal shape at night to prey on cattle and sheep, and, if possible, on human beings, who are sometimes compelled to go out to them when they utter certain howls.\(^8\) In Londa the belief existed that the chief who could change to a lion, kill some one, and then resume his own form.\(^9\) The Ibo believe that a man's spirit can leave his body and enter into one of the many supernatural beings, as the iisi anu, 'to turn an animal,' and it is done by means of a drug. If the animal is killed, the man dies; if wounded, his body is covered with boils.\(^10\) Wilson says of sorcerers and witches: 'They sometimes turn into leopards and change their enemies into elephants, in which form they kill them.\(^11\) In Senegambia, a sorcerer who changes to an evil animal is kept off by means of salt; or, when transformed, he leaves his skin behind him. If it is rubbed with salt, he suffers, and comes to beg that the grains of salt be removed.\(^12\) In W. Africa generally the power of certain persons to change into leopards or to send their souls into leopards, which are then guided by the human possessor to kill such persons as are obnoxious to them, is very commonly believed in. The person so changed is called a nyunger and cannot be killed. Many persons actually believe that they have thus metamorphosed themselves and done harm. Other animals—lion, panther, crocodile, or shark—are occasionally made use of.\(^13\) One family, living in a kraal, kept a leopard in their kraal. When it changed into leopards, but, if once they lap blood, they remain leopards forever. The Ariadne wervolfs. In Calabar a man may become a leopards. If he becomes a leopards, the man who, after marriage, went to the wilds and lived like a hyena on dead bodies. Returning home, he ate his child. His brothers killed him, but the woman's second husband also became a hyena and ate her and his child.\(^4\) In British Central Africa the bewitcher (mfti) can turn himself into a hyena, leopard, crocodile, etc. He then digs up dead bodies and eats them. Sometimes the change takes place after death, and, if the creature kills people, some method of appeasing it is necessary. He can be driven away by the infirmity of Makanga to have a wife who at night opens the door of the kraal to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goat was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together.\(^6\) Among the Tumbuka of Central Africa certain women wander about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions.\(^7\) In W. Africa the Yoruba think that the wer-hyenas assume their animal shape at night to prey on cattle and sheep, and, if possible, on human beings, who are sometimes compelled to go out to them when

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both living and dead, with power to change to an animal—hyena, lion, serpent, or alligator—and to do harm to men or cattle.\(^1\) Among the Baronga a secret society exists the members of which send out their spirit-bodies or go out bodily at night to devour human flesh. They leave their shadow, or the appearance of themselves, behind, but this is in reality a wild animal with which the person has chosen to identify himself. If this appearance is still, a hyena or wolf is known from it; but, the real man falls through the roof with a similar wound. Such persons enter huts, take the true self of the occupant, and eat him. Only his shadow is left, and dies next morning, so that such wizards are not aware of their night work. Those who have long practised it, however, are aware. Perhaps the basis of the whole idea is to be found in the dream-conceptions of hysterical subjects.\(^2\) The Basuto also believe in wer-animals, mahlilhoumes, men who turn temporarily into animals and kill and eat human beings. They have the tradition of the introduction of sorcery through a queen who could transform herself from Africa. In Missouri the Negroes think some cats are devils, i.e. witches in disguise.\(^3\) The Voodoo is credited with the power of changing to a black wolf, dog, cat, owl, or bat at will. To stop this the human or the animal skin must be found and salted. This assumes a real change of skin.\(^4\)

With all the N. American Indian tribes it was believed that wizards and witches could take the form of wolves, foxes, bears, owls, bats, or snakes—a belief which was probably strengthened by the wizards wearing skins of animals and imitating their howls, etc.

A man had a legend of a medicine-man who was seized with a spasm and went on all fours. His nails grew long and sharp, a tail grew on him, hair covered his body, and he became a bear. This transformation lasted until the spasm passed.\(^5\) A similar belief to that of the Chinese fox superstition exists, as with the Narraganset, and the Tlaxcalans believed in a wer-dog. The Musqueakis have curious tales about trees which appear as human beings, each bearing the marks of injuries done to the other, and of an old man who, denying that he was a bear, is proved to have taken that form by the fact that his tracks and those of the bear both have traces of grease. He is therefore killed because he has "a devil in his nose."\(^6\) Laidau
tells of wizards who, having taken the form of birds and animals, have been shot with identical wounds, while the magical bolts with which the birds were shot are found in their bodies. The Chipewa sorcerer for a fee will turn into an animal and inflict injuries on the person described to him.\(^1\)

In a Chipewa story a boy left by his father in charge of his elder brother and other children is neglected and eats the laving of wolves. Tosses pitty him, and he follows after a one day heard a child's voice crying, 'I am turning into a wolf,' followed by a howling. When they saw the boy they saw the boy as a wolf. As he watched, the change became complete, and with the words, 'I am a wolf,' the werewolf disappeared.\(^7\)

Among the higher American Indian peoples similar beliefs prevailed. Maya sorcerers could turn into dogs, pigs, etc., and their glance was death to a victim; in Guatemala the name of the priest was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms. In Yucatan sorcerers claimed to have such powers, and one in dying confessed to a priest that he had often so transformed himself.\(^8\) Among the Tarabumare Indians of Mexico, if a sorcerer sees a bear, he will beg an Indian not to shoot it, as it is he, or, if an owl were, he says, he will, 'I is who am calling.' The European belief in the transformation of witches into cats was carried to America.

Following the belief in S. America, we find that the Abipone keeket, or priest, was believed to turn himself into an invisible tiger which could not be killed through any method. He could then transform himself and began to roar like a tiger, the onlookers fled, believing that the change was actually taking place. The people of Guiana believe in the kenatina, a being who can send forth his spirit to injure or cause wasting disease, or place it in the body of any animal—jaguar, serpent, bird, or insect—which follows the victim and slays him. His spirit may also enter a man in the form of a caterpillar, and cause disease. Such a caterpillar is often withdrawn from a patient's body by a paeuton, or doctor, and killed, but the spirit escapes, so that the kenatina does not die. The animal in which the kenatina usually places his spirit is the jaguar or tiger—the kenatina-tiger—which it puzzles an Indian to kill. A certain small bird is also much feared as a kenatina-bird; this is shot and every scrap of it carefully burned, so that there may be one enemy the less. Certain paeuton are thought to have the power of sending their spirit into an animal.\(^9\) The wer-jaguar is believed in by many of the tribes.\(^10\)

A Tuscan story tells how a man saw his brother take three grains of salt, spread a jaguar-skin on the ground, and dance round it, when he became a jaguar. Much horrified, he later obtained the skin and burned it. Returning home, he found his brother dying, but was asked by him to procure a piece of the skin. He did so, and the dying man threw it over his shoulders, and became a jaguar, which fled into the forest. In this case bullets merely rebounded from the wer-animal. In a Paraguay story the man becomes a man-eating jaguar by falling prone, and is re-transformed by reversing the process. Once he was wounded by a youth, who followed him up and killed him in his den, which was filled with human bones.\(^11\) In another tale from the Paraguayans the men who visited a village when the men were absent decamped when they heard from the women that they would soon return. When they returned, they said that the visitors were jaguars, who had come to deceive and destroy them, and they had seen the marks

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1. Laidau, Tales from the West Indies (1880), p. 151.
of their claws near the village. They were then pursued and killed.1

Among the Melanesians in Banks Islands the nearest analogy to the werewolf is the talamavii, the soul of a person which leaves the body to eat a corpse. A woman threatened to do this. Watch was kept, and, when a noise was heard near the corpse, the watchers threw a stone and hit something. Next day the woman was found to have a bruise on her arm caused by the stone which hit her soul.2 In Lepers’ Island wizards transform themselves into blow-flies and cause sickness to their victims, or into a small wolf to eat enemies. In Aurora magicians take the form of sharks, owls, and eagles.3 A story from this island illustrates the belief.

Tarkeke devoted men by turning into a fish, or entering a fish or a kind of magic image of a fish. His son found this image and got into it, when it went out to sea. Tarkeke then vanished.4

In the examples quoted it is interesting to note in how many ways the change is thought to be effected. In many instances—Scandinavian, German, Slavic, French, Chinese, and the Tucumans of S. America—it is by donning an animal skin or girdle (see GIRDLE), presumably after removing the clothing, as this is a necessary preliminary in other methods. Eating a drug or root, or rubbing the body with a salve or oil is found in ancient Italy, the Netherlands, England, India, Indonesia (where also a poison infecting the soul is thought to be the cause of the change), and in Africa, and in many cases tried judicially in Europe. Charms, spells, and other magical methods also affected the change in Celtic, Slavic, Chinese, Indonesian, Cambodian, and other places; and the use of spells accompanied the other means referred to. The power might be given by the devil (Russian), or by spirits (Avebiu), or the change might be caused in a man by a witch. It might be the effect of a divine or saintly punishment or other curse (ancient Greece, China, Celts of Ireland, Normandy); or it might be the result of eating human flesh (ancient Greece), or of making use of some particular action (ancient Greece), as falling prostrate (Paraguay), yawning (ancient Greece); or it might be the natural gift of a seventh son (Portugal), or of one born on Christmas night (Naples) or between Christmas and Twelfth-night (Greece).

In some cases the power is ascribed to a special tribe or to a people living in a special district—Arabs (Malay, Indo-Chinese), aboriginal tribes in China, Sf. or Hadramaut. This has perhaps an equivalent in the appearance of epidemics of lycanthropy in certain places, so common in the Middle Ages and later.

Very often it is said that, when the wer-animal is wounded or killed, the human form comes back spontaneously. This is found in many European instances, and also inversely in that of the fox and dog superstition in China.

In general, when the animal skin may be separated from the man, there is still a sympathetic relation between it and him. Thus, if it is burned (French, Russian, American, S. American instances), or rubbed with salt or pepper (Sengambia, Calabar, Negroes of America), he suffers terribly and may die, as in the case of the lembi of the Celebes (p. 218 f.). On the other hand, this may release him from being a werewolf, as in the case of other men under enchantment who lose their beast nature when the skin is burned. Conversely, the real or mermaid wife recovers when she discovers her skin.

While in Europe the man who is a werewolf is known by his eyebrows growing together over his nose, or by a small wolf’s tail growing between his shoulder-blades, in Indonesia the man-tiger as a man lacks heels or the furrow of the upper lip, or is marked by twisted feet or by peculiar actions.5

There are various methods of effecting the transformation. Burning the skin and wounding have already been mentioned. Another method was for the witch to cover the werewolf with a skin, which hair turned outwards (Serbia). In the case of wounding, some special methods are referred to—the werewolf had to be scratched above the nose so as to extract three drops of blood (Bilitski), and in Germany stone with three blows with a knife or pitchfork. The effusion of blood as a cure here corresponds to the drawing of blood from a witch as a well-known means of destroying her power. Naming the werewolf by his baptismal name and reproaching him were also effective.6 In one story cited above the wife shaves her apron at her husband and so restores him. In Cambodia the werewolf is deprived of his power if struck with a hook on the shoulder.7

2. Lycanthropy as a theological doctrine.—Throughout the Middle Ages, but more emphatically in the 16th and 17th centuries, theologians turned their attention to lycanthropy as an evil of sorcery. The general doctrine was that by the help of Satan sorcerers could transform themselves into noxious animals, particularly wolves, for purposes of evil. In the 16th century, theologians expressed these views, and many treatises were written on the subject, while it was also discussed in general works on the evils of sorcery. Of these the organs J. Bodin is the best examples; in his De Magorum Daemonomania (Frankfort, 1603) he maintains the reality and certainty of the transformation. Theological opinion then had gained popular ascendancy, and many of the instances cited as proofs are little better than the popular tales referred to above—e.g., where a wolf is wounded and a human being is found with a similar wound, soon after. The severest measures were therefore taken against lycanthropes, especially on the part of the Inquisition, and this authoritative announcement of the reality of the transformation added to the popular terrorism. People easily imagined the truth of the charges brought against those charged with them, or came forward as witnesses of the alleged facts. Indeed, the prisoners themselves often maintained their truth, showing that insanity and hallucination had much to do with the matter (§ 3). The peculiarly heinous aspect of the crime is seen in this: H. Boguet, a judge who tried many cases and who wrote many works against sorcery, drew up a code in 1601 in which he stated that, while sorcerers should be first strangled and then burned, the loup-garou should be burned alive.8 The belief in sorcery as well as the theological animus against it often led to epidemics of sorcery; the people in a district, e.g., became terrorized by the idea that all around them were sorcerers, or many persons, half crazy, maintained this regarding themselves. For instance, at the beginning of the 18th century, in Lombardy, during such an epidemic, witches were freely accused of having changed into cats and entered houses to suck the blood of children.9 Reports of murdered children and trials of reputed lycanthropes are still extant, and afford sad evidence of human credulity.

1 Grimm, pp. 1097, 1083; de Groot, iv. 107, 170; Thorpe, i. 169.
2 Thorpe, i. 169; Herold and A. F. Intzold, Generalhistorisches Volksmedizin, Stuttgart, 1865-69, i. 450; Hertz, p. 61.
3 See BER. iii. 155.
4 See the note, p. 292.
6 Houzelot, p. 246.
LYCANTHROPIE

In 1621 Pierre Burgot and Michel Verduin were tried by the prior of the Dominicans of Poligny, in the diocese of Besançon. The former accused himself and his cattle had strayed, a black cavalier had brought them together—after he had signed the confession the judge had signed it. Verduin too had strayed, but he never had a devil. Later Verduin taught him the Subbot how to become a werewolf by rubbing himself with a certain ointment. Then he saw himself with a large black dog with his body covered with it, while he could run like the wind. Verduin also transformed himself into the same dog. The same evidence was obtained immediately from his demon master. In the form of wolves they killed several children, sucked their blood, and ate part of their flesh, finding it excellent meat. It was also said that he had sexual relations with wolves. Both men were burned alive at Besançon.1 In the same year before the same court these three werewolves were executed for the same crime. One of them had been wounded as a wolf by a hunter, who, following the trail, came to a hut, where he found him having his wound dressed by his wife. These lycanthropes are represented in a painting in the chapel of the Dominicans.2 A further case is that of Gilles Gurrer, a hermit of Lyons, who, finding his solitude irksome, had taken a female companion. They had several children and lived in great misery. In 1623 a wolf terrorized the district, and the bodies of several children were found half devoured. A boy was attacked by a dog as a wolf put to death. More than 500 lycanthropes. His Discours extraorl car des sorciers (Lyons, 1602) contains many instances of alleged lycanthropy, with the confessions of those accused. The belief is firmly in lycanthropy, which by rubbing an ointment or otherwise, some chapters of his work dealing with this subject. It is remarkable also, as showing the state of feeling at the time, that on 3rd Dec. 1677 the Parlement of Françoise-Cornet gave a ruling for the pursuit of loup-garous.3 Towards the end of the 16th cent. Pierre Stumf was executed at Edinburg, in the diocese of Glasgow, on his own confession of having lived with a werewolf, who gave him a girdle by which he could become a wolf, not only in his own sight, but that of others. He had six small children in his wolf form, and had tried to eat two of his daughters-in-law.4

The beginning of the 17th cent. was marked by new cases of lycanthropy, and hundreds of executions took place. In 1600 Jean Grenier, a boy of 14, alleged before the judge of Rocourt-Challon that he was a werewolf, as a result of a demonical gift, and that he had eaten some children. He also accused his father of being a vanwyend, possessing a wolf-skin, and another man, Jean Pirey de Thalivière, of having his skin and ointment. The conduct of the boy in court showed that he was insane, and he was detained in a convent. Nevertheless the charge was continued against the two men. The youth was visited in his convent by De Lacre, in 1610, who found that he could run on all fours with ease, and that his method of eating was disgusting. He still persisted in his delusion of being a werewolf.

In 1604 at Lannamoe five persons were burned as werewolves. A peasant of Cresoz had caused his child and, as a result, five sorceresses in the form of wolves had carried him off to the devil, who sucked his blood. The sorceresses then cut him up, belled him and made a casser of one of his flesh.5 These will suffice as examples of the trials and executions for alleged lycanthropy which were so numerous at this period. Not the least noteworthy fact in the whole sordid business is that some of the writers on the subject show the most extraordinary credulity regarding the cases. Petrus Marnormus, in his De Sorcellis, maintained that several hundred cases of lycanthropy had been observed in Savoy.6 Boudin, procureur general of the king, assured Bodin that there had been sent to him from Belgium the proofs, signed by judge and witnesses, regarding individuals accused of lycanthropy. Soon after a man was found in bed with the arrow in a wound, and, when it was drawn out, it was recognized for his own by the person who had shot the wolf.7 Other cases are related in which cats attacked a man, who wounded them. Women were then found in bed with similar wounds, and they were at once believed to be the cats in question.8 While the whole was generally attributed to diabolical influence, there were different ways of accounting for it. Some writers thought that there was a real transformation, or that the devil clothed the men with an actual wolf-skin or with one condensed out of air.9 Others, however, thought that the devil brought about or by means of unguents on the man or on the outlookers, so that they imagined that the man or woman was an animal, while he or she was similarly deluded.10 Others again, suggested that the devil caused the person in sleep to imagine that he was a wolf, and that he actually did the deeds of which he dreamed.11 This is akin to the theory of St. Augustine, who refused to believe that the demons could actually change man's corporeal substance. In sleep or trance the man's "fantasum" went from him and might appear to others in corporeal, animal form, while to the unconscious man himself it might then appear that he was in such a form and acting in accordance.12 The effect of such drugs as stramonium caused hallucinations of riding through the air or fantastic transformation, such as witches confessed to, and this may have been the food given by women to others in Italy so that they believed themselves beasts of burden. Such a drug might occasionally be responsible for lycanthropic hallucination. Still others, more rational, regarded lycanthropes as lunatics who imagined themselves wolves. The last is probably the true solution of the whole matter.

3. Lycanthropy as a form of mental aberration. —Both in earlier times and even in the period when severe sentences were being passed against alleged werewolves, there was evidence of a condition in which the patient imagined himself to be an animal—a form of melancholia with delirium—was clearly recognized by some. The popular belief in werewolves was not accepted by scientific writers in antiquity. Herodotus (iv. 104) would not be persuaded of the alleged transformation of the N eians. Theby, admitting the transformation of Lyco as a divine punishment, refused to believe in the recurrent transformations in Arcadia. Pliny (HN vii. 34) was equally incredulous. Medical writers regarded lycanthropy as a form of mental derangement. Of these, Marcellus of Sibyl wrote a poem in which he treats lycanthropy in this fashion. The poem has not survived, but a prose version, attributed to the man who exists.

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According to Marcellus, those afflicted by the lupine or canine madness go out at night in February, insinuating wolves or dogs, and bark and howl; they have been called alycanthropes, a term that merely means "a human wolf"; and alycanthropes that went by the name of "showmen".

The existence of such a form of madness was known to the Semites, as the account of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 421) shows. Several 18th and 17th cent. writers made inquiries into the origin and nature of madness. Of these is the best known, though he still believed in demoniacal influence. According to him, those who believed themselves wolves were really troubled in their minds by the devil, so that in some cases they appeared to themselves as they actually appeared to themselves. He also cites the passage of Marcellus just referred to. J. de Nynau, a doctor who wrote on lycanthropy, thought that the lycanthropes were deluded by the devil, or that he actually gave them unguents, liquids, or powders, by which their sense impressions were affected. There were, however, natural lycanthropes, persons afflicted with "ficts loci". He denies any actual transformation, as was insisted on by Bodin. The possibility of persons, more or less imbecile, hallucinating in this way, is denied; for even those among wild animals, such as wolves, was also suggested by some later writers. Modern alienists take the view that lycanthropy was a form of insanity, often epidemic. The patient suffers from a disturbance of the personality, and imagines that he is a beast. The disease was common in the Middle Ages, because people believed such a transformation possible. Now such melancholia is very rare, because this belief hardly survives in Europe. Sporadic cases, however, are still known; in one instance the patient imagined that he was a wolf, and ate raw meat.

Further examples of possession from all stages of culture are worth citing.


2. Galen, x. 307.

3. Some theologians thought that there was a real change, others that it was imaginary, and others that his soul had passed into the body of a beast.


5. De Nynau, ch. f. For other writers who took the view that madness was the cause of lycanthropia see Bruckelet, p. 206. Voltaire appears to regard the demoniac of Scripture, who wandered among the tees, as lycanthropia, who also had that habit (Essai sur les Moeurs, in Oeuvres, Paris, 1816, xiii, 165). See, e.g., I. P. Calvini, De la Fole, Paris, 1815, ch. 14; Reuss, p. 117.


A. Werner, writing of the tribes of British Central Africa (among whom the possibility of transformation is firmly believed), tells of a man who had a stuttering that was known—pale face, tearsless eyes, dry tongue, burning thirst, etc. He also suggests various remedies for this disease, which he regards in large part as the work of the devil. Those who were cured were said to have been transformed; i.e., they were not cured, but only changed. There were also the "Khoâapuras," the man who imagined himself to be a dog.

In the Malay peninsula and in the Mountain of the Tiger, men believe themselves to be tigers. Many women believe themselves to be tigers or tigers and shun society. This is known among tribes as transformation into a tiger, and is not imagined. Several tribes are believed to possess themselves of the tiger-god, and will fall on a kid and devour it alive. In the Malay peninsula as real is the belief in the wer-tiger that boys play a game based on the belief. In this boy is hypnotized, and the others run off, imitating cries of fowls. Then he rises, pursues, seizes, and bites any whom he catches, or climbs trees in his assumed character. Any one who sees him is believed to have been possessed by the spirit, but it is obvious that this is on a par with actual cases of insanity, and that the boy is not more phlegmatic, and of the same species as a man who imagines himself to be a tiger. The game is also played in Sumatra and Java, where other animals are also imitated. Among the Hayman men who eat forbidden flesh are liable to penalties. They will run about the woods naked, imitating a deer, if they have eaten deer. In Annam as a man who wishes to see something from the tiger-god prays it to incarnate itself in him. He falls on all fours, claps his hands as a tiger, and sticks the teeth of the vessel which contains it. When he is coined down, he is rubbed with alcohol so that he may come to himself.

Most of these cases from low latitudes are monsters, and are obviously temporary cases of insanity, actual or assumed, explained in terms of current belief regarding shape-shifting, etc. They suggest that even among savages, with whom actual shape-shifting belief in very strong, insanity may, partially at least, have suggested actual wer-animal ideas.

In Europe, during the period when the werewolf superstition was most prevalent, the belief in the possibility of transformation an animal existing among men. The cases of lycanthropia are evidently sporadic, but they are examples of what may be called the "lycanthrope". The cases of Jacques Bullet, arrested as a werewolf at Condé in 1565, is an example. Two wolves were seen devouring a child's body, while a third rushed off into a neighbouring field. There was a man of wild appearance found, who claimed to be the wolf and maintained that the two wolves were his brother and cousin, and that they had killed and devoured the child. His answers at his trial were contradictory, but he clearly believed that he sometimes became a wolf. His life was one of great poverty and misery, and it is not impossible that he had killed the child said to have been devoured by him, and that his ghastly meal was interrupted by wolves. He was sentenced to death, but the Parlement of Paris annulled the sentence, and sent him to the country. As a case of transformation, it is remarkable, for by Lerch Mere, he describes how he visited an alleged werewolf in prison. He was a realist, but unusually bold, at Easter, through the power of his master, the devil, he became a wolf, took off his chains, and flew out of the prison window. This man would have been burned alive, but he obtained his release. In another, a man in Ælia, in 1511, a man maintained that he was a wolf and had killed several persons, and that he had suffered from other wolves merely in the fact that their skin was covered with hair, while his hair was between his skin and his flesh. He was given over to the doctors for treatment, but died soon after. In more modern times such cases are sporadic. Curnyn recounts that of a young man at Corfu who in a state of maniacal frenzy imitated a serpent, crawling burton, Anatomy of the English Wolf, London, 1816, p. 184.


4 Dalton, p. 323.


6 F. X. (1829) 2:409 f. (imitation of a toad-call). See also the case of the Cora man, mentioned in the text, who claims to be a tiger.

7 F. X. (1836) 2:409 f. (imitation of a toad-call).

8 J. K. W. H. Le Lacheur, Souvenir de manger, Strasbourg, 1836, p. 120; cf. the case of Baruguay transformation and flight, § 4. It may be based on dream experiences and hallucinations, as this obviously was.

9 Werner, p. 452; cf. the curious description of a mad lycanthrope in Webster's Duchess of Malfi, act v. sc. 2.
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through the donning of an animal's skin, there may be a trace of the fact that insane persons with lycanthropic delusions did have their delusions heightened by such an act, as we see in the case of the werewolf. In the Irish instance mentioned by Grattan, the human body was visible underneath the skin. As far as the popular belief is concerned, it is by no means certain that the clothing was first removed. This may point to what actually occurred before the animal skin was put on. It may be the relic of an older belief that the human skin was first removed, cf. the Voodoo rituals. *Vampire* ii. 212

Perhaps the werewolf belief was also aided by such phenomena as imbecile children, brutalized, and having animal appetites. These 'wild boys' were often believed to have been stolen by animals—the bear, the wolf—and to have been brought up and suckled by them. While many stories about such children are not authentic, there are some cases in which boys were actually found in the dens of wolves in India. They could not stand upright, went on all fours, ate raw meat, and tore clothes into shreds. Various theories have been suggested to explain their having been thus brought up, but, if some cases are authentic in wolf-haunted districts in India, there may have been instances from time to time in similar districts in Europe. This would in part explain the numerous folk-stories about animal imitations of men, e.g., that of Romulus and Remus. The cases are of the kind described as 'idolcy by deprivation,' and, if such children survived, they would hardly differ from the insane persons who imagined they were wolves, went on all fours, and ate raw flesh.

The case is parallel to that of women carried off by baboons or orang-outangs, which has doubtless some foundation in fact (see C.F., p. 277).

4. Werewolf and vampire.—While both werewolf and vampire have a liking for human flesh and blood, there is a marked difference between them. The werewolf is a living person assuming animal form for the sake of gratifying his desire. The vampire, on the other hand, is a resuscitated corpse, which rises from the grave to prey on the living, the reasons for the resuscitation being of various kinds (see Vampire). But here and there links of connexion exist. Thus in Germany, Serbia, and modern Greece it is thought that the man who was a werewolf in life becomes a vampire after death. Hence the werewolf was burned, not buried, lest he should do mischief.

Again, the dead sometimes appear as werewolves. King John Leckfall was said to have been a werewolf after his death, on the evidence of a monk of Worcester. In Normandy within the last century priests watched at the grave to be sure of the ghost conduct of the dog-leaved. If some lost person was about to become a werewolf, they cut off his head and threw it into the river. A ghost may also appear as a wolf, like the wolf of Anspach in 1654, which was the ghost of a dead burgomister. This corresponds to the Malayan belief that ghosts of dead wizards enter the bodies of tigers, unless the son of the wizard by certain rites attracts his father's spirit to himself. Similar beliefs have already been noted among the Slavs, Bena, Chinese, natives of British Central Africa, Rhodesians, etc. (§ 1). In New Zealand lizards were feared because the souls of those whose death had been unexpected had become malign and entered such creatures. They then gnawed the entrails of living men. Demons and

5. A recent authority suggests as an explanation of lycanthropy a joke played by a young peasant who covered himself with a wolf-skin to frighten old women and so to gain the reputation of a werewolf. (Dict. philos., s. v. werewolf, p. 267.) He also produced effects of necrophagy by witches is already found in Apuleius.
6. Derrama, p. 245.
spirits of all kinds frequently take animal forms and act as the werewolf or vampire. Thus the French labun was a spirit in the form of a wolf, which haunted churchyards to prey on the dead, like the Arabian ghâl, which takes the form of men or animals and eats corpses. 1 In Ethiopian lives of saints the king of the devils rides on a fire-breathing wolf and is followed by fiends in the form of wolves, while in Meroe the wicked are thought to be visited by evil spirits as wolves, serpents, or dragons. 2

5. The ‘sending’—A phenomenon analogous to that of the werewolf is that of the ‘sending’—a thing or animal, sometimes animated or even created, by the sorcerer or some part of the sorcerer himself (his soul, etc.) and sent out by him to annoy or injure people. Examples occur over a wide-spread area and at various levels of civilization. The ‘sending’ is a kind of familiar of the wizard. In S.E. Australia the lizard is such a wizard familiar and is sent out to do injury. 3 Among the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea snakes and crocodiles are sent by sorcerers to kill. A fragment of the victim's garment is put beside the snake in a pot; then heat is applied to the pot, and the snake sends its fragments there. This is let loose near where the victim passes, and attacks him because it recognizes the smell of the fragment on him. More magical is the method of the Battey Sorcerers. ‘Sending’ from whose body causes death. It leads a separate life since the death, or may pass over to her daughter. At Gelaria this ‘sending’ is called labunii, and resembles a shadow. It leaves the woman's body when she is asleep, and causes disease by inserting into the patient's body in various ways. Should any one see it, it turns into an animal, and then again takes its human form. At Collingwood Bay the ‘sending’ is called jij/m, and is like a, woman. It turns into a mosquito and sucks the victim's blood, resuming human form at dawn. 4 In Banks Island, if any one eats a piece of a corpse, its ghost will go forth to harm a victim at the will of the eater. The Here also and in the New Hebrides the moe, or sea-snake, acts as the familiar spirit of those who profess to have had intercourse with it. 5 Among the Malays and in Java insects and even horned creatures, including the Yoruba, ‘send’ or to their victims. Sorcerers use the owl as a ‘sending,’ and, should it be caught by the person whom it is intended to destroy, and its claws and wings broken, a similar injury is done to the sorcerer's limbs. 6 In the Cameroon a man selects a hippopotamus, leopard, elephant, gorilla, etc., as a friend, and the animal is then supposed to harm his enemies by stealth. But, if the animal dies or is slain, the man dies. Hence such animals are usually not hunted by fellow-tribemen. 7 Matahele wizards dig up corpses, transform them into hyenas, and use them as messengers or steeds. A wounded hyena escaping into a kraal is thought to show that this is the dwelling of a wizard. 8 Baronga wizards send forth crocodiles, lions, snakes, etc., to kill or wound their victims. The Calahaw each wizard has two owls as messengers, or sends forth insects—stinging ants, beetles, etc.—into the house where he is to find his victim. Then he sends his ikim—a gourd—to examine the things, and report whether there is any dangerous juju, or medicine, in it. 9

Eavill sorcerers will leopards and crocodiles to go and destroy, having obtained this power through a medicine rubbed into their eyes. Then the animal becomes visible to them, and they know that it is at their service. 2 In British Central Africa wizards create lions, or sometimes inspire existing lions, to go forth and destroy. 3 Among the Bondi ‘dolls’ of Indian corn are animated by the sorcerer, and go forth to seek the blood of a victim, who turns sick and dies. 4 Zulu wizards send out owls and other rarer animals, and crocodiles, to injure their victims. These are called their amanzwa, ‘attendants.’ 5 The Eskimo angabok sends a tundlabak—a seal made by him. Should the victim kill it, he loses all strength and becomes a cripple. This seal is made of bones of various animals, covered with turf and blood, and charmed into life by a magic song. 6 A Siberian shaman will send out a ye-koba, or witch-animal, to fight that of another shaman. The shaman whose ye-koba is worsted shares its fate. Lepland wizards send flies and darts against their enemies, and also to eat a man's heart so that he dies. 7 The Tyznas explain sickness as caused by an evil animal sent forth by a sorcerer, as being the same as eating the patient's life. 8 In ancient Scandinavia it was believed that sorcerers could raise a ghost or a corpse by their magic power and send it to do harm to an enemy. 9 The Indian, Japanese, African, or Indonesian witch-animal, cited above (§ 1), should also be noted.

Danish witches were believed to make a hare out of some wooden pegs and an old stocking, and send it to steal milk from cattle. 10 The Estonians believed in magic packets made by wizards and sent forth to do all kinds of mischief—e.g., to transform the victim. 11 Among the Celts the druid and the sorcerer drew by similar spells over a victim's head a blade of straw and flinging it in their victim's face, to cause him to become mad, and all madness was attributed to such a ‘sending’. 12

Not dissimilar to this conception of the ‘sending’ is the belief entertained in Celebes regarding the wer-man. The Torajas believe that a man's spirit or insule, lamboyo, can go forth from him as a deer, pig, cat, ape, etc., while he is asleep at home. The lamboyo then assumes human form (this resembles the New Guinea labunii). Its victim is first made unconscious; then in human form the lamboyo eats him up, eats the liver, and joins the body together again. Soon after the victim wakes,

1 Macgregor, p. 221.
2 E. C. Denny, P. xvi. 1903, 291-388.
3 Johnstone, p. 101.
4 G. Dale, JAI xxv. (1935) 222.
9 Lamholtz, l. 317.
10 N. Edel, The Years of Mission Work among the Indians, Boston, 1886, p. 45.
11 Vigeland, pp. lxxvi; FL xiv. 400.
12 Tiergre, l. 192; FL xiv. 400.
14 R. O. Kirby, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, London, 1874, l. 203.
hold to have a *kurna* which enters him at birth, and another, its counterpart, which enters an animal. The death of the one causes the death of the other. The whole belief in the bush-soul is not unlike the Ioran belief in the genius. A man's health depends on the harmony of his bush-soul, which often resided in a snake. If that was killed, the man whose genius it was also died.

The *nagual* belief is found in Central America. In this case a youth obtains his *nagual* by dressing of an animal after a period of solitude and fasting. The *nagual*-animal is closely bound up with the man henceforward. When it dies, the man dies; when it is sick, he is sick. He has also the power of appearing as his *nagual*. Any wound caused on the animal form is then found on the man. This resembles the belief in Motu, Melanesia. A lizard, snake, or stone, etc., is selected as a man's *tamanui*. His life is bound up with it. If it dies, or gets broken, or lost, the owner dies.

As already seen, the *taloomaur* may be the soul, and, if it is wounded, the body is found to have a similar wound. In an Eskimo story the spirit of a witch who has made a young man ill is wounded in the heel. At the same moment the witch dies in the next house.

Between the werewolf superstition and the various beliefs cited in this section there are certain similarities. Of these that recurs constantly is the belief in repercussion.

Injury to the *sending* entails injury to the sorcerer (Torbi, Egypt), Siberia; injury to the animal friend entails injury to the owner (Cameroon); injury to the bush-soul, *nagual*, *tamanui*, *wer-animal*, etc., to the owner (Cameroon); injury to the soul which takes the form of an animal entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul which enters an animal temporarily entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul absent from the body for some miscellaneous purpose (injury to the owner (Edison, Melanesians)); injury to the werewolf or other *wer-animal* entails injury to the man in his human form.

The real point of connexion between all the beliefs is that something belonging to the man, some part of the man, or the man himself in another form is injured. The injury then, because of the vital connexion between the part and the whole, or thing owned and owner (sympathetic magic), is seen on the man himself. But it is not clear that, as Frazer supposes, the wide-spread belief in wer-animals may be found to resolve itself into a belief in the external soul. These beliefs are clearly to be found in a very few instances (Khonds, Orangs, Malays, Chinese, Ilois and other W. African peoples, Indians of Guiana), the man himself transformed, not his soul. And it is possible that the owner of bush-soul or *nagual* is supposed to change himself into the animal containing it, or an animal of the kind, the transformation is a bodily one. The external soul, injury to which causes injury to the owner, is one thing; the wer-animal, which is really the man himself transformed, is another. But the same theory or belief in repercussion is applicable to both. It is not by any means certain that the instance on which Frazer bases his theory of the wer-animal and the external soul can support it. There is no evidence that, when the Ntaka novice is supposed to die and come to life
again becoming a member of the wolf-society, he has exchanged souls with a wolf, so that he is a wwer-animal himself, and wolf people, or the wer-wolf, there is nothing anywhere akin to the bush-soul.1 Nor again is it clear, as N. W. Thomas maintains,2 that lycanthropy is connected with negamism rather than with the wer-wolf, for that the wer-animal was originally the familiar of the medicine-man. The comparatively few instances of the spirit going forth as a wer-animal suggest that we are here in the presence of a different kind of analogous super-
stition to that of lycanthropy with its supposed bodily transformation. Again, the familiar is hardly a form of the man himself, as the werewolf is, but rather sometimes of part of the man, or it is his messenger, which the werewolf does not seem to be.

There may, however, be a connecting link if we regard the phenomenon of lycanthropy as an example of hallucinatory directives. Where a medicine-man is supposed to send forth his spirit either in its own shape or in that of an animal, while he remains quiescent at home, this may also be suggested by a hallucinatory directive.

It seems better, therefore, to regard lycanthropy with its bodily transformation as distinct from the transformation of the outgoing spirit, and also from the 'werewolves'3 familiar. They are analogous beliefs, to which similar conceptions — e.g., that of repercussion — have attached themselves. But they are in origin different. In the one case there is, as it seems, a moral message, or badge, as it were, to the medicine-man's agents, and, therefore, is derived from the medicine-man's own spirit or soul. In the other case, it seems to be the transformation of the spirit of a deceased person, perhaps a close relative, into the form of a lower animal. The result is a familiar in the one case, a demon or witch in the other. In this way they are on the same level of development, the familiar being a spirit that has taken a human form, and the demon or witch taking a human form either for this purpose or for some other purpose. It seems better, therefore, to regard lycanthropy with its bodily transformation as distinct from the transformation of the outgoing spirit, and also from the 'werewolves' familiar. They are analogous beliefs, to which similar conceptions — e.g., that of repercussion — have attached themselves. But they are in origin different. In the one case there is, as it seems, a moral message, or badge, as it were, to the medicine-man's agents, and, therefore, is derived from the medicine-man's own spirit or soul. In the other case, it seems to be the transformation of the spirit of a deceased person, perhaps a close relative, into the form of a lower animal. The result is a familiar in the one case, a demon or witch in the other. In this way they are on the same level of development, the familiar being a spirit that has taken a human form, and the demon or witch taking a human form either for this purpose or for some other purpose.

5. Conclusion.—The wide diffusion of the wer-wolf idea and its different forms in various places is an excellent example of a universal belief being worked up into a superstition or story bearing a common likeness in different regions. Without the belief in shape-shifting the werewolf superstition could not have existed. But, this being granted, persons of diseased mind in all stages of civilization easily conceived themselves to be ferocious animals preying upon other human beings. The belief itself was easily exploited by interested persons — medicine-men, sorcerers, etc. — or some of these might themselves be half-crazed, as medicine-men often are through their austerities (see AUSTERICIES). In certain cases — e.g., that of the Norse berserkers — the insane fit was heightened by the wearing of animal-skins; or, in others, totemism, in its later stages, may have helped the form of the superstition, as in the Aryan and similar examples.

Literature.—Of the numerous works written on this subject in the 18th and 19th centuries, the following are the most important: B. de Chavignac, Discours de la Lycanthropie, Paris, 1759; J. de Nynaud, De la Lycanthropie, Louvain, 1596; J. Nynaud, De la Lycanthropie, Leu-

LAUGING. — The English word 'lie' with its con-
geners and derivatives represents a concept which, if hard to define, is yet unique and irreprovable into any other language. It is not easily claimed either that all persons are agreed as to what precisely constitutes a lie or lying, or (b) that anything like the same ethical significance has at all times and in all communities been attached to the practice. It is generally understood to be denoted by the Tonteniean word and by the words commonly regarded as its equivalents in other languages, yet in English at any rate this term, and in a somewhat less degree any word or periphrasis which is thought to be more or less a covert alternative for it, is viewed and, by those to whom it is applied, is resented as conveying a reproach, or at least an opinion, generally different from any other. It would probably be well not to conceal that the word has acquired a very high degree of analogy and sensitiveness to the imputation of it reached a higher intensity than among ourselves, and a study of the import of the term in our own language may therefore be taken as in a manner typical and representative.

1. Sources of modern conception. — Historically the English lie has, if we may so speak, a fourfold pedigree — Saxon, Jewish, Greek-Latin, and Christian. It signifies, that is, a vice or vicious act, which derives its peculiar reputation partly from the language and sentiment of our pagan forefathers, partly from conceptions that find expression in the Hebrew scriptures of the OT, partly from Greek and Roman thought and literature, and, as we shall contend, partly from the specific teachings of Christianity. If it be alleged against this analysis that our sensitive regard for veracity is rather of feudal origin, the objection, even if well-founded, is of no moment, that feature of feudal ethics being itself derived from some of or all the four sources enumerated.

1) Saxon. — The presence in all the Teutonic languages of a substantially identical word of like meaning attests the perennial importance of the thing meant, 'to lie' is to say that which is not. And we cannot doubt that the true sake and the heart, on occasion to do this undetected was held in different esteem from the man who could not or would not; whether in higher or in lower esteem, we cannot but believe the existence of adequate evidence so that might perhaps depend on, and change with, the varying circumstances of the community.

2) Jewish. — When at length on British soil the Anglo-Saxon invaders were gradually led to profess the Christian faith, that faith brought with it a moral code derived in unequal degrees from the three other sources named above, of which the most ancient and explicit was the Hebraica. Although the Decalogue contains no precept 'Thou shalt not lie,' the prohibition of 'false witness' reproaches the most frequent and injurious forms of lying. Prophets and moralists held it to be a reproach. 'The voice of the Lord crieth unto the city,' says Micah (6), 'for the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth' (6); cf. Is. 30:5 (b); Jer. 23:1: 'Lying lips are an abomination unto the Lord; (Pr 12:22); 'A righteous man hateth lying' (13); cf. Ps. 119:11. Especially guilty are 'false prophets' who in the name of the Lord prophecy lies . . . a lying vision . . . a thing of naught, and the deceit of their own heart' (Jer 14:14; cf. Zec 13).

3) Greek-Latin. — Meanwhile early Hellenic sentiment viewed lying without horror; virtually, as craft, it had in Hermes a patron-god. Perjury, however, was deemed perilous, incurring the wrath of Zeus. Subsequently, as witness the gnostic poets, civic morality coupled veracity with justice as laudable. (cf. Plato, Resp. i. 351 D; and Sophocles proclaimed the ugliness of falsehood:

'Honourable (eunêvous) it nowise is to speak lies; though when the truth itself is far dire destruction, it is not possible to say even what is not honourable' (frag. 223).

Finally, philosophy pronounced falsehood intrinsically vicious. Plato (Rep. ii. 392 A, 380 B-D), while permitting his 'guardians' to use it, now and again, medicinally and officially 'for the benefit of the State,' bids them punish it rigorously in private individuals. In a 2) practice permitted, it is a vice from which it is inadmissible for him to abstain, (2) e.g., Minnermen, frag. 8: 'With thee and me be truth, most just of all things.'
of the commonwealth,' and in his latest work (Laws, 730 B) extols truth as 'foremost of all good things'; for the truthful man is 'trustworthy, whereas he who loves wilful falsehood is untrustworthy (πιστός), and he who loves involuntary falsehood is foolish.' Aristotle (Eth. Nic. iv. 7 6) deems 'lying' (τὸ ψέδων) essentially 'mean (μικρὸν) and blameworthy.' The 'truth-lover' (θεόλαβης) stands in notable contrast with him who rejoices in falsehood (λογία ψευδοτῆς) as a type of character distinct from himself who lies for the sake of gain or glory (ib. § 12). In Stoicism the viciousness of falsehood, although not expressly affirmed, is tacitly assumed. Thus ideal good is in effect defined by Seneca (Ep. lxvi. 6) as 'a mind set on truth.' To the consistent Stoic acceptance of unverified 'opinion' as a substitute for truth or real knowledge would be equivalent to inveracity. Altogether, Greek philosophy bad energetically discomfated the art of lying, and, when Latinized, had found an ally in old-fashioned Roman prejudice against wilful untruth.

(4) Christians.—The NT endorsed and deepened the injunctions of Jewish theology and Gentile ethics. 'Lie not one to another,' writes St. Paul to the Colossians (3:9); the Christian is to forgo all lying, and a little later and more characteristically Christian reason that 'we are members one of another' (Eph 4:30). And with this Pauline pronouncement the warnings of the Apocalypse agree. Into the NT, religious liars especially, the outcast thence is 'every one that loveth and maketh a lie' (Rev 21:27), where nothing is lost to the ethics of truth if by 'lie' be meant idol or counterfeit god; that, theologically, is the typical lie—idolatry false worship. In the Synoptic Gospels 'hypocrisy' (Mt 23:27, Lk 11) would appear to express what in St. John is called simply 'lying' (ψέδος), of which the devil (Jn 8:41) is first cause. Thus for Christianity the spirit of lying is opposed to the spirit of truth as darkness is to light. It is antagonistic to God and incompatibility with fellowship in the Church of Christ. And this abhorrence of lying as deadly sin, though too often grievously violated in nominal Chris- tendom, has endured throughout the centuries, permeates our finest literature, and is reflected in the law and conduct of many a plain, honest man to-day.

2. Philosophical theories.—Theology and custom-morality apart, moral philosophers of different schools condone, condone by exception; the intuitionist as intrinsically repugnant to 'right reason' or 'moral sense' or 'conscience,' the endemontist or perfectionist because it impairs well-being and self-development, the utilitarian because on the whole, if not in every instance, it would tend to the diminution of the sum-total of pleasure experienced. Whether the utilitarian sanction is well-founded in fact may be questioned. It is argu-

able that the wide acceptance of utilitarian ethics has been attended by an increased indifference to truth. Whereas lying is demonstrably contrary to other ideals—universal benevolence, perfection, or the beautiful, as when truth-seeking will bring either to the individual or to the community a surplus of pleasure, or that more pleasure may not be secured by an admixture of well-timed falsehood. But, even if utilitarian theory could demonstrate the all but universal inexpediency of lying, such calculative disapproval of it as hedonistically impolitic is not the same thing as having the lie as such disbelieved. A 'story' here would seem to be ethically the point of main con-

sequence, distinguishing man from man—the presence or absence of a deep aversion to lying as such. Of less real importance is the much debated question, too complex to summarize here, of exceptional contingencies in which, notwithstanding that aversion, it may be right to speak falsely, just as killing is sometimes right. But we may consider whether lies can be classified, and attempt a more exact determination of the essential constituents of lying.

2. Analysis and classification of lying.—The aim of a lie is to misrepresent facts, or purpose, or feeling. To be a liar is to do this habitually and will-

fully. Of each particular lie the motive is normally some gain foreseen or conjectured as attainable by deceiving somebody as to (1) what has happened, (2) what one purposes, or (3) how one feels. In popular usage the term 'lie' is apt to be limited to the first kind. But I lie no less really, if (2) I promise what I have no intention of doing, or if (3), being glad, I feign sorrow. This is sometimes overlooked or even denied. With regard to declarations of purpose, it is tightly argued that unforeseen circumstances alter cases, and to promise what one may eventually see reason not to perform is no falsehood. But it is lying, if at the time of speaking I have not the intention professed; or if I deliberately, but unforeseen circumstances will it, allow the circumstances to change my mind; or, if having changed it, I allow those concerned to go on believing my purpose to be unchanged. The last is a very common form of falsehood. When I disregard feelings, many people who would be ashamed to state that they had seen what they had not seen, make no scruple about pretending goodwill towards persons for whom they have none, with the object sometimes of getting them tolerated. A falsehood of heart which is not theirs, sometimes of misleading the victims of their dissimulation.

Not all deceit, however, is lying. For, although the essence of lying is intent to deceive, there must be also, to constitute a lie, either (a) untrue words, or (b) such reticence as in the context (of speech or action) amounts to false statement—e.g. if I say 'He gave me twenty pounds,' when in fact he gave me fifty (cf. Aesop, §), or if I adopt and publish as my own an essay largely written by another man. To lie is, as Kant well says, 'to communicate one's thoughts to another through words which (intentionally) contain the opposite of what the speaker thinks.' It matters not whether the false belief is created by positive affirmation or by omission of words necessary to the establishment of a true belief.

Allegory is not falsehood, provided it is designed and adapted to embody truth. It was because early Greek mythology did not in Plato's judgment fulfil this condition that he regarded allegorizing interpretations of it as in no way bettering the case for Homer and Hesiod (Rep. ii. 378 D). As with alle-

gory, so with all fiction. Stage-plays and novels exhibit in the form of 'stories' events that are not history, present or past, and yet mislead nobody. A 'story' is a lie, then, only when it falsely disowns its fictitious origin. Even pseudonymous author-
ship does not necessarily involve falsehood. Not all illusion is dramatic, but a forger; and forgery is falsehood. It is doubtful whether equivocation, where a state-

ment is equally susceptible of two meanings, one false and one true, is, strictly speaking, a lie. To deceive, be accounted lying. As an isolated act, it probably should not. But the man who habitually

1 'Animus vera instans, peritus furiusendorum ac potestatorum, non ex opinione, sed ex natura pratica rebus imponens.'

2 E. Caird, Critical Philosophy of Kant, Glasgow, 1859, ii. 337.
equivocates is an untruthful man. Under the head of equivocation may fairly be brought many of those partially deceptive utterances which are sometimes, but unconvincingly, defended as mere social conventions on a par with the customary phraseology of address and other 'common forms of speech generally understood.' If, e.g., in declining an unwelcome invitation I express regret at being unable to accept it, the defence that this is a usual and well-understood way of notifying my intention, with the implication that what is meant by the regrew is inadequate. But, supposing I do regret the disappointment which my refusal may cause or the circumstances which render the invitation unacceptable, the phrase employed is equivocal rather than actually false. If, instead of declining, I profess 'pleasure in accepting' the invitation, the pleasure need not be wholly fictitious; for it is in my power by an effort of goodwill (a) to feel pleasure in accepting, and not refusing, the civility offered, and (b) to find altruistic pleasure in a visit not naturally attractive. By thus choosing to be pleased, a man determines on the side of truth what would have been equivocation.

Even where there is an actual element of falsehood, we recognize degrees of insincerity. A statement which in the main reveals the speaker's purpose, feeling, or knowledge of fact, but disguises some truth which is not in the same degree vicious as an entirely misleading utterance, unless, of course, the point misrepresented is the most essential, in which case the saying may be exemplified that 'the worst lies are half truths.' Yet we cannot altogether reject the widely spread view of 'common sense,' that a direct lie stands on a different footing from any indirect device whether of hiding the truth (soppressio veri) or of creating a false impression (sagitatio falsi). There is a common understanding that, when we speak, we do not state what we know to be untrue. Socially regarded, then, a direct lie is a graver breach of faith, and a worse blow to mutual confidence, than any statement, however evasive, which does not actually violate this understanding.

4. Conclusion.—On the whole, the main difference between ancient and 'modern' views of inveracity is that in the latter censure is directed primarily on discrepancy between statement and thought rather than on the divergence from reality of a spoken or written utterance. 'Modern' prudential morality tends to be severe upon mis-statements, apparently wilful, of particular facts, but is strangely lenient wherever 'ignorance' can be pleaded—e.g., if ignorance was not often wilful, or reckless, indifference to truth. Many persons will habitually declare as fact anything that they do not positively know to be untrue, and, when con-


LITARATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the text, see H. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, London, 1907, bk. i. ch. vi. (On the intellectual standard of truth); J. Martineau, Types of Ethical Theory, Oxford, 1886, section on 'Virtue' (p. 116); W. J. Green, Prolegomena to Ethics, 2nd ed., 1883, p. 344 f.; J. S. Mill, Manual of Ethics, London, 1887, pp. 189, 219 f.; R. H. Rashdall, Theory of Good and Evil, Oxford, 1907, i. 90, 102-106. For the attitude of non-Christian peoples towards lying see MF, ch. xxx. i. J. M. SCHULHOF.
to quit the capital, there seems to be little doubt that he took this step on account of an indignity which he suffered at the hands of the thieves, whom he was so kind as to offend. The remainder of his life was passed in teaching and writing. His picture of himself as a misanthropic recluse covering himself with a false humility, and armed with a reputation that not only made him the first man in his native town, but caused him to be spoken of all over the world, is the outcome of a procedure in Arabic philology and literature. He had many friends, and his letters to them show "a kindly interest both in men and things" (Lett. int., ed. Miélot, introd. pp. xxx). He complain of his poverty, but the Persian poet Nahj-i-Mahmudiyya in Luluvi, who has described himself as very rich (Safar-nama, ed. C. Scheyer, Paris, 1851, p. 208 of the Fr. tr.). Ma'arri died in a.d. 1057.

2. Writings.—Writing as the Soul's Art, already mentioned, Ma'arri is the author of another and far more valuable work of poetry, entitled Luluvi and tanqih pattern, in reference to a technical peculiarity of rhyme, and generally known as the Luwaniyyat. These poems, written after his visit to Baghdad, contain religious, moral, and philosophical reflections and deal with a great variety of topics. The prevailing tone is pessimistic and skeptical, but many passages occur in which Ma'arri speaks as an orthodox Muslim. The Risalat al-Ghadyat (described and partially translated in the present writer in J.I.A.S., 1969, pp. 387-790, and 1962, pp. 75-101, 267-363, 813-447; ed. Cairo, 1958) takes the form of an epistle addressed to "All the Munir of Allah, who is better known by the name of Ibn al-Quraysh. In this Luwani work Ibn al-Quraysh is imagined to have entered paradise, and he holds a series of conversations with pre-Islamic poets, and the author discusses the opinions of the leading Muhammadan freethinkers (tanqih). Its Letters, compared with his other poetry, are more artificial and above the style, have been edited, with Eng. tr., by D. S. Margoliouth. The long list of quotations, which comprise only a few are, includes a supposed imitation of the Qur'an, entitled l-ghadyat wa taphayat. Ma'arri is said to have boasted that, if it were "poisoned" by the teachers, or written in a manner in contrast with the original (see references in L. Goldscheider, Muhammad. Staaten, Einleitung, p. 407); but this aspect is to be an invention. What he attempted was probably a parody of Qur'anic style rather than a deliberate challenge to the dogmas of Islam, which claims for the Qur'an a miraculous and immutable perfection.

3. Doctrines.—It is difficult to give a clear account of Ma'arri's religious and philosophical beliefs. Not only are they, to a large extent, negative in character, and the evidence derived from some passages in his writings is counter-balanced by other passages which, if they stood alone, would lead us to the opposite conclusion. These contradictions are most strikingly exemplified in his attitude towards Islam. Any one who wished to prove him orthodox might quote from the Luwaniyyat numerous instances in which the poet unequivocally accepts nearly all the chief Muslim doctrines, yet his pages are full of denied paradigms, and he holds a series of conversations with pre-Islamic poets, and the author discusses the opinions of the leading Muhammadan freethinkers (tanqih). Its Letters, compared with his other poetry, are more artificial and above the style, have been edited, with Eng. tr., by D. S. Margoliouth. The long list of quotations, which comprise only a few are, includes a supposed imitation of the Qur'an, entitled l-ghadyat wa taphayat. Ma'arri is said to have boasted that, if it were "poisoned" by the teachers, or written in a manner in contrast with the original (see references in L. Goldscheider, Muhammad. Staaten, Einleitung, p. 407); but this aspect is to be an invention. What he attempted was probably a parody of Qur'anic style rather than a deliberate challenge to the dogmas of Islam, which claims for the Qur'an a miraculous and immutable perfection.

That seems incredible, except on the hypothesis that Ma'arri, while doubting the divine origin of Islam, also distrusted the human intellect, and hesitated to cut himself loose from the faith in which he was bred. Such an explanation, however, does not accord with his confident and emphatic appeal to reason as the highest authority. The following quotation from the Confessions of the Luwaniyyat (A.D. 1891) illustrates his views on this point. Ma'arri does not express what he wholly or partly believed, but were designed to mask his real convictions and to serve as a defence against any dangerous attack, are attributing to him a course of action that he himself openly professes.

Folly compels me to play the haute cour monde of the Orient;... (ii. 130, 4). 'I raise my voice to pronounced absurdities, but I only whisper the truth' (ii. 36, 13). Conceal thy thoughts even from the friend at thy side' (col. 272, 1).

His opinions were of a sort that could not be communicated without some disguise; and this necessity, which he disliked (cf. ii. 34, 2), is the source of many irreconcilable contradictions in his writings. The suggestion that his ideas were dictated and controlled by the complex form of rhyme which he uses throughout the Luwaniyyat is inadequate as a general explanation of the facts, although it may be true of something. Something also should be allowed for the influence of an Islamic atmosphere and tradition upon the language of the poems, an influence to which, perhaps, their author at times consciously surrendered himself.

While Ma'arri adopted certain ascetic practices and held certain religious and moral beliefs, his genius was essentially critical, and he was not disposed to destroy than to construct. He could think for himself, but lacked the power of developing and combining his speculations. Unable to find rest in any religious or philosophical system, he fell into a fatalistic pessimism, and always to some extent happens in such cases, by a good deal of active benevolence. He claims to unfold to his readers the secret thoughts of mankind (i. 250, 15), and it is true that his poems reveal the innermost spirit of contemporary Muhammadan culture in its many-sided aspects. We are here concerned only with his main points of view and with the opinions and beliefs to which he was led by reflecting on his problems of life. For the sake of convenience the subject may be classified under a few general heads.

b. Scepticism.—In several passages of the Luwaniyyat Ma'arri discusses the origin and nature of religion. He ignores, although he does not formally deny, the theory of divine revelation. Religion, as he sees it, is a matter of inheritance and habit.

"They live as their fathers lived before them, and bequeath their religion mechanically, just as they found it" (i. 248, 13). In all thy affairs thou'lt be satisfied in conformity, even when thou sayest, "God is One" (i. 252, 2). He disapproves of conformity (taqaddul), not because he is opposed to genuine faith, but on the ground that it is irrational. "It is not reason that makes men religious; they are taught religion by their next of kin" (ii. 403, 19); cf. the celebrated verses (ii. 201, 7ff.): 'The Muslims are mistaen and the Christians are on the wrong road, and the Jews are all astray and the Magians are all astray — the intelligent [without religion, and the religious without intelligence].'

The whole fabric of popular religion is raised on fear, fraud, and greed (i. 251, last line, 65, 9, ii. 196, 5). The poet characterizes the great world-systems as a mass of forged traditions and doctrines which not only are repugnant to reason but have undergone vital alteration at the hands of their own adherents (ii. 20, 15, 196, 3, 404, 2, 409, 9). All of them are tainted with falsehood; no community possesses the truth (kaeda) entire (ii. 177, 10). Ma'arri does not shrink from applying this principle to Islam, though here, as has been remarked above, he speaks with two voices and avoids positive statements of disbelief. In the case of other religions his criticism is less restrained; but, thus referring to the Crucifixion, he says (ii. 409, 7ff.):

"If what they [the Christians] say concerning Jesus is true, where was His father? How did He abandon His son to His enemies? Or do they suppose that they devoured Him?" He disbelieves in miracles (ii. 252, 11), anguished
While castigating his neighbours and contemporaries, Ma'arri does not spare himself (i. 48. 7). His pessimism extends to the future:

'If this age is bad, the next will be worse' (ii. 171. 17).

(c) Asceticism.—He earnestly desired to withdraw from a society of knaves and hypocrites and a world of bitter illusions.

'Would that I were a savage in the desert, silly smelling the spring flowers in flight' (ii. 29. 14). Be a hermit for me, or speak the truth in a bire to his friends' (i. 60. 11). The busiest man in the world is an ascetic who does childishness' (ii. 213.).

But the value of asceticism depends on the motives by which it is inspired: the humble father of a family is superior to the ostentatious pietist (i. 287. 17ff.). Ma'arri seems to have learned at Baghdad, if not during his earlier travels, some peculiar doctrines and practices of Indian origin, connected more particularly with the Jains. He thinks it wrong to kill animals for food or to hurt them in any way, and therefore excludes from his diet not only meat, but also eggs, milk, and honey (i. 232. 9ff.).

In his opinion there is greater virtue in letting go a captured flea than in giving alms to a beggar (i. 212. 9). He praises the Indian custom of burning the dead instead of burying them, and introduces practical arguments in support of cremation (i. 235. 5ff., 418. 20ff., ii. 407. 3).

The religious enthusiasm of the Indian ascetics who throw themselves alive into the flames fills him with admiration (i. 260. 9ff.). He characteristically enough, he alleges as a reason for abstaining from wine the fact that the forbidden beverage is destructive to the intellect (ii. 312. 14, 361. 11).

(d) Religion and ethics.—Though Ma'arri believed the whole conception of religion as a supernatural revelation to be false, he was nevertheless a firm monotheist (i. 47. 12, 279. 12, 281. 4ff.). Reason, he says, assures us of the existence of an eternal Creator (i. 249. 9), whom he seems to have identified with an omnipotent, all-embracing Fate. Whether his idea of God is truly expressed by the orthodox phrases which he employs may be left an open question. At all events, his religious beliefs were based on intellectual conviction, not on traditional authority (i. 128. 8, 129. last line, 335. 15).

'Truth is not to be found in the Pentateuch: follow thy reason and do what it deems good' (i. 394. 4ff.).

Religion, as he defines it, is fear of God, renunciation of pleasures, and avoidance of sin (i. 315. 12, 361. 17, ii. 298. 12, 329. 12), but also embraces the obligation of dealing justly with every one (i. 103. 11). He says that all acts and forms of worship are useless without obedience to the unwritten moral law which is prescribed by reason and conscience. It is evident that he regarded this law as supreme and self-sufficient, for he never made the pilgrimage to Mecca nor did he take part in the public prayers (i. 100. 8). Virtue consists not in fasting and praying and wearing ascetic garb, but in abandoning wickedness and purging the breast of malice and envy (i. 283. 18ff.). That man is ignorant of true piety who, when he has an opportunity of satisfying his desires, does not abstain (ii. 159. 131.). A trivial wrong to one's neighbour will be more severely punished hereafter than neglect to fast or pray (ii. 394. 9). Ma'arri had no sympathy with religious or sectarian prejudices.

He observes that, 'when a religion is established, its adherents contemn and revile all other creeds' (i. 405. last line), but his own fashion is that a Christian be more good than a Muslim preacher (i. 55. 7). 'Were it not for the radical hatred implanted in human nature, churches and asceticism would have risen side by side' (ii. 320. 11).

Worldly ambition causes theologians to write controversial books full of vain words and endless analogies (i. 249. 5ff.).
Macedonianism. — I. Introduction. — In the closing years of the 4th and the first half of the 5th cent. the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians were regarded as the most important heretical groups deriving their origin from the Arian controversies. Three laws of theodosius, dating from a.d. 383 and 384 (Cod. Theod. vii. v. 11—13), are in the main directed against them, and the latest of these speaks of the three heretical designations as 'byzantianic, eunomian, and macedonian,' or 'famous nomas.' About three years afterwards Jerome (in Eph. ii. [on 4th], ed. D. Vallarsi, Venice, 1768—75, vii. i, p. 610 C = PL xxvi. 525) and, as far as I know, the Nestorians (Lampridius, ed. F. Nau, Paris, 1910, p. 148) link together the names of Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians in a similar way. Didymus of Alexandria, in his de Trinitate — a work which is distinctly named in Jerome's Catalogue of Authors (ch. 109), and which, therefore, cannot have been written long before a.d. 392, and may even be of later date — regards the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians, whom he sometimes connects (ii. 11 [PG xxxix. 661 E], ii. 12 [ib. 673 B and 688 B], as the most outstanding adversaries of orthodoxy. Augustine (c. 402) brings them before us as the non-Catholics of the East (de Unit. ii. 22). Jerome describes them in similar terms (Ep. cxxxii., ad Ctesiphontem 11 [Vall. i. 2, p. 1040 B = PL xxii. 1159]), and Socrates (440) recognizes them as the heretics of his time (Hist. Eccl. vii. 49, [c. 450]). As regards the heresy of the Eunomians, it is often labeled 'anarchia, eis twn Arminias, eisyn Eunomiani' (Council of Constantinople in 381; J. D. M. Sauer, Sacrorum conciliorum ... collection, Venice, 1750—98, iii. 560), we are so well informed that in dealing with them we can start from their date of origin. In the case of the Macedonians, however, the position is less favourable. It will therefore be advisable, first of all, to determine the standpoint of the Macedonians who, towards the close of the 4th and in the first half of the 5th cent., formed a definite sect distinct from the orthodox Church.

2. Sources for the history of the Macedonians from c. 383 to 450.—As sources for our inquiry we have, besides the historians of the 5th cent., the following works: (a) the de Trinitate of Didymus mentioned above (PG xxxix. 292—293); (b) the third of the five pseudo-Athanasian dialogues, de Trinitate (ib. xxvii. 1201—1249: Διαλογος της θεοτοκου μητρος της του θεον παραγωγης τιτο Μακε—

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and His περιττόντιον ἔσω (frag. 32, II, 15–33, Dial. c. Maced. i. 4 [p. 1293 C, D]; frag. 13, Dial. de Trin. II. vii. 18 p. 515 B, C]; frag. 23, ib. II. x. [p. 641 B]).

Only τοῦ ἄγγελου τοῦ Πειραιαστος εὐφαλέως [ἐκ τῇ Ἱράκλ.] (frag. 33, II, 35–33, Dial. c. Maced. i. 6 [p. 1297 C]) on the positive side it was urged that in Tit. 3. 5 Paul does not mention the Holy Spirit when speaking of the angels, though Macedonia is said to be "οἱ ἀγγέλοι" (frag. 4, ib. II. iv. [p. 481 B]).

The Holy Spirit, however, was not regarded as merely one of the angels; He was described as θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἄγγελων, ἀγγείον τινὰ φαινεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν (frag. 17, ib. II. viii, 3 [p. 576 B]). Nor is it only orthodox writers who on these grounds ascribe to the Macedonians the doctrine the Holy Spirit is a created being, for we find it stated also in the Sermones Arianorum that Μακεδονίαν "οἱ Μακεδονικόν πνεύμα τόσον Πατρίς καὶ Φιλίππου contum the auctoritate του Θεοῦ" (frag. 19, ib. II. viii, 19 p. 548 B, C); cf. frag. 18, ib. II. vii. 160, "Ἄγιος Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῶν ἄγγελον φιάσον;" the angels, too, are σήμερα καὶ πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θεοῦ (frag. 4, ib. II. iv. [p. 481 B]).

In the Sermones Arianorum we read as follows:

‘Μακεδονίαν post haec omnia (there is, unhappily, a lacuna in what precedes) corrigunt sae se dicent: "Filium similiter per omnia et in omnibus, sae se Patri esse dicent; haue autem dicunt esse differentium inter human naturam et inter naturam non naturam, non communicandas, quia non communicanst esse inter deum naturam et inter Deum non naturam dicimus; εὐκαλέας hominum, εὐκαλεῖα τοιαύτης Soziphanes, princeps eccorum, scriptit." (Pl. xiii. 633 B, C).

Is it only the words here italicized that are ascribed to Soziphanes, or are we to regard the whole statement, i.e. also the affirmation of the doctrine θυσια κατά πάντα (and therefore κατά ωσάς), as a formulation due to him or some other Macedonian? Be this as it may, the present writer has now—formerly he was advocate a different view (cf. Hoek, "Zwei Schriften der Macedonier")—that the Macedonians (and it is of the sect only that we are meanwhile speaking) were Homoeousians, not Homoeousians, in their mode of thought. This is, in fact, distinctly stated—even if we leave out of account the Sermones Arianorum by Didymus (in De Trin. I. xxviii. [p. 437 A]: ὡμοοὐσια... καὶ όχλον καταλεῖψαι, by the author of the Dial. de Trin. (ii. 1 [p. 1294 C] among others, ‘they do not assert the ως οὐσία οὐχ ὄμοια καὶ φῶς ὑμωοτικον' and by the writer of the Dial. c. Maced. (ii. [p. 1336 B, C]); and there are good grounds (cf. Loofs, ‘Zwei Maced. Dialoge, p. 503 f.) that the iris solution is arrived at in Dial. de Trin. iii. 16 καὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἄνγγλων, τῆς οἰκουμενῆς (p. 1228 A) is borrowed from the longer Macedonian dialogue.

There is in addition the fact that the so-called Confession of Lucian (Athanassius, de Synag. xxiii. [PG xcvii. 721 B]), which the Macedonians, to judge from their own utterances (cf. Loofs, ‘Zwei Maced. Dialoge, p. 503 f.), would seem to have regarded as their own, is almost identical with the

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which the Macedonians distinguished between the θεός "οὐχιον Αγίου Αγίων, and which they held to be separable from God Himself ("Dial. de Trin, i. 23 [p. 1240 A]; Dial. c. Maced. i. 20 [p. 1328 B, C]; cf. Did. de Spiritu Sancto, xxiii. [PG xxxiv. 1053 A]).

As regards the Christology of the Macedonians, we have, as far as the present writer knows, only a single statement emanating directly from the Macedonian side, and unfortunately it cannot be detached with certainty from its context. In the Sermones Arianorum we read as follows:

‘Macedonians post haec omnia (there is, unhappily, a lacuna in what precedes) corrigunt sae se dicent: "Filium similiter per omnia et in omnibus, sae se Patri esse dicent; haue autem dicunt esse differentium inter human naturam et inter naturam non naturam, non communicandas, quia non communicanst esse inter deum naturam et inter Deum non naturam dicimus; εὐκαλέας hominum, εὐκαλεῖα τοιαύτης Soziphanes, princeps eccorum, scriptit." (Pl. xiii. 633 B, C).
that the Θησεακός, or Θησεακοσίων, had a human mother.

The relation between these Macedonians and the Homouniots of the 4th century.—What we know of the teachings of the Macedonians in the period between A.D. c. 351 and c. 430 (cf. § 3) would make it necessary to give a paragraph on the main points (even if we had not direct information on the point) that the sect was historically connected with the Homouniotian or semi-Arian party. In point of fact, however—even apart from the fact that some modern writers, whom meanwhile we leave out of account (cf. § 5, below)—that connexion can be traced in the older sources. Jerome, who, when referring (c. 350) in his Commentary on Scripture (PG 94, 542 [ed. R. I. 96], Leipzig, 1913, p. 235 ff.) to the installation of Macedonius as bishop of Constantinople, does not fail to add, "a quo nunc hæresis Macedoniana," regards the Homouniotian doctrine alone as the "Macedonianum dogma." (ad. anno. 350 [ib. p. 245 d]; and in the famous twenty-four anathemas of Damascus (A.D. 380 [2]), given by Theodoret (HE vi. 11 [ed. L. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, p. 208; and in Lat., PL xiii. 359 A.; cf. Parmentier, p. ixvii]), all that is said of the Macedoniaton is:

στιγμα της ἡροδιας μητις καταγεγραμμένον εκ της ἀσθενείας ἀλλὰ της προμαχών τρίου της πατριαρχείου.

Further, Auxentius of Dorostorum writes (c. A.D. 385) of Ulilias as follows:

'οντισι κατανοομασθει, ουδε... Filium similium esse Patri eto non secundum Macedonianum fracturam pravili

By c. 380, however, the 'Macedonianum dogma' embraced also the pneumatocentric thesis. The 'Hæresia Macedonica,' as it was called, was condemned by the Synod of Constantiopolis (381, can. 1; Mansi, iii. 539), were, like the Pneumatocentric Semiariani of Philastrius (Herr, ixvi. Corpus hér., d. Oder, Berlin, 1863, p. 11), indubitably, in part at least, the same as the Macedonians of Jerome. Nicetas likewise, hardly before 381, speaks distinctly of the 'Macedoniani vel eorum in hac curiositate participes' as those 'qui questionem de Spiritu induxerunt' (de Spirit. v. 2 [PL iii. 383 B].) As the anathemas of Damascus in their opening words impugn Pneumatocentric ideals—though without applying any heretical designation—may probably infer that Damascus was acquainted with the doctrine of the Spirit held by the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians. And the reason that Auxentius does not mention the Macedonian doctrine of the Spirit. That, like Ulilias, he had nothing to criticize in the so-called Pneumatocentric ideals.1 For, like Origen, all the theologians who in the Anian controversy rejected the Homoousia of the Son affirmed by the Nicene Creed—Eusebius, Arius, Homiousians, and Eunomians, regarded the Spirit as a κτίσμα subordinate to the Son. Even the Nicene Creed itself did not prescribe that view; all that it says regarding the Spirit is: και μεταφορούμενος κατά τὸ Ἀγνὸν Πνεύμα.

Moreover, its partisans were at first concerned to assent only the Logos-doctrine of their opponents. In the earliest it was in the Epistles to Serapion (PG xxvi. 629—676), written by Atha

nasius during his exile from 9th Feb. 350 to 21st Feb. 362, that the theologian contended also for the Homousia of the Spirit. The opponents of whom Serapion had informed him, and against whom these Epistles were directed—ἐκλέγεται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρετῶν διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν Τιτιανὸν διακόσμησιν, φρονούσιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ἀγνῶν Πνεύματος καὶ λέγοντες αὖτο διὰ τὸ κτίσμα καὶ λέγοντες τὸν πνευμα
tόμον ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς Λευκα (Ep. i. 1 [p. 529 f.])—were obviously the precursors of the Macedonians of the 5th century. This is shown by the demonstrable similarity between the Dialogues of Didymus and the Epistles to Serapion in many of their ideas, although the former is, no doubt, dependent upon the latter (cf., e.g., ad Serap. i. 10 [pp. 556 C and 557 A] with Did. de Trin. ii. vi. 19 [p. 548 B, C]). Not only do they contain many theses which have been given by those of Macedonius make use of 1 Ti 521 as a 'dictum probans' (Ep. ad Serap. i. 10; Did. loc. cit.; cf. also Basilius, de Spiri. Sancto, xiii. 27 [PG xxiii. 117 C]).—Here, in the Serapion, whom we have removed from Athanasius—but we find also that Am 42 (ἐκ τῆς πνεύματος) and Zec 4 (ἐγγέλιον ὁ λαβὼν ἐν θαυμάι) are appealed to by the opponents of Athana


1 The bishops Anacletus of Cassarea and Patrophylus of Sicytho

2 Althoff, Vom Erfolge in der früheren Geschichte des Arianismus, Leipzig, 1911, p. 245 f.

3 The bishop Timotheus of Chalcedon, to whom he alludes in Ep. ad Serap. iv. 7 (p. 648 B), were also Macedonians.
according to Socrates (II, xi.), had as an aged deacon (τῆς ὁδού γερών) contested the see of Constantinople with Macedonius; but Macedonius, on the death of Alexander [installed, in all likelihood, while Constantine was still reigning], found himself in secure possession of the see after what the present writer (Str. 1909, p. 234) regards as the more stable position of Paul in the pastoral and liturgical communion with the latter (Atan. Hist. Ar. vii. [PG xxv. 701 A]). This does not necessarily imply that he had been an 'arian' for the later Homoioussians also belonged, till A.D. 358, to the 'russian' group of the opposition, and even at the event which ushered in the rise of the Homoioussians, Macedonius, as documentary evidence shows, is found in that group: the Epistle of George of Lodicea, written in 358, and preserved by Sozomen (IV, xii. 2 f.), names him first among the persons addressed. Epiphanius (Hier. ixiii. 23 and 27 [ed. P. Petavius, Paris, 1622, 870 D and 871 E, PG xvi. 345 A, 448 B]) recognizes him as one of the Homoioussian party which was (from 358) opposed to the Acacians, the later Homoioussians, just as his presbyter, Marathion, subsequently1 is known to have been, and of Eusebius, and of Eudoxius, and of Macedonius, of whom he makes the bishop of Cyzicus (Soz. II, xxvi. v, 4; Soz. II, xx. 2), were partisans of Basil of Ancrea and Eustathius of Sebaste.2 At the Synod of Seleucia (Sv. 358) he is associated with Eusebius and with the other Homoioussians in supporting Basil against the Acacians (Soz. IV, xxii. 7 ff.), and, like Basil, Eusebius, Eustathius, and other Homoioussians—as, indeed, the most prominent of them all—he was deposed by the Acacians at the end of the year 359 or in January 360 (Jer. Chron, ad ann. 359 [ed. Helm. p. 241 h]; Philostorg, v. I [ed. Rudez, p. 68; cf. p. 224); Soc. II, xii. 3; Soz. IV, xxiv. 3). He then retired, according to Sozomen (IV, xxvi. 1), to a place in the vicinity of Constantinople, and died there. He cannot have very long survived his deposition, as he does not appear in the important movements of his party after 360. In the interval between his deposition and his death, according to Socrates (II, iv. 1–3) and Sozomen (IV, xvii, 1.2),3 he founded a new party. (See below) is called upon his associates Sophronius (of Pompeipolis) and Eusebius (of Cyzicus) to adhere for the future to the Antiochian formula recognized at Seleucia, i.e. the Confession of Lucian (cf. C. G. Caspari, Alt. und neue Quellen, Christiania, 1879, p. 42 f.). Sozomen (IV, xxvi. 1) is more explicit: 

συνήθεια τῆς ἡδοὶ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, κατὰ πάντα τα κατὰ ψωμίν ἀξέραντα ἐν τῷ θεῷ διδόσασθαι καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐν ψωμίν ἀξέραντα ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἀξέραντα. Λαύριον καὶ ψυχήν καὶ ὕπερ τῶν φυλών ἀρχήν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν φυλών ἀρχήν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν φυλών ἀρχήν. 

Rufinus (HE i. 25 [ed. T. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1908, p. 990]) somewhat earlier makes a similar statement. The tradition is nevertheless true. It refers in reality to the earliest public appearance of the Homoioussians, not of the Macedonius party. It is based on knowledge even of the actual beginning of the Homoioussian party some two years previously than does Philostorius (IV. 9 [p. 62]). Then, in the further course of the name, according to Socrates and Sozomen, the term 'Macedonians' becomes, in conformity with that report, the regular designation of the Homoioussians generally. Thus the 'Macedonians,' in the reign of Constantine, lived in religious communion with the orthodox (cf. Soz. vii, ii. 2), until at length (cf. ib. 3), after the death of Valens, they once more stood out as a party by themselves. But, had the Homoioussians been in reality universally designated Macedonians, as Sozomen and others assume, we should certainly have found some evidence of that communion being in earlier times. Macedonians. One is prompted to ask, nevertheless, whether the statement of Sozomen (v. xiv. I), viz. that during Julian's reign οἱ ἰδιοί Μακεδόνες, χρήστες τοῦ προ- πάτου Μακεδόνων καλεθέντα δέκαμεν, can possibly be based up upon mere error. We are compelled to assume that, just as in Antioch, after the installation of Eunapius, the loyal adherents of Melchiades came to be called 'Macedonians,' so in Constantinople, the followers of the deposed Macedonius who did not attach themselves to the church of Eunapius, his successor (Soz. iv, xviii. 7, viii. 7), were presently designated 'Macedonians.' The connexion between Macedonius and the later 'Macedonians' would thus simply be that the latter gained accessions from the Homoioussian circles of the former, of whom they were, when he made his last stand at the metropolis, the best-known group in the Balkan Peninsula. This solution of the historical problem—a solution which surrenders the 365, as claiming to belong to the litoral signature of the name 'Macedonians' is certainly a possible one. For it was in the neighbourhood of Constantinople—on the Hellespont, in Bithynia, and in Thrace—that the 'Macedonians' were most numerous (Soz. iv, xvii. 2; Soz. ii. iv. 8, v. 3; Ath. D. 234 d) and from it and its neighbourhood that, with a single exception (Damaeus), our oldest authorities for the use of the name (Jerome, Auxentius, Nicetas) are derived, while both Sozomen (cf. v. xxv. 9) and Sozomen (cf. ii. ii. 10) wrote largely under the influence of the same local tradition. In view of the active intercourse between Rome and Constantinople, the simple exception of Damaeus does not mean much. Rufinus, again, may have gained his information from Jerome through literary channels [cf. J. CHRON. AD ANNA. 359 (ed. Hcbl, p. 243 d)] as well as personal contact; and Didymus had relations with both. Moreover, the random use of the name 'Macedonians' is confirmed by the fact that, according to Socrates (II, iv. 4) and Sozomen (IV, xvii. 5), the Macedonians were also called 'Marathionians;' and Sozomen (loc. cit.) even expresses the opinion that, in view of the personal and material support for which the party were indebted to Marathion, the name was not inappropriate. Still, it is quite intelligible that K. Holl (ZKG xxv. 338 f.), especially in view of the witness of Didymus, should put forward the question whether the connexion between Macedonius and the Macedonians was not, after all, of a more substantial character. The present writer is, however, of opinion that the information possessed by Didymus is less than Holl makes out. Didymus seems, e.g., to have regarded Marathionus as the successor of Macedonius (de TRIN. II. x. p. 633 A): ἀριστεῖ τῶν χριστιανῶν τοῦ κοινοῦκυρίων καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα ὁ Μακεδόνειος καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνακοινωνοῦντα. But, if it is possible (cf. Zwei maced. Dialoge, p. 544), the person addressed in de TRIN. II. vii. 1 (p. 613 C) is not the author of the Macedonian dialogue, but, by a figure of rhetoric (cf. Trac. I. Did. de TRIN. II. vii. 3 (p. 575 A), Macedonius himself, then, the information given in de TRIN. II. vii. 1, viz. that Macedonius was made bishop by the
Arians, but was previously a deacon of the orthodox Church, supplements that given in ii. x. only by the latter—and, indeed, correct (cf. Soc. ii. vi. 3)—statement. Nor is it inconceivable that Didynmus obtained part of the dialogue from Basil, and his information regarding Macedonians from the Macedonian dialogue used by him. Yet the correspondence between what that dialogue tells us regarding the Macedonians and viewing what Basilus and Agathias tell us have not been made known when he wrote his Epistles to Sabrion is striking. Can it have been the case that the above-mentioned summons of Macedonians to Eleusinians, referred to by Socrates (ii. xlv. 2), was contained in a letter, and that this letter had come into Sabrion's hands? This would explain how the Alexandrians had obtained information regarding the Macedonians at a relatively early stage; it would explain, the information possessed by Didynmus regarding the αλεποθραύσεως Μακεδόνων, and also the account given by Socrates (and Sozomen) of the origin of the Homoeonian party. The hypothesis is not impossible; for the first letter of Athanasius to Sabrion may quite well have been written as late as A.D. 361. The point, however, cannot be decided in the present state of our knowledge.

6. The persistence or recrudescence of Homoeonianism among the Macedonians.—There is still another question to be considered. Athanasius was aware that those who were known to Sabrion as εἰς Σάβριον ἔρχοντα λόγον ἁμαρτίαν the Macedonians, who for themselves repelled by the Arian 'blasphemy' against the Son (Επ. ad Sabr. i. 1 [p. 529 f.]), and that they were detected by the Arians (cf. i. 52 [p. 905 B]); this fits remarkably well with the situation from the beginning of A.D. 360. Somewhat later the Homoeonians ('Macedonians'), as a result of negotiations with Liberius at a synod held at Tyana in 357, passed completely over to the side of the Nicene Creed (Basil. Ep. cxxliv. 5 [PG xxxii. 917 D]; Soz. vii. xii. 21; cf. Sabinus, ep. Soc. iv. xii. 11). Thereafter, as we read (Soc. vi. 1; Soc. vii. ii. 1), the Macedonians, who at that time had neither a church nor a bishop in Constantinople (Soc. iv. xxvii. 6, vii. i. 7), maintained ecclesiastical communion with the Homoeonians. Thus the question arises how it came about that the later Macedonian doctrine was Homoeonian. Basil (Ep. cxxiv. 9 [PG xxxii. 924 B]) tells us that, at a synod held at Cyzicus in A.D. 376—otherwise unknown to us (Loofs, Eustathius, p. 17)—Eusebius, the Macedonian archbishop (cf. § 4), subscribed a formula which, together with Pneumatomachian clauses, contained statements pointing away from the Nicene Creed to the Homoeonian (τὸ Εὐσέβιον καταγάγων τὸν Πνευματικὸν ἀλήθειαν αὐτόν εἰς καταγώγων, and that from 375 he had drawn closer, ecclesiastically, to the Homoeonian court-bishops (Basil. Ep. cxxiv. 7 [p. 923 A, B]; cf. 5, 929 B, C; Loofs, Eustathius, p. 78 s.); Ptolemaius of Alexandria, who had been orthodox as regards their Christology (see above) proves nothing to the contrary, since that author wrote at a time prior to the synod of Antioch; nor is our statement refuted by the fact that Gregory of Nazianzus, in a Whitsunlute sermon of the year 381, addressed the Pneumatomachians as ὑπὲρ τὸν Τιν Σωτήρα (Or. xii. 8 [PG xxxvi. 440 B]). Gregory had as valid grounds for this friendly judgment as had the Orthodox when, shortly afterwards, at the synod of 381, they reminded the thirty-six Pneumatomachians who attended under the leadership of Eusebius of their schisms with Liberius (Soc. vi. vii. 7; Soc. vii. vii. 4). The breach which had been started by the rupture between Eustathius and Basil, and by the synods of Cyzicus and Antioch in Cresta, was rendered absolute by the Council of 381. The Pneumatomachians withdrew from the Council, and were condemned by it (cf. § 4). The amicable overtures made at the instance of Theodosius I. to the Arians, and of Julian to the Macedonians (Soc. v. i. 1; Soc. vi. i. 3), the Macedonians seconded again from the Homoeonians, with whom they had hitherto been in communion, abandoning the Nicene Creed, and trusting to be received for the θρόνοιος as against the θρόνοιος. From that time a section of the Macedonians (Homoeonians) had continued to exist as a distinct party (ἐν οἴκειᾳ ἡμῶν), while another, breaking away from the latter, had united themselves all the more closely to the Homoeonians. These statements are not altogether free from difficulties. The present writer would not lay stress upon the fact that the notice in Soc. iv. xxvii. 8 (cf. the words σωτηρίων εὐγενείας, &c.), which obviously refers to this re-appearance of the Homoeonians, points to the reign of Arcadius, as the notice in question is manifestly erroneous. Here, indeed, Sozomen seems to have wrongly interpreted the statement of his authority (Sabinus), which he renders verbally in vii. i. 7. May it not be the case, however, that in vii. xii. 4 of a later date of vii. i. 3, clearly derived from Sabinus, and providing fresh difficulties? In vii. xii. 4 likewise we read of a synod in the Carian Antioch, where, in opposition to the Homoeonians, the Heteroeonian of Lucian was made the standard; this synod, however, was held subsequently to the synod of Tyana (367), and in opposition to those members of the Homoeonian party who had gone over to the Homoeonians. The present writer must admit that he finds this 'doublet'—if it is a doublet—a disturbing element. Still, it is possible that, as H. Valensius (Adnot. to Soc. vii. xii. 4) assumes, there were two Homoeonian synods at Antioch in Castra (A.D. 383 and 378); and, in fact, if the bishop of that city was an intragenetic Homoeonian, there is much to be said for the theory. If we accept it, we must regard as possible that some of these synods likewise gave its adherence to the Confession of Lucian, which, as we have seen, was so highly esteemed by the Macedonians. It is in the period succeeding that date that we find the later Macedonians. For Macedonianism was simply the Homoeonianism which, on account of the doctrine of the Spirit, broke away from the Homoeonians adhering to the Nicene Creed. The fact that Epiphanius (ὁ παρακειμένος τῇ θρονίᾳ τῶν Πνευματικῶν ἀλήθειάς [cf. § 4]), published a formula which, together with Pneumatomachian clauses, contained statements pointing away from the Nicene Creed to the Homoeonian (τὸ Εὐσέβιον καταγάγων τὸν Πνευματικὸν ἀλήθειαν αὐτόν εἰς καταγώγων, and that from 375 he had drawn closer, ecclesiastically, to the Homoeonian court-bishops (Basil. 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Our sources do not enable us to answer the question. But to the present writer it seems beyond doubt that what is here said of Eustathius lends support to an account of similar parable given by Sozomen (vii. ii. 2), and less fully by Socrates (iv. xlv. 2), regarding a synod held at Antioch in Castra (375). These

3 Cf. Loofs, Eustathius, p. 78, note 2, where, however, the detection of Eustathius from the Nicene Creed is not sufficiently recognised.
Constantine in 383—Eusebius being once more the representative of the last-named group (Soc. v. x. 24; Soc. vii. xii. 9)—were unsuccessful in winning the sect back to the Church. The Macedonians, undisturbed by the laws against heretics that passed in 383 and 384 (cf. Soc. v. xx. 4; see above, § 1), still remained a distinct group apart from the Church, but how far beyond A.D. 450 they maintained their position the present writer cannot say.


MADAGASCAR.—The religion of the Malagasy is extremely simple. They believe in one god, whom they call Zanahary, ‘creator of all things’; but this god, being essentially good and, consequently, incapable of doing evil, is more or less neutral in his effects. He, therefore, is properly speaking, no cult connected with him. Indeed, with the exception of sorcerers, there are in Madagascar no individuals or classes of individuals connected officially with any religion or cult.

1. Ancestor-worship. —The shades of ancestors, however—for all the Malagasy believe in a future life, with rewards and punishments—enjoy a great veneration, and inspire their worshippers with extraordinary awe. They are credited with all power of good and evil over the living, whom they visit from time to time. A dead household, i.e., will sometimes pay a visit to his widow, and in this case the birth of posthumous children is considered perfectly legitimate. Offerings are made to ancestors, generally of a small piece of ox-blood, and a few drops of rum, which are taken to the grave of the ancestor whose favours are sought.

2. Sorcery and fetishism. —The Malagasy do not believe in death from natural causes, except in the case of criminals or common accidents. Their idea is that death is always the effect of witchcraft or evil spells cast by sorcerers, and they are, therefore, careful to collect all hair-cuttings, nail-pieces, or any other object of which sorcerers would find these things and use them to work evil on their owner. The Sakalava kings were always accompanied by a servant whose sole charge was to gather up the earth upon which they had spat.

Diviners or sorcerers play a very important part in the life of the Malagasy. The natives believe that they are in communication with the spirits of the dead and can cure diseases, foretell the future, discern whether the outcome of any enterprise will be favourable and what is the most suitable moment for undertaking it, indicate lucky and unlucky days, and warn against what is forbidden (fady). There are no fixed rules, even for the most important undertaking without first consulting the sorcerer, who makes use of sikidy—a ceremony in which a handful of seed is spread out on a cloth, according to certain well-defined rules, as to form sixteen figures, which are then interpreted with the aid of a code. The sikidy, which was introduced, or at least very frequently employed, by the Antimoroa, has been in general use throughout the island for a long time.

The sorcerers, who are called tsipesandily, ambiasa, oxasina, etc., according to the different provinces, have as one of their occupations—and that not the least lucrative—the manufacture of amulets or talismans (oby), which generally consist of small pieces of carved wood, bull’s horns ornamented with glass beads, or crocodiles’ teeth. The horns and teeth are usually filled with earth or sand and various small objects such as gilt nails, iron-filings, and cow-dung. After invoking the god and sprinkling the talisman with grease, the sorcerer, for a consideration, hands it over to the purchaser, who then hangs it round his neck. The result is especially to keep the wearer or is successful in all his undertakings, fortunate in love, immune from gun-shots or crocodile bites, and so on. The natives have the most implicit faith in these oby.

The Merina introduced the worship of national fetishes, which were very similar to the foregoing. These fetishes were regarded as royal personages, and had a special residence with officiating servants. The oldest and most famous of them was Kellimaza.

3. Fady.—In almost every case there is some fady connected with these amulets and fetishes—i.e., it is forbidden to do certain things and to eat certain foods. If this prohibition is not rigidly respected, the oby loses all its virtue and is useless. The fady, which occurs throughout the whole of Madagascar, and the Malagasy are vague about its origin. It is a taboo of the Oceanians. There are some places which are regarded as fady for every one, while others are fady only for certain families or even for certain individuals. There are then no one should begin anything new or start on a journey. If a child is born on one of these unlucky days, it is killed—or, rather, it was until quite recently, especially amongst the Malagasy general, and the island—because it is supposed to bring evil upon its family. There are also fady words, i.e. words which must not be pronounced; naturally, these are fast disappearing from the language. As an example of this we have the words which went to make up the names of the Sakalava kings, the use of which was prohibited after their death. These fady are really of a religious nature; their aim is to appease the wrath of spirits and otherwise gain their favour.

4. Human sacrifice.—Human sacrifice has now been abolished in Madagascar, but it is not very long since it was customary. To their idea is that death was always the effect of witchcraft or evil spells cast by sorcerers, and they were, therefore, careful to collect all hair-cuttings, nail-pieces, or any other object of which sorcerers would find these things and use them to work evil on their owner. The Sakalava kings were always accompanied by a servant whose sole charge was to gather up the earth upon which they had spat.

5. Crimes and punishments. —The Malagasy have no moral code. Their religion seems to authorize anything and everything, and the only recognized sin is failure to observe the external formalities of worship; such a sin of omission may be absolved by the penitent’s making a small offering to the spirit of the common ancestor.

Before the conquest of Madagascar by the French, justice was of an extremely summary nature (except in the case of the Merina, who had a code of laws modelled on European codes), based simply upon traditional use and wont.
Justice was meted out by the king or the village chief, and in certain tribes—e.g., the Betsileo—by an assembly of the leading men of the tribe. The lex talionis was in universal use. The principal crime was sorcery,—the greatest crime of all—sorcery, which was always punished by death.

6. Ordeals and oaths.—In cases of doubt, recourse was had to the ordeal. The poison test, or *tanghin*, which has made so many victims among the Hova, is one of the best-known methods, and another test consisted in making the accused orange the contents of an iron jar or an arm of the sea where sharks abounded, those animals being supposed to eat the guilty and to do no harm to the innocent.

Another interesting practice is the “water-oath.”

A number of water are put a bullet, some powder, earth from a sacred spot—e.g., the tombs of the old kings of Imerina—and especially a bit of gold. The accused, or the two litigants, in a law-suit, drink this water, vowing their good faith during the process; and all the [illegible] that flesh is heir to are supposed to fail on those who swear falsely.

There is another ceremony similar to this—the “blood-oath,” or *fatidra*—by which two persons promise each other mutual aid and protection throughout their lives, and enter into a voluntary relationship more intimate and binding than real blood-relations.

To the contents of the bowl described above are added a few drops of each individual’s blood, drawn from a slight cut made on his hand. The two parties then take it in their hands and, with the point of their spear or the ramrod of his gun, with the points dipped in the bowl, an orator announces the news of this fraternal union to their ancestors in an eloquent speech, and calls upon God to inflict the most severe punishment if either of them fails to keep his oath (ct., *tanghina*).

Exorcism.—The Malagasy have a peculiar ceremony which shows their belief in demoniacal possession and exorcism. Its aim is to cure certain maladies, and also to render thanks to God for the cure effected. This is practised chiefly in the west and south of the island, and is termed *bido* or *sala-mana.* Those who are submitted to treatment of this kind are supposed to be possessed of a devil, which must be expelled.

The patient is led out of the village to a large open space where a platform 10 or 12 ft. high, with a primitive ladder leading up to it, is erected for the occasion. At the foot of this platform all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are gathered on one side, and the cattle belonging to the invalid or his family on the other. When he arrives, dancing and singing begin, and there are great illusions of toads (run), large quantities of wine which must be consumed by the patient. The unfortunate man is then led into the middle of the platform, where several large stones are placed, one of which acts as a kind of scape-animal and is sacred to the man’s parents, who treat it with every kindness, while the other is immediately sacrificed and eaten by the sacrificers. The patient, drunk with alcohol, noise, and the heat of the sun, has then to climb up to the platform—an operation not altogether free from risk. If he reaches the top without much help, God is supposed to be favorable to him and he will get better; if not, his case is hopeless. Once he is safely established on the mat covering the top of the platform, a woman, who has had to remain in a state of absolute chastity for twenty-four hours previously, gives him food which she has cooked specially for him, particularly newly-killed ox-flesh. If he eats it, or even pretends to do so, that is a sure sign of his speedy recovery to health and long life. The tumult of singing and shouting then begins again with redoubled energy. The sick man is left lying there, several feet above the ground, sometimes for a very long time. At the end of the ceremony, many inhabitants of the village surround themselves with rung and gorme themselves with meat. He is then carried back with great pomp to his dwelling, where, nine times out of ten, he succumbs to the effects of his treatment.

8. Death and disposal of the dead.—Among the Malagasy the custom of the mourning for those connected with burial of the dead. The funeral rites are not the same throughout the whole island; some peoples hide their cemeteries in the heart of the forest, among hills and rocks, in desert places, or are far from the coast, and sound

1 The Arabic word for “devil” is *Bila*, and from this the Malagasy have formed *bilo*, which is the name both for the evil spirit and for the ceremony of exorcising it.
laws came into force which had to be strictly obeyed, if one did not wish to run the risk of being considered responsible for the death of the king and of being subjected to capital punishment as a sorcerer. The following are some of the restrictions imposed on the people: all the inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of the heir to the throne, had to shave their heads, sleep on the ground instead of in beds, use their hands to wash each other, without greeting in the street, neither play any musical instrument nor sing, have no fire or light at night, do no work except in the fields, refuse to be carried in a palanquin, use no mirror, go about bare-headed, wear no fine clothing, and, lastly, practice generally two burial ceremonies— one consisting in simply burying the dead, and the other taking place some years after, when nothing but the skeleton remains, and when the body is finally placed in the family tomb. Sometimes, as in Imera, the body is put into the family vault at once, but it is wrapped round with several silk bands, after which it is covered and kept, till a certain time, the ceremony of the mana- dika takes place. This consists in changing the soiled bands, and the Merina say then that they turn the bodies on their other side so that they may not get tired of lying in one position.

Funerals in Madagascar are always the occasion of feasts in honour of the dead. The richer the man is and the more cattle he possesses, the more banquets take place the third day after his death. Candles are lighted, and bulls are killed, the flesh being eaten at the funeral feast, and the head and horns being placed with great ceremony on the tomb of the deceased. The funeral feast goes on for days or weeks, and there is anything left to eat or drink the feast continues; the funeral festivities of great and noble personages have been known to last for months.

The narrative of the events in the Kaliyuga, or present age of the world, commences in the 4th surge of Is., at first, the knowledge of the Vedas, as taught by Kṛṣṇa and Bhūma (Mm. v. 1), reigns supreme. Then the Aśvins aspire to spread false doctrines. The demon Sakuni, urged by Chakrāvak, the son of Lokanāta, points out that other heroes, such as those of the Chāndāgīva, Jatas, and Pāṇḍavas, had all failed (5-10). Therefore Mahāvīra, who alone had sufficient skill, must become incarncate as a Brahman ascetic, and must destroy the Vedants, under cover of explaining it (11-18). Mahāvīra is dispatched with instructions to abolish the Vedas and Purāṇas, to ridicule the theory that Vīra has made our qualities, and to establish the identity of the soul with Brahma (19-20).

See below.

1 It is called the Brahman-śaivismādhyādhyāya because it is said to have been first communicated by Vīma to Brahmanā, who spread it through the island of Vīma, by the help of his disciple, Vīma. See below.

2 E.g., by Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, p. 140.

The Madhvas, Madhavāchāris.—The Madhvas or Madhavāchāris are an Indian sect, one of the four śaiva-prādhyāyas, or churches, of the Vaisnava Bhākhārman (Vīma, or Bhākṛti-Mārga, vol. ii, p. 545). It has usually been stated that this sect represents an attempt to form a compromise or alliance between Śaivas and Vaisnavas, but an examination of the authoritative documents of the faith shows that this is far from the truth. It is therefore advisable to include in this article an account of the life of the founder of the religion, and of the legends connected with his coming.

The authorities on which the following account is based are: (1) the Mahāvīrājātī (quoted as Mm.), which deals with the religious history of India down to the year 650 B.C.; (2) the Mahāprakritos (Mv.), which deals with the life of Mahāvīra himself; both these works are in Śanskrit, and are written by one Nārāyaṇa, who was the son of Tīrīṣṭuddhā. (3) The Vīmaṣṭiūti of the above Tīrīṣṭuddhā, and (4) C. N. Krishnaswami Aliyār's Śrī Madhvas and Madhavāchāris (K.), which includes a summary in English of (1) and (2).

I. Accounts of the founder.—The basis of the Madhva religion is, first, that Viṣṇu is the Brahmā of the Īyavānās; and, secondly, that, whenever he enters into the body of a mortal, he becomes incarnate as a man. He is the air-god, as his friend and helper. Accordingly, the first four purṣa or chapters, of Mm., after describing the order of creation, gives detailed accounts of the Ramā and Kṛṣṇa incarnations, Ramā's great friend and Kṛṣṇa's ally, being, not Arjuna, as we might expect, but Bhūma (cf. Mm. iv. 41), one of the five heroes of the Mahābhārata, and also a son of the Vīma, or air-god. In the Bhūma theology these are all ignored save one, which, compared with the others, is, in the epic, of quite minor importance. In the Vīma-prasūni (Mahābh. iii. 11, 66 ff.) is related that Mahāvīra, in a certain Vāya or aśāśās belonging to the country beyond the Himalayas, and killed their leader, Manimā. Mahāvīra had formerly offered a filch insult to the Indian sage Agastya (the prototype of the Vedic Brahmā). He was called by him to be slain by a mortal. Such stress is laid upon this story by the Madhvas that they maintain that the version, as we have it now in the Mahābhārata, was an invention of Vyāsa, the author of the epic, rewritten and completed by Mahāvīra himself (K. p. 42).

MADHVAS, MADHAVACHARIS

brought up in great poverty, and (as a slip at the monad sub-
sequently taught by him) it is related that in his boyhood he
could count only one thing at a time, never being able to see
a single idea of numbers. He is said to have been brought up
in a village, under the patronage of Shiva, he quickly masters the sacred books (41). He is
later tutor to teacher, but is lost to them for his heretical views. He invents his doctrine, described as
 daunting-spirit and nirgranthaputra, and is hailed by the demons as the
second coming of the great Vedantins and teachers Buddhism under cover of Vedantism. He makes the
Vedas without meaning, and equates Brahman with nothing-
ness (nityatvam) (6). He becomes a Saitaka, and messenger of
Bharavi, who confers upon him a magic spell (51).

The Bhagavata Purana further describes his pupils in
Sankara’s life. He reduces the wife of his Brahmanah house (41.),
He makes the wife of his Brahmanah house (41.)
his pupil, but falls to his death. His last words are instructions to his disciples to uproot the
learned Saitapraya, the last of the great teachers of the true Vedic

In the 8th sarga we have the doings of Sankhara’s followers. They penetrate their opponents, burning down monasteries,
deroying cattle-pens, and by magic arts killing women and children (5). They forcibly convert one of their chief opponents,
Brahman, and compel him and his disciples to adopt the
Madhavavais (6). These, however, still adhere to the
true religion, and, after consulting Saitapraya, determine to
cause one disciple to become thoroughly learned in the
Maya-system, who should start a line of disciples, outwardly Mayavais,
but really devoted to Hari (i.e. Vaisnava). In this line of disciples
come, in due course, Achyutapraya. In his time the Lord, i.e.
Vayu, was very much occupied elsewhere with Madhva, in the hounding of Madhyasa, and
studied under Achyutapraya (314.). The body ends with a
brief allusion to the account of Sankara’s death, and of

It thus appears that Madhva, like Bhima, was an incarnate
initiation, from the earth to
destroy all the followers of Sankara and all their

And

The ancient name of the country now comprising the
Districts of Dharvar and N. and S. Kanara, together
with the western portion of the State of
Mysore, was Tulava, the modern Tulun, and it
is here that the Madhvas have always been strong.

After the usual natal rites, the boy was named
Vasu, a name which at a later date he changed to
Madhva. The most probable date of his birth is the
Saka year 1119 (=A.D. 1197), but some authori-
ties put it as late as A.D. 1238. Numerous tales
are told of his youthful exploits and of miracles
which were referred to below. His prowess in
physical exercises was recognized by his school-
fellows, who nicknamed him ‘Bhima’ (Mr. iii.
42-48). When he grew up, he joined the
list of the Achyutapraya already referred to (Mr. iv.
6.), and in due course, amidst a burst of prophecy from
the assembled crowd, received initiation under the
name of Parvaka and Pratapaka (33). He
continued his studies under Achyutapraya in the
Anantusvara monastery at Udipi, and finally re-
ceived from him the name of Anandadhara (Mr.
v. 2), the title adopted by him in future as his per-
sonal name. All this time, it must be concluded, he
was studying the Vedanta, according to the
muyya-school of Sankara.

After further study, he made a tour through
southern India, having in the meantime developed
his own system of dualism in opposition to the
monism of Sankara. He journeyed along,
disputing with the doctors in each town, his most
important combat being at Anantagura (the modern
Trivandrum) with the head of the Sankara monas-
tery at Sringeri (Mr. v. 36). Here there seems to
have been a drawn battle. The combatants parted
in enmity, and the Madhva’s word, repeatedly repeated
that ever after existed between the followers of the
two systems. Madhva had to take refuge for four
months at Ramesvara (v. 41.), after which he
returned to Udipi. The result of this first tour was
to establish Madhva as the leader of a new sect
and to widen the breach between him and the
authorities at Sringeri (K. p. 32).

After some years of further study at Udipi,
during which (K. p. 23) he seems to have completed his

In Mr. the first sarga sums up briefly the con-
tents of Min., special stress being again laid on the
Mamnati story (s. 30), and on Bhima’s close con-
nection with Krupa (41). The incarnation of Vayu
is plainly stated in ii. 24. The rest of the work is a
prolix account of Madhva’s life, too long to
analyze here. The main facts are as follows: Madhva, son of Swenti, Madhva’s father
(Mr. ii. 9, 14), was a Brahmana living at Rajapatipura (6), close
to the modern Udipi, a town on the south-east
of the present district of S. Kanara, and about 40
miles due west of Sringeri, then, and still, the
head-quarters of the Smarta followers of
Sankaracharya.

The ancient name of the country now comprising the
Districts of Dharvar and N. and S. Kanara,
together with the western portion of the State of
Mysore, was Tulava, the modern Tulun, and it
is here that the Madhvas have always been strong.

According to the local authors of the

Mr. xii. and xiii.), in which the Smarta-philosophers, led by
the head of the Sringeri monastery, did all that they
could to destroy the new teacher and his followers.
They even went so far as to carry off Madhva’s entire
library, and it was restored only through the
intercession of the local prince, Jaya Sihita of
Vijnumangala. It was shortly after this that
Madhva converted Trivikrama (xii. 50 ff., xv. 64),
the father of the author of Min. and Mr. In his
last years Madhva again toured to the North, and
is said to have rejoined Vyas, in whose company
he still remains awaiting the conclusion of the
present age. His final journey is described in Mr.
v. 36. The date of his death was probably Saka 1118
(A.D. 1276), when he was 79 years old.

Thirty-seven different works are attributed to him,
of which the most important are his commentaries on
the Vedanta Sutras and on the Dharmasutra and
his commentary on the Mahabharata, entitled
the Mahabharata-tatparya-nirunya.

1 See Subha Rama, Bhagavat-Gita, p. xiv.; cf. Bhandarkar,
Vaiyavina, Saints, Stages, and Sects in the Ural, London, 1894,
p. 46.

2 It is, however, important to note that the Vaisnavas of Bengal,
formed by Chaitanya (p. 9), is an offshoot of Madhvas (see
Kalaipa-Siibha, Siibha-kalpa-purana, London, 1884,
p. 46).
2. Doctrines of the sect.—Mādhyāvism rejects not only the monism of Śaṅkara but also the Viśiṣṭādvaita, or qualified monism, of Rāmānuja (see art. BHAKTIVĀDA, vol. ii. p. 545). Its followers call themselves Sad-Vaiṣṇavas to distinguish themselves from the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava followers of the latter. The basis of the whole philosophical system is dīvīna, or spirituality, by this word understood the dualism of spirit and matter, or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (Jiva-Mandnam) and the dependent principle of Being (Bhūta) remains. These dualistic distinctions (pañcakhañca), viz. (a) between God and the individual soul, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the soul and matter, (d) between one soul and another, and (e) between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation given in MM. i. 2ff. closely follows the well-known Śaṅkara-Yoga system, as modified by the Purāṇas, and need not detain us. Vīṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, or Parā Bhūvaṇa, not Brahmā, is the name given to the Supreme Being. He is endowed with all auspicious qualities (guna), and has a consort, Lakṣmī, distinct from, but dependent on, him. By her he has two sons, Brahmāna, the Creator, and the Vāyu mentioned above, who is the Saviour of mankind. Mokṣa, or salvation, consists in release from transmigration and eternal residence in the abode of Nārāyaṇa. Souls (jīva-s) are innumerable, and each is eternal, has a separate existence, and is subject to transmigration. They fall into three groups, viz. (a) the lesser gods, the pītha, pītā, kings, and a few other select classes of the asuras; (b) those who have already transmigrated and who are destined to salvation; (c) those who are neither sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; these are destined to perpetual transmigration (jīvasatra); and (d) demons, etc., and sinners, especially followers of the mādhya-doctrine and other heretics who reject Vāyu; these are destined to eternal hell. Again, it must be noted that there is no salvation, except through Vāyu, i.e., in the present age, through Madhva. It is also noteworthy that in this religion the idea of eternal bliss, or mokṣa, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Mādhyāvā's time.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (avidyā), and this ignorance is despelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtained by the study of the Vedas. Of the first class and eighteen means are described as necessary for its attainment. Such are distaste of this world (samāvaya), equanimity (śaman, attendance on a gurru, or religious teacher, bhakti directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the Pārva-Mimāṃsā), reprobation of false doctrines, worship (upāṣāma), and so on.

Service to Viṣṇu (i.e. to God) is expressed in three ways: (a) by stigmatization, or branding (ākāṇa) the body with the symbols of Viṣṇu; (b) by giving his names to sons and others (saŋma-karana); and (c) by worship (bhakti) with word, act, and thought. Worship with word consists in (1) veracity, (2) usefulness, (3) kindliness, (4) sacred study; with act, in (5) almsgiving, (6) defence, (7) protection; with thought, in (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Nārāyaṇa (i.e. God) of each of these as it is realized.

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the shoulders and breast is not peculiar to the followers of Mādhyāvā, being also adopted by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, but among the Mādhyāvas, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the bhātras. All classes, whether monks or laity, are branded. The mark itself, or

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The complete list is given by Bhāndarkar, p. 661.

\[3\]

Sarva-darśana-saṅkhyāra, tr. p. 91.

1. It will be remembered that Mādhyāvā is said to have revised the Mahābhārata, and in this connexion it should be noted that in the southern recension of the epic, after XII. 308, six verses have been inserted in which it is declared that animals of flour should be used at sacrifices.

2. The present writer takes this opportunity of withdrawing the remark made in ERB ii. 549, that Alopen had visited the court of Siālutā. See J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 134.

3. The passage of the Mahābhārata is not quoted in the text, but the Ancient India, Calcutta, 1877. Garbe (p. 152) considers it probable that the Kāllina of Cosmas was another Kālīn, farther north, nearer Bānyā, but not the same as the Kālīn of Alop. The present writer that the wording of Cosmas connects Kāllina so closely with Male (Cuis.), that it must be the same as the Kālīn at Udipi. Garbe himself appears to accept this in his note on p. 273.
that there is little resemblance between Manichean
philosophy and Sanākara's philosophy. The one
is a materialist and the latter is monist. But Mani's dualism
taught the existence of two beings—light and
darkness. Light is God at its head, and dark-
ness has no god at its head. They are in agreement
in this resemblance to that and Sanākara's Brāhma
obscured by māyā. At any rate, it is possible that
Mani, who (K. p. 36) could speak the language of
the Mlecchhas (foreigners), may have become
acquainted with Mani, and he assimilated
it to this way in Sanākara's theory of māyā.

The question deserves more investigation than has
bitherto been given to it.

LITERATURE.—The Mahābhājārī and the Mahābhāṣya have
been already mentioned. Several editions of these have
been published in India. A useful summary of Mādhava
doctrines will be found on p. 16 of the present volume; cf. also, Pr. Rama,
an anonymous work published in the Benares Sanskrit Series in
1917. A fuller account will be found in Padmanābhaṣāri,
Madvandvisānta-sūtra, Bombay, 1882, quoted by Bhandarkar,
p. 69. Finally, there is Mādhavāchārya, Sāra-darśana-
sānyasika, of which many editions have been published
in India. Of this there is an Eng. tr. by E. B. Cowell and A. E.
Gough (2nd ed., London, 1894). The system of Purojaṇa, i.e.
Mādhava, will be found in Ch. v. 36 ff. of the present volume.

As for works in English, the earliest account of the Mādhvas
is contained in 'Accounts of the Mādhvas' or 'Vaiṣṇava
Sects' of the Religious Section of the Hindu, reprinted from vol.
vii. and viii. of Asiatic Researches, 1840. A useful
little book is C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyer, Sri Madhava
and Madhavachayu, Madras, 1894, also quoted by Bhandarkar,
p. 69. The system has been thoroughly studied in the
foreign press. See also the following: R. G. Bhandarkar,
Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (=GIL.
in Orientalia, 1913, p. 39; and vol. xx., Bharan, 1882, p. 59 ff. (full account
of the history, religion, and customs of the Mādhvas of the present
day); and G. Venkateswar Rao, 'A Sketch of the History of
the Mādhva Achāryas,' beginning in Id. viii, (1914) 233 (refers to
C. M. Padmanābhaṣāri, Life of Madvandv.)

For an authentic account of Mādhva's doctrines see S.
Subba Rao, The Vedanta-sūtras, with the Commentary by Sri
Madhavachāryu, a complete Translation, Madras, 1901, The
Bhāsapati-Gita, Translation and Commentaries in English
according to Sri Madhva, 1906. Several editions of these have
been published in India. The preface of the latter contains a life of
Madhva, the first point of view; cf. also, Pr. Rama,
The Brahman Sātrā: Concluded literally according to the Commentary of Sri Mādhva-Bhāṣya (Sanskrit
text), Kumārakonam, 1902.

MADHYAMAKA, MADHYAMIKAS.—Madhyamaka is the name of a system of Buddhist
philosophy, 'the system of the middle path,' the system of the Mean ' (madhyam) ; the adherents of this
system are called Madhyamikas.

1. Nāgārjuna.—The work upon which the Madhyamaka
philosophy is based, the Mahāyāna-mūlayupakāśās, still survives, and tradition is agreed
in ascribing it to Nāgārjuna; numerous commentaries
have been written upon it: Nāgārjuna's own, the Akṣara-kaya; those of Bhāvadvipa
and Candrakīrti, which seem to give a faithful rendering
of the author's meaning; and of Bhāvadvipa,
which transmits his personal views. There
are two branches of Madhyamika, but the difference
between them has not been studied, and seems
to consist in a mere divergence in the method of
demonstration.

All this literature is, or will soon be, accessible
in the editions of the originals or in English.

The Mūlayupakāśās is probably the authentic
work of Nāgārjuna, who flourished about the middle
of the 2nd cent. A.D. We know that this mysteri-
os and miraculous powers were attributed to
the Great Vehicle, or Mahāyāna (g.v.), and, in
particular, the revealer of the sūtras of the Prajñā-
pāramitā, the teaching of which is akin to that of
the Madhyamaka. It is even possible that some
of the sūtras of the Great Vehicle were written with
the sole purpose of stating the theories of the Madhyamaka
philosophy under the guise of 'words of

1 See Literature at end of article.
the Buddha. It is difficult to determine what part Nagarjuna took in the redaction of the sūtras, but respect for tradition would lead us to believe that his share was a major one. In any case, the Madhyamaka school must be held responsible for a considerable proportion of the Great Vehicle. All this must be assigned, probably, to the early centuries of the Christian era, from the first onwards.

2. The Madhyamaka system and its antecedents.

It is not difficult to show the place occupied by the Madhyamaka in the development of Buddhist philosophy from its beginning, and such a historical sketch is indispensable to a definition of the system itself.

The Buddha had given his revelation as a ‘path,’ or a ‘way’ (magga, patijñāda), and had qualified this path by ‘middle’ (majjhima = madhyama), doubtless, as has been often said, because he repudiated two ‘extremes’ (aata)—an exaggerated asceticism (tapas), and an easy sensual life (vākulākṣa). But he had also condemned other ‘extremes,’ viz. contradictory theories, such as: ‘Everything exists,’ ‘nothing exists’; ‘The person who feels is the same as sensation;’ ‘The person who feels is a different thing from sensation;’ ‘The Buddha does exist after death, ‘the Buddha does not exist after death;’ and some texts—few, but explicit—prove that, at the time of the redaction of the Pāli Nikāyas, ‘middle way’ meant a ‘way between,’ certain negations and affirmations. This way is simply the philosophy of the dharmas and of the negation of the individual (pudgala, ‘ris’), which is almost exactly the philosophy of the Madhyamaka school, as it is set forth in the great works of Master Dignāga, Drk, Madhyamakakārikā, ‘supramundane (lokottara) actions become possible, and these are different from thought itself, or the realization of nirvāna, which is to say, the collection of mental dharmas begins to become impoverished and finally disappears; desire is no longer present to give rise to it. This philosophy satisfied Buddhists for a long time. But it did not satisfy the Madhyamaka school, who put a more rigorous interpretation upon the word ‘void,’ so often applied by the Buddha to everything in general, and held that this philosophy is in its nature not free from the two ‘extremes’ of perpetual duration and annihilation (lokâta, unwelchheda), seeing that it inevitably regards nirvāṇa as the annihilation of a series of thoughts. The Madhyamaka school claims to find the true ‘middle way’ by declaring, not only the unreality of the individual (pudgalanirattaya), but also the unreality of the dharmas themselves; it denies the existence not only of the being who suffers, but also of pain.

Nagarjuna and his school seem to hesitate between two positions.

i. Everything takes place as if things and living beings were composed of substantial dharmas, and, to arrive at mental actions other than the latter, the ancients must be followed: eliminate the dharmas which generate new dharmas because they are associated with desire; and insert, in the complex series that began formerly actions to rewardment of the knowledge that destroys desire, and so arrest the renewal of the dharmas. Yet we do not put
an end to existence by this method, for existences is void of reality in itself, since the dharmas do not exist substantially; we put an end to a process of ‘void’ (śūnya) dharmas which renew themselves in ‘void’ dharmas; and it is important to know this, for the only knowledge that can be procured by concurrent causes (pratityasamutpādā), ‘dependently originated.’ The Madhyamaka school observes that ‘what is produced by causes is not produced in itself, does not exist in itself.’ The essential nature of things consists in not being produced in themselves, in being void of all substantial reality—i.e. in ‘vacuity’ (śūnyatā). This term ‘vacuity’ has been variously understood. For some it is ‘nothingness’; for others it is a permanent principle, transcendent and undefinable, immanent in transient and illusory things. It would be a long and difficult task to explain the mystical significance that it has in certain Buddhist books; we know that it ends by being confused with the term vijñāna, ‘thunder-bolt, diamond, male organ.’ One thing is beyond all doubt: for the Madhyamaka, ‘vacuity’ is neither nothingness nor a transcendent-immanent principle, but the very nature of what exists; ‘things are not void because of vacuity’ (śūnyatāvyāpāya)—conceived as the nature of things—‘but because they are void, and they are ‘void’ because they are produced by causes.’ ‘Vacuity’ means ‘production by causes,’ and is only an abstraction, a mere word; ‘void means ‘produced by causes.’

Existence (bhūtaḥ) therefore, is a complex process of dharmas which have no reason in themselves for existing and which cannot exist substantially by reason of their causes, i.e. former dharmas which do not exist by themselves. The following formula explains this clearly: dharmas resembling delusions of magic or reflections in a mirror (māyopama, pratibrīhīvopama)—we might say ‘contingent’ dharmas—give birth to dharmas that are equally illusory. Like begets like.

The objection of the realist against the Madhyamaka is, therefore, fruitless: if everything is void, then existence and nirāyana, impurity and purity, impure and pure, void and non-void, true and false, and the path of salvation does not exist.

Nāgārjuna himself formulates this difficulty, and answers it. Existence is the continuous production of phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena, which induces attachment; wisdom is real truth, knowledge of the vacuity of things.

Nāgārjuna, Chandrakīrti, and Sāntideva very often took this point of view, which is quite within the logic of Buddhism and not unreasonable. But, in practice the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of the Mahāyāna, in so far as it is, we must add that our teachers often go much further.

ii. Just as their criterion destroys all ideas of experience and religion—the notion of movement, of time, of ‘passion’ (since the connexion between the passionate man and passion ‘does not bear investigation’)—it also destroys the notion of causes. Neither exist substantially; they do not exist at all, either in reality or apparently. They are like the daughter of a barren woman, like the beauty of the daughter of a barren woman: this beauty evidently does not exist except in so far as it may be described; but, in reality, the object described, the description and the person describing are all similarly non-existent.

Absolute truth, which is, properly speaking, ‘knowledge of a Buddha,’ is a ‘not-knowledge’; it is midway between affirmation and negation. The dharmas are like the hairs that a monk with diseased eyes thinks he sees in his almsgown; he does not see them, for he knows that they have of them does not exist any more than its object. This is proved by the fact that a man with diseased eyes has no thought about these hairs at all; he neither denies nor affirms their existence, because he knows them in their true nature (which is ‘void’) by not knowing them. The legitimate conclusion of this system is formulated in our sources: ‘Absolute truth is silence.’


MADRAS AND COORG.—In the Government Census for 1911 the vast majority of the population in the Madras Presidency are classed as Hindus. Out of a total population of 41,570,100 in the Presidency and the small Feudatory States included in it, the Hindus number 37,230,034. The rest of the population are classified as follows: Musalmāns, 2,764,467; Christians, 1,208,515; Animists, 639,406; Jains, 27,005; Buddhists, 697; Parsis, 489; Brāhmaṇa Śamaj, 374; Jews, 11; while 42 are classed simply as ‘others.’

1. Christianity.—The most progressive of all these religions besides the Christian is the Roman Catholic Church the hope and possibility of new life, and for the last half century have been crowding into it in thousands. The great force behind the movement, therefore, is a natural human craving for life.
and freedom. At the same time, there is also a strong spiritual element in the movement. In almost every district where it is in progress it has owed either its origin or its power to a few men and women of true spirituality, and the fact that a large number of the converts have to endure a very bitter persecution for their views shows that the Church is in itself an indication that the movement is due to something higher than a mere desire for immediate temporal gain. This great movement is bound to have a vitalizing influence in the future, not only upon the Christian Church, but also upon the religious life and thought of India as a whole. A great Christian Church is steadily and rapidly rising up in India from the lowest stratum of Hindu society, and the conscience of educated Hindus is becoming awakened to the injustice and the social evils inherent in the caste system. Slowly and surely the work of the Christian Church is preparing the way for a great economic, social, and religious revolution throughout the length and breadth of India.

2. Hinduism.—Hinduism in the Madras Presidency does not differ greatly as regards either its doctrines or its customs from Hinduism in other parts of India. One striking difference observable between the Hinduism of S. India and that of N. India is the predominance of the Brâhmans in the South and of the Aryan, or the upper castes, in the North, and also the fact that the lower castes are prone to be divided along religious lines. The Vedântist philosophy and the monism of Saṅkara are more widely held in the South than in the North, mainly owing to the fact that Hinduism and pietism were more closely allied in the South than in the North. The stern and gloomy worship of Siva, the Destroyer, which has absorbed into itself many elements of the old animistic cults, is the predominant form of Hinduism; but the worship of Visṇu, the Preserver, in his manifold incarnations, has a larger number of devotees, and has a special attraction for the lower castes of Südras whom it has admitted more freely to its temples than the rival cult of Siva.

3. Animism.—The prevalence of Animism in the Madras Presidency is very inadequately represented by the small number of people (683,666) classed as animists in the Government Census. The large majority of the Hindus in the villages, with the exception of the Brâhmans, even when they are devoted of Visṇu and Siva, are also animists worshiping the village deities, the Grâma-Devâtâs, as they are called in the vernacular, and a host of spirits, good, bad, and indifferent. The worship of these village deities forms an important part of the conglomeration of religious beliefs, customs, and ceremonies which are often classed together under the term Hinduism. In almost every village and town of S. India may be seen a shrine or symbol of the Grâma-Devâta, who is periodically worshipped and propitiated. As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brahmanical temples in the neighbourhood; very often it is nothing more than a small enclosure with a few rough stones in the centre, and often there is no shrine at all; but still, when calamity overtakes the village, when pestilence, famine, or cattle disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of the villagers turn for protection. Siva and Visṇu may be more dignified beings, but the village deity is regarded as the one present help in trouble, and is more intimately concerned with the happiness and prosperity of the villagers. In the animal sacrifices offered to these deities the treatment of the blood, which is sometimes drunk by the worshippers, sometimes sprinkled upon their bodies, sometimes sprinkled on the houses or the gate-way of the village, and sometimes mixed with boiled rice and sprinkled all round the village site, and also the sacrificial feasts upon the day of the festival, are survivals of the Grâma-Devâta traditions to the Grâma-Devâta in India very closely with the primitive systems of animal-sacrifice which are found all over the world. Traces of human sacrifice, too, are found in connexion with these cults. In Mysore the present writer once saw a ceremony called ‘the human sacrifice ceremony,’ in which the man who represents the victim, instead of being killed, is simply touched with a bunch of eucalyptus leaves and the ceremony is repeated. Human sacrifices are found among the Coorgs in the hill country to the west of the Mysore State, whose religion is anti-Brahmanical and consists of the worship of ancestors and demons. With reference to the worship of Grâma-Devâtas among them, he says that, as among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, the tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their Grâma-Devâtas, who are supposed to protect the villages from all evil influences. At the present day a hogshead or a cock is often sacrificed instead of a man.

The special features which broadly distinguish the worship of the village deities in S. India from that of Siva and Visṇu are three. (1) The fact that the village deities are social and political rather than religious. The Vedântist philosophy and the monism of Saṅkara are more widely held in the South than in the North, mainly owing to the fact that Hinduism and pietism were more closely allied in the South than in the North. The stern and gloomy worship of Siva, the Destroyer, which has absorbed into itself many elements of the old animistic cults, is the predominant form of Hinduism; but the worship of Visṇu, the Preserver, in his manifold incarnations, has a larger number of devotees, and has a special attraction for the lower castes of Südras whom it has admitted more freely to its temples than the rival cult of Siva. (2) The fact that the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls are freely offered to them, sometimes in thousands. In the Tamil country this custom is modified by the influence of Brahmánísm, which has tended to keep the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious. The animal sacrifices are regarded, therefore, as offered to the male attendant of the goddess and not to the goddess herself. (3) The fact that the Pujarias, i.e., the men who perform the worship and officiate as priests, are not Brâhmans, but are drawn from the Südra castes or sometimes from the out-castes. On the other hand, in the temples of Siva and Visṇu, the officiating priests are Brâhmans, no animal sacrifices are ever offered, and the principal deities are male and not female. The origin of these cults is lost in antiquity; they are certainly pre-Aryan, but have been more or less modified in various parts of S. India by Brâhmánísmal influence. Some details of the ceremonies used in them seem to point back to a totemistic stage of religion; some of the ceremonies are observances of the life and death of certain men, others are the spirits of women who have died in childbirth or of men or women who have died by violent deaths, others are connected with disease and pestilence, especially smallpox and plague, many of the deities are of quite recent origin, and it is easy to observe a deity in the making even at the present day.

Snake-worship and tree-worship are also widely prevalent throughout S. India and have become incorporated in popular Hinduism. Almost every village has its sacred pipal tree, representing a
female, and a mangos tree, representing a male, planted close to each other. These two trees are married with the same ceremonies as human beings. In every house of one section of the Brahman (called Madivaas, p. 253) the housewife has a small tree, which is supposed to be the source of delight to the Brahmans. The snake is closely connected with the worship both of Visnu and of Siva. A cobra forms the vahana (sacred vehicle) on which Visnu rides, and Siva is always represented with a cobra in his hand. In the entrance of almost every village of S. India there are figures of the cobra carved on stone in bas-relief erected on raised platforms for the adoration of the public.

Brähmans and Sudras alike make offerings to these shrines. The living serpent is very generally worshipped, and few Hindus will consent to kill one. If a cobra takes up its abode in the thatched roof of the house or in one of the walls of the compound, it is not only left undisturbed, but is fed with milk. A woman is often the priest in the worship both of trees and of serpents, and women are the chief worshippers, mainly for the purpose of obtaining offspring.

On the W. Coast in Malabar snake-worship is especially prevalent. Some families are supposed to be consecrated to the snake deity, and to exercise a peculiar influence over those who are reputed to be swarmed in their houses and crawl in and out among the members of the family without ever doing them any injury.

S. India particularly in the Southern part of the Tamil country, and devil-dancing, performed by a class of men who are supposed to have supernatural powers over the devils, forms a weird feature of the religion of the Tamil villagers. Some diseases, especially nervous maladies, are supposed to be the result of possession by an evil spirit. Devils innumerable surround the village—water-devils, cow-devils, horse-devils, and buffalo-devils—who are always ready to pounce down upon the unhappy villager. The poor people who are supposed to be possessed by these devils are often put to terrible tortures by the exorcist. Red-hot iron needles are sometimes stuck all over their bodies, or they are bound hand and foot and then beaten with sticks.

The innumerable superstitions connected with the worship of snakes in S. India have been excellently described by Professor Thurston in his Omnens and Superstitions of Southern India. The literature is immense, and cannot be here briefly touched upon.


MADURA.—Madura is the name of an important District in S. India—280 to 380 miles south of the town of Madras. Its capital, Madura, had a population of 134,510 in 1911, and is situated 10° N. lat. by 79° E. longitude. It is a prosperous town among whose progressive people are found about 50,000 weavers. Yet, apart from government and railway works and the Scottish spinning mill, there hardly one horse power of steam used in the whole community—by which it may be known that modern prosperity in the East is not necessarily connected with the use of modern industrial appliances and forces.

Madura is a town of considerable antiquity. It was known to Ptolemy (VII. ii. 89, VIII. xxvi. 17) as Mēkaopa, and was the centre of the ancient Pandya kingdom whose fame spread westward through the Greeks and Romans even before the advent of the Christian era. Many ancient Roman coins are occasionally discovered in the town and surrounding regions.

Madura has long been designated the Athens of S. India; the ancient and famed Madura College was the source and inspiration of Tamil classical literature for centuries. Many of its most popular legends gather round its poet-saints, the narrative of whose struggles and conflicts is a perennial source of delight to the Brahmanic.

But it is its great Minakshi temple that is the source of its pride and the centre of its life. The temple is built around its sacred precincts, all the main streets running parallel to the four walls of the temple. This temple has a past which runs far beyond history into the misty realm of legend and myth.

The first historical reference is to its partial destruction by Malik Kafur, the famous general of the Mughal emperor, Ali-ud-din, in 1310. He destroyed its outer wall and fourteen high towers, and left little but the inner shrines, which were saved only by an opportune dissertation among the vandals.

Perhaps all that now exists of this architectural pride of S. India (except the inner shrines and contiguous courts) is not older than the 16th cent., and is largely the gift of kings of the Nayaken dynasty, by far the most prominent of whom was Tirumala Naik (1623–59).

S. Indian temples are among the most spacious in the world. The Madura shrine is the third in size, but is the first in architectural excellence, best in its upkeep, and most thoroughly devoted to its worship. Its outer walls, which are 25 ft. high, form almost a square of 590 ft. by 590 ft., and enclose an area of about 14 acres. Each wall is surmounted at its centre by a richly embossed gopura, or tower, which is about 150 ft. high. These towers are the landmarks of the country around.

Granite is almost exclusively the material used in the temple, even the roof being of granite slabs. Its monolithic pillars are legion, and nearly all of them are elaborately carved, some exhibiting marvellous patience and skill. The 'Hall of a Thousand Pillars' (correctly speaking, its pillars are only 985 in number) is the culmination of its architectural claims. Of this J. Ferguson writes:—Its 'sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with ... but it is not their number, but their marvellous elaboration that makes it the wonder of the place' ('Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture,' l. 369).

This hall is elliptical, perhaps the oldest of the three, the so-called Choulry, or Putha Mandapam, which is outside and to the east of the temple proper and is the most imposing of all sacred edifices in S. India. It was erected by the famous Tiranala Naik about 250 years ago, is 360 ft. by 105 ft., and is supported by 124 richly sculptured pillars 20 ft. high. It is a worthy granite monument to one of the great kings of S. India. The whole temple is distinctly Hindu in its architecture—a style in which the arch is entirely absent and densely pillared halls predominate. Its many gopuras are pyramidal in form, and are a striking development of the ancient stūpas, or pagodas, of Buddhism.

The temple is one of the most distinguished fane of Saivanism, representing that type of the Brahmanic cult which first appealed to and was adopted by the Dravidian people of S. India. Because this is the more austere form of Hinduism, it is more closely allied than the mild Vaishnavism to the cruel demonology of the aboriginal people of that region. This temple and its worship also admirably illustrate the habits of the Brahmanic propaganda, which never antagonized a new and contiguous faith, but rather fraternized with it, then adopted its leading features, and finally absorbed it entirely. The reason why this shrine is rock-cut is Sokkalingam or Sundaresvara. The first name is Dravidian, revealing the non-Brahmanic or non-Aryan origin of the god who was adopted.
from the pantleon of the Dravidian cult to that of the Aryans. Later, this S. India manifestation of Siva popularized the northern faith among the people of Madura by marrying the most dreaded demoness of that region, Minakshi. The latter, doubtless, was an ancient queen who was slain in war, and was soon exalted to the highest place in the Dravidian pantheon. By this marriage the Aryan cult of the north was wedded to the supreme faith of the south, and a great and grand annual marriage festival of the temple celestially repeats the union of the two diverse cults in that region. In that most popular festival there is another interesting feature: Minakshi is said to be the sister of Anubha, a popular name given to deity a few miles from Madura, and this brother comes to attend the wedding ceremonies of his sister at Madura; but, unfortunately, he arrives a day late, and is so incensed by the fact that he will not enter the city or temple; his idol is thus kept for three days on the outskirts of the town, during which period all the people, both Saliytes and Vaisnavites, gratisize together and bring their offerings to the aggrieved god. Thus, upon this occasion, we find the three cults of that region, Saliyism, Vaisnavism, and demonolatry, most strikingly brought together.

The very nature of their famous Hindu temple reveals a fact which outsiders can understand only with much difficulty. In a certain way, all the Dravidian people are a part of Hinduism and are loyal to that faith. But it is a Hinduism which has no relics left to us but what is mingled with Dravidian and animistic ideas. The worship of the Aryan deities in S. India is a pleasing pastime; but the people are still obsessed with the fear of their myriad demons, and find their chief religious concern in appeasing them in the many demon shrines which are found in every town and village. Even Kali, the chief consort of Siva, who also finds a place in this temple, is no longer a demon and demonized with a bloodthirsty passion that no one can separate her from the many Dravidian ammanas, or demonesses, who haunt that region and terrorize the whole community. It is thus that we learn what the amorphous thing called Hinduism is in S. India. In outward form it poses as an Aryan cult, but in its inner spirit it reveals the pervasive animistic genius which has charaterized the Dravidian mind and heart from time immemorial. The Aryan has given to the religion its outer form and décal; but the Dravidian has retained and conveyed into it all the animism which his ancestors entertained and practised. It is largely the spirit of the south robed in the garb of the north. The Madura temple furnishes one of the best illustrations of this animistic type of Hinduism.


MENADS.—The character of the Menads was long a subject upon which the most mistaken ideas prevailed. The accounts of them given by poets, the Arya, authors, and historians are all mingled together, and were, moreover, mixed up indiscriminately with the representations of the cult of Dionysus in art, while, again, those artistic productions were so obscure and confused that any process of critical analysis. Thus arose the conception of a wildly fantastic religious service celebrated by delirious women in nearly all parts of Greece and Asia. The object of the rite was to make the women drunk, so that they might think they were actually at the Olympian feast, and the sacrifice of the victims. But it was not till later times; even Queen Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, was devoted to the wild Dionysus, the lord of the Menads, of the "Bacche," so named after him, was, as is now universally recognized, and as was already known to Aristarchus, not originally a Greek deity, but was derived from Thracians (cf. Horod. v. 7, and the notes of W. W. How and A. Wells, London, 1912). In that period he was worshipped under the name of Sabos or Sabazios (schol. Aristoph. Fespen. 9 ff.). It is true that Sabazios is also spoken of as a Phrygian deity (ref. in Rohde, ii. 7, note 3), but, as the Thracians and the Phrygians were, in the judgment of General Wells, a people who were, in their period of development, a half barbarized, savage and amorphous people, we need not be surprised that the worship of the Phrygian national goddess Cybele should show so many points of contact with the forms of the Thracian cult of Dionysus. The latter was a cult of Bacchi, or number of Dionysus, as it was called, with the more development of the Dionysian cult upon the mountain heights of Thrace in the winter of every alternate year (and in Greece, therefore, subsequently called the parrēsia). At these celebrations the women danced in wild furies and amid the glare of torches, whirling dizzyly to the clangour of rude music—the clashing of bronze vessels, the hollow roll of large drums (cf. CYBELE), the shrill whistling of flutes—on the hills of Thrace, and in the plain of anciently became elaios, eikos, and finally éos. These raving creatures (mauvodes; used generically as early as Hom. Il. xxii. 460), with their dishevelled hair streaming in the wind, were clothed in long flowing drapery (whence they were also called keraunodéia, over which they wore the reins (cf. Aesch. frag. 64, and the pictorial representations), and in their hands they carried serpents (animals sacred to Sabazios [Thucyd. iii. 38. 7, 48. 10. 52. 5)], daggers, or thyrsi. In their religious frenzy they threw themselves upon the sacrificial animals, tearing them in pieces with their teeth (Thucyd. 52. 5). Hesych. Thes. 37. 5, etc.) and afterwards became eikos, eikos, and finally éos. In these riotous scenes the fumes of wine played no part; the women used no strong drink to stimulate their frenzy, but, on the contrary, were able to work themselves into such a condition of over-excitement as would bring about the ecstatic state. Their delirium was regarded as a means of compelling their god to appear (Eur. Bacch. 141 ff., 300 f.; Paus. vi. xxvii. 1: εξ αυτων φαιναι ἐπιφάνειαν ἐν τοιούτῳ ταύτῃ λιτανείᾳ). A notable analogy to these practices is found in the leaping of the Perchta in the Tyroli here, and in the Shrove Tumblers of Eastern Europe. The Bacchantes (so named, like the Bacchi, after the deity whom they thus honour) work themselves into a frenzy. Their raving is distinguished by the fact (cf. Bacch. 750 ff., etc.) that they think that they actually see Perchta herself in their midst, and it is even said that she has sometimes mangled her worshippers (F. A. Voigt, in Kosemer, Geschichte der Interior and art, 1912, do. 225 ff., esp. p. 229), for the Perchta (so named, like the Bacchantes, after the deity whom they thus honour) work themselves into a frenzy. Their raving is distinguished by the fact (cf. Bacch. 750 ff., etc.) that they think that they actually see Perchta herself in their midst, and it is even said that she has sometimes mangled her worshippers (F. A. Voigt, in Kosemer, Geschichte der Interior and art, 1912, do. 225 ff., esp. p. 229).
practices of the Thracian religion, and her tame snakes, which would suddenly wriggle out from amongst the ivy or from the sacred winnowing-fans, not seldom startled the court of Philip (Plut. Alex. 2). In that form, however, the cult certainly met with opposition as it spread through Greece. What mythology tells us, now of Lycurgus and the struggle which he made against Dionysus and his ποιεῖσις (so Hom. Il. vi. 132 ff.; concrete details regarding his efforts among the Pelasgi, e.g., in Rohde, B. 45, note 2); and Galen (De Anit. 8, vol. xiv. 45 [Kühn]) could speak of snake-rendering as still practised at the Bacchic festivals.

The name of power of Delphi was now at work, and Apollo exercised his softening influence upon the raging Bacchus. It was with very different rites that the women performed their worship of Dionysus on Mt. Parnassus. Here, every two years, about the time of the shortest day, the Thyidians ‘awaked’ Δαιμόνια, the god who lies in the sacred winnowing-fan (Plut. de Is. et Osir. xxxviii.; here [Rapp, Rhein. Mus. xxvii. 6] a case of the first import in the slight fragment to the rite of the winter festival on Parnassus. With such rites, too, the Attic Thyidians celebrated at similar intervals the orgies of the god at Delphi. Thus the celebration had now to do with Dionysus only, but with Apollo as well (Paus. x. xxx. 7). Of this cult, whose Bacchic ecstasy had been refined by Apollonian moderation, we find a picture in the celebrated frieze of the Antigone of Sophocles (1126 ff.), which tells indeed of the torque-swinging Θώα; and of their dancing by night on Parnassus, but does not speak of the mad fury of the Thracian observance—*the Bacchic* raving that in the precincts of Delphi this element no longer had a place. Then Euryipides, who, in contemplating the unstrained frenzy imported from the North, broadened and enriched that poetic sense with Dionysus, and made a permanent memorial of the thrillingly graceful activities of the Menads. In his Bacchae the actual and the poetic run naturally into each other. Here the enthusiastic troops of women, crowned with wreaths of ivy and smilax, garbed in the many-coloured *ρέθι*, and holding the thyrsus in their hands, plunge madly through the mountains, and fall to the ground in the fulness of their rapture; while, again, they rush to the slaughter of the goats, the ground flows with milk and wine, and the stroke of the thyrsus upon the rock causes a spring to break forth for a friendly feeding with the Menads, who offer the bread to fawns and young wolves, while ill-disposed men flee before the insatiable thyrsus (Bacch., passim).

Investigators have had great difficulties also in the portrayal of the Menads still in art. In this field, too, it was necessary to disengage the mythological aspects from the presentation of the real. As a whole, it is only the general impression to be felt in the literature of the literature of the ancient account. On the artistic side it is pre-eminent the Attic vases that merit consideration. On the earlier specimens of these we see the orgiastic dancing of women to the cadence of flutes; later additions are the swinging of torches, the beating of drums, and the head thrown back upon the shoulders. According to the more recent explanation, the celebration thus represented is the Lenaea, the festival of the raving women (Σαρπίδας), which had been brought from Boeotia (on all this cf. A. Frickenhaus, Lydenwesen [Programm zum Winzelsmannfeste der archäolog. Gesellschaft. xii. i], Berlin, 1912). With these designs are mingled others showing a different branch of mythology, and here we also find names of the Menads, such as Μαυράς, Ονόπι, etc. (cf. C. Fränkel, Satyr- und Böckenmänen auf Vasebildern, Halle, 1912). Then latter art brought the depiction of that furious, almost hysterical, ecstasy of most vigorous expression, and even extended it, most unnaturally, to the uncouth satyrs; this intense expression of feeling is seen in its finest form in the Menads of Seopas (M. Tren. in Mittheil. Parrot, Paris, 1905, p. 347 ff.).

Naturally everywhere in art, however, the representation of the Menads is an expression of early religious emotion, and the vase-paintings designedly set forth the strict reserve of the Bacche in contrast to the loose merrymaking of the satyrs. The introduction of the Bacchic procession, with its troops of men and women rolling madly along, and the formation of the primitive festival, attended by females only, into a turbulent orgy were the work of the superficial art of the Hellenistic age.

Deserta.-This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

J. G. WILKENS.

MAGADHA.—Magadha, an ancient kingdom in India, was the scene of the greater part of Buddha’s mission and the scene of the birth of Buddhism in India. It was equivalent to the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, and Shāhābād in S. Bihār. The name Bihār itself, which is now that of a vast district, is evidence of the pre-eminence of Buddhism in these lands, for it was originally the name of a town with a celebrated Buddhist monastery (Skr. vihāra). Buddha was not born in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the grove of Lumbini (q.v.), near Kapilavastu (q.v.), the Sākya capital in the Nepalēse Tarā. Magadha was the home and the nucleus of two of the greatest Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. It is celebrated for long as primary in India, as one of the richest, most fertile, and best irrigated districts in India. As the home of Buddhism and Jainism, it is full of archaeological remains of the greatest religious undertakings.

Its earliest capital was a very ancient hill fortress named Girivraj (Pāli Giribāja), built, according to tradition, by an architect named Mahāgovinda; its place was taken in the 6th cent. B.C. by the better known Rājagṛha (Pāli Rājagaha), built at the foot of hills on which Girivraj stood; Rājagṛha is the modern Rājgir, which, however, stands about a mile to the south. Its walls still exist, and are probably the oldest stone buildings in India. Rājagṛha had reached its zenith about Buddha’s time, soon after which it began to decline with the growth of Pāṭaliputra (the modern Patna). The modern town of Gaya, east of Patna, on the Ganges, an ancient place of pilgrimage for Hindus, has no ancient religious associations; 7 miles to the south, however, are the remains of Bodh (Buddh) Gaya (see GAYA, vol. vi. p. 181 ff.), one of the most interesting sites in India, where Gautama Sākyamuni finally attained enlightenment (bodhi). To the south of Gaya is the hill of Dhongra, the Prāgəbodhi (Fo-lo-ku-ja-t-li) of the literati, the legendary site of Buddha’s once rested. Punāwān, 14 miles east of Gaya, is rich in Buddhist sculptures; to the south of it is Haśrā hill, which has been identified with the Kukkuṭapādaṇi of the Chinese pilgrims.

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A. Cunningham, however, recognizes the latter in Karliki, which being miles to the north of Gaumeta (or Magh), the district of Chittagong, and as 'Hill Much,' and are to be carefully distinguished from the true Magh. The latter is in the Chittagong District, otherwise called Rajshahi, who are the offspring of Bengali women by Burmans, when the latter possessed Chittagong. They supply the famous Maghs cooks, well known in Calcutta and other parts of the country. Maghs believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls; but their Buddhist worship is of a simple character—the presence of a priest is not required and offerings of flowers, food, etc., are placed before the shrine of Gautama by the people themselves. Many villages have no priest, except wandering priests, who are not so much ministers of religion as recipients of alms. Each village has a temple (khiong), a bamboo structure built under the shade of some trees, inside which, on a small raised platform of bamboo, stands an image of Gautama, made either of gilded wood or of alabaster, the figure being in a sitting posture, with a pagoda-shaped hennadess indicative of superior power. Before it the village girls lay offerings of flowers and rice every morning, and, at the same time, bring the daily food of any priest or wayfarer who may be resting there. By the side of the image hangs a small steed of bells, which each village, and the Government, paid for to commemorate the presence. Each one prays for himself, except that now and again a father may be seen leading his young sons up to the temple to pray. Each year, before the commencement of the burning of the jungle for the purpose of sowing their crops, the boys are clothed in yellow robes of the priesthood, have their heads shaved, and go through a rite before a priest which seems to be an assumption on their part of religious responsibilities. Women do not participate in this rite; but it is common for a monk to visit three times during his life. If a relative is sick, or he himself has escaped any danger, he performs the ceremony as a supplication or as an acknowledgment of the mercies which he has received.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE.

MAGI.—I. The name (Gr. Μάγος, Lat. Magus, from Old Pers. Maga) is familiar to us from the classical writers, and from two appearances in the NT. It meets us first on the Bohéam Inscription of Darius, where the king describes (Dh. [Pers. text] i. 35 f.) the usurpation of 'Gaumata the Magus' (Gauma-ata, or, more accurately, the Magha-ata) as a political plot against him, by which he restored the Achemenian dynasty to its ancient throne. There is nothing in the inscription to show what Maga meant, and we must fall back on our Greek sources; Herodotus first, and the rest longo intervallo. In Herod. i. 101 we are told that Αρματορά, Μάγος, and four others were Μάγοι γερά. The six names were explained as Aryan caste-titles by J. Oppert long ago (Le Peuple et la langue des Medes, Paris, 1879, p. 7), and again, on different lines, by J. A. Carney (Mésheh, new ser., ix. [1865] 121 f.); the tolerable certainty that five are Aryan makes a strong presumption that Μάγος must be interpreted from the same language group. The etymology, however, must be left undecided. Putting aside some modern theories about the connection of the two plausible accounts from the Indo-European side. Carney (loc. cit.) compares avaru and May-hew with the meaning 'helper, healer,' while Monier (The Hindu, ii. [1892] 401; see his Early Zend-Avesta, pp. 428-430) connects Magha-ata with the Avestan ogra, i. e. auga—auga—connexion, which Carney explains as of a different sense. The Gothic word translates raven once, and ræz (or 'servant') elsewhere. The latter meaning is that of the Irish word; we may probably compare the development of our 'maid' and local uses of 'boy.' That 'boy' is the primitive meaning connected by the later Avestans with the ogra, Μάγος is connected with the same word. The significant fact that maga (= O. Pers. maga) occurs only once in the Avesta, and that in a prose passage (Ys. iv. 7)
2. While the Magi were thus a distinct caste of Medians, and apparently, recognized the leaders of the Medes as their chief Aryan (Parsii) dominion, there is no reason for doubt that their ascendancy was essentially religious, like that of the Brahmins in India. Darius writes of his relations with the Magi whom he had destroyed (Th. Pers. text) i. 63–66), and so the inscription favours the existence of a marked difference of religion—of course, its scanty reference does not definitely prove anything one way or another. But the testimony of Herodotus and all later classical writers is so unanimous and precise that we need no other. It would appear that, having failed in their bold bid for political supremacy, as leaders of the people against Aryan invaders, they began to build up power upon their popular vogue as shamans. It was easy to insinuate themselves into the open place of priest in the unreformed Iranian unzara-worship, which Herodotus (i. 131 ff.) had only to emphasize clear points of resemblance between their own religion and that of the Aryans, veneration of the sun and fire being the chief. There is one important detail of which their leaders sometimes vied, and which can vouch for the high probability trace an appearance of Magianism separate from Aryan connections at a very early date. Ezekiel describes, as the greatest of three 'astronomers,' one who had brought Jahweh's wrath on Jerusalem, the sun-worship of men in eastward position, who 'put the branch to the nose.' To hold a bough before the face in solar cultus is a natural action; its special interest for us lies in its coincidence with the Parsi use of the barban (g.v.), a bunch of tamarisk twigs held by the priest before his face in worship. The name, and the peculiar use of the verb to describe the preparation of the instrument, alike take us to something quite different—the Aryan carpent of stalks of tender grass (Ier. i. 132) on which the offering was laid (Skr. bhris, Av. barasan). We may infer that the Magi adapted the Aryan use to their own by prescribing that a bunch of the sacred stalks should be picked up from the ground and held reverentially before the face.

This does not enable us to trace the Magi in a separate activity as far back as 591 B.C., when they seem to have secured prostacks in Judea. This is quite in keeping with what we know of them. Their contemporary appearance in Babylon is probably attested by Jer 39-13, in which ‘the Rab-Mag’ appears among Nebuchadrezzar’s officers (for alternative views of Rab-Mag see the Oxford Lexicon and E. H. Winckler (Kat. 416) explain the Rab-Mag’s name, Nergal-sharezer, as ‘Nergal, protect the king’; and in the account of Nergal they expressly compare Ahriman, who in the Later Avesta has features which are very closely connected with Babylon. The head of a caste of exorcists, who by their charms can keep the Satan from harming the King, is wholly in place at court. We compare at once the apotropaic operations of the Magi in Plutarch, De Is. et Osir. 46. We may add to this small but important peculiarities several other traits by which the Magi may be distinguished from the Persian religion, whether in the earlier or the later stages of what we now call Parsii. First come two conspicuous features recognized from the first by Greek writers as Magian and not Persian; (1) their exposure of the bodies of the dead to birds and carrion dogs was distinguished by Herodotus (i. 140) from the Persian custom of burning; (2) it has promonounced aboriginal affiliations, and was neither Semitic nor (almost certainly) Aryan. Coupled with this was (2) their insistence on next-of-kins, for they believed extravagantly for its accumulations of merit. It was never accepted by the Persians, and never found its way into the Avesta (see on this Mouliou, p. 295), first appearing in the Pahlavi writings of the Sassanian and Sasanian period of Iranian, and not Persian origin, which suits our theory. See, on the Magi, art. SANSAR AND MAGUS.
dualistic in Zarathushtra's Gathas. The very name of Ahirman (angre and dvana 'Hades', see p. 493) occurs only once there (Ys. xlv. 2), as a casual epithet and not a fixed title. The good and evil spirits make their choice in the beginning, but there is never any real question as to who is on the side of the strife between them; one whose perpetual counsel is 'Resist the devil and he will flee' can never be called a dualist. But the Magi, on Plutarch's express testimony, offered sacrifices to the demons. The practice is entirely absent from the Avesta—a fact that does not discredit Plutarch, but only shows the survival of distinct usages among the Magi, whose genius is well suited by the nature of the divided land into creations of Ormazd and creations of Ahriman. This is practically absent from the Gathas, and even from the Yashts, where a pure Iranian nature-worship shows small sign of influence from Zarathushtra on the one hand or the Magi on the other. The prose Avesta (excluding the early Gatha kapotanghavi)—which by the loss of metre and the presence of much dubium grammar proclaims itself composed in a virtually dead language—is full of this dualism. Even words have to be distributed between the two camps; different terms are used for the head, hand, voice, etc., of an Ormazd-worshipper and his Ahriman counterpart. Zarathushtra has a demoniacal opponent; but we note that the balance is imperfectly completed, and that the poem is often manifestly late origin and vague function, so that we may be sure the word of correlation has been rather half-heartedly undertaken as a concession to theory. The type of dualism implied suggests affinity with that which Euclid had called forth with the declaration of Is 45. The presence of such a system in Babylonia during the Exile suits our view of the Magi as shamans exercising influence far beyond their own immediate circle, and the assumption that something to the case for recognizing the RabMag as an apotropaic. We may observe, that if Jahwism emphatically denied this dualistic assigning of darkness to an evil demolishing, Zarathushtra himself was no less clear in his claim that Mazda made the night as well as the day (Ys. xlv. 5).

5. We are reduced mainly to conjecture when we ask what was the Magian eschatology. That death was not the end of the story is at least the conquer Ahirman—poouf-mahra, 'many-slaying,' according to his standing Avestan epithet—seems a natural inference from their first principles. We know further, that they pictured a regeneration of the world in which such unsymmetrical features as mountains would disappear, and the earth would become a 'sleepless plain.' But how far they pressed their form of the doctrine of immortality, we have no means of knowing. Our early Greek witness, Theopompus, according to an important statement of Diogenes, declared that the Magi taught the future resurrection of men to a deathless existence. This excellent 4th cent. authority may, of course, be describing only the doctrine of Persian religion in his own time, when the Magi were their long-established priests. But the extract apparently quoted by the older author with a doctrine that looks rather characteristic of the Magi themselves. The loci clandestini in Plutarch, already quoted, is ordinarily taken as silent as to any doctrine of a resurrection among the Magi. But E. Buley (Die Verwandtschaft der jiidisch-christl. mit der pers. Eschatologie, Gottingen, 1902, p. 102 ff.) argues that in Plutarch's quotation from Theopompus, we should translate 'Hades is to be deserted,' which agrees with the other accounts of the history of Theopompus. The absence of any doctrine of immortality in Tobit can hardly be regarded (as in Moulton, p. 416) as a contributory argument. For, whether the book, as originally intended (as by Moulton, ch. vii. and p. 332 ff., and D. C. Simpson in the Oxford Apocrypha) as containing a Median folk-story re-written by a Jew, we must admit that the Avesta is entirely absent from the Avesta—a fact that does not discredit Plutarch, but which, if the date was early, he would not do. It is clear that, if Zarathushtra's eschatology came before Jews during the Exile only in an adaptation determined by Magian ideas, it was very likely to attract the thinkers of Israel. The common belief that the rise of the doctrine of immortality in post-Exilic Judaism owed some real stimulus to Persian influence becomes less and less probable as the history of early Zoroastrianism is investigated more thoroughly.

6. Such, then, in outline were the Magi as a sacred tribe, so far as our information allows us to isolate them for separate portraiture. Most of what we learn of them naturally belongs rather to the religious system upon which they fastened and tenaciously clung. That they had compensated for their failure to regain political ascendency by making themselves indispensable to the ritual of Persian religion. It involved, as we believe, the adoption of the ancient traditions of beliefs and usages traditional among themselves. These they continued to practise in their own community, with or without attempts at propaganda. They could easily use genealogies similarities between their religion and that of the native Iranians so as to prove to the latter their fitness to serve their altar; and the people to whom they ministered, including a large proportion of their own kin, would be slow to realize how much change the proselytes were bringing to the religion which they so zealously adopted.

7. Later developments of Magianism belong to the history of Zoroastrianism as established under the Sassanian dynasty. It only remains here to add a few words about the Magi as they figure in the Nativity story of our First Gospel. To discuss the historical reliability of that story, or the various theories that have been devised to explain the star, must be left to the Dictionaries of the Bible. Here it suffices to connect the foremost traits of the Magi, as described above, with points in the story of Mt 2. That these Magi and ἀνάβασις answer to the picture as experts in dream-interpretation and in star-lore is clear. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the Magi, far from its expression of belief, isolates the Magi from Persian religion, which, as we saw, has practically no room for either (see art. FRAYASH, ed fin.). This constitutes within its limits a rather striking witness, when we remember how little we are able to discover about the Magi as apart from the religion with which even four centuries earlier they were almost completely united. Naturally we must not be tempted to make too much of evidence so limited in its range.

LITERATURE.—Greek and Latin books eschatologici are collected in A. Rapp's two papers, ZDMG xix. (1865) 59 and xx. (1866) 40-50. These are conveniently brought together in A. W. V. Jackson, Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, New York, 1899. The account given depends largely on the writer's full discussion of the whole subject in Early Zoroastrianism (II), London, 1911. JAMES HEPPE MOUTON.

1 de Is. et Osir. 47: ταύτα γ' ἀπελέκτωσεν τὸν Ἀλφέων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκδοθεὶς ἔσωσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐρημουμένους μετὰ σεισμόν. D. D. see, as it were, the Pers. hymns, which have been attributed to Zarathushtra, but this almost demands the alteration of ἀπελέκτωσεν.
MAGIC (Introductory) — 1. History of the term and problem of its definition. — In any general treatment of the subject of magic the problem of its definition must occupy the chief place, seeing that it constitutes a veritable storm-centre in the anthropological literature of the present day. As so often happens when a word belonging to the common language, and used in vague and conflicting ways, is taken over by science that it may correspond to some precise concept, theorists interested in different and more or less incompatible concepts claim exclusive rights over the same technical term; so that, if they are at all equally matched, the term becomes for the time being ambiguous, i.e., it answers to more concepts than one. Something of this kind has occurred in regard to the word 'magic.' It is so clear that it is safe to glance at its meaning as a popular expression. It is, of course, the linseed descendant of the Gr. μαγια and the Lat. magia, which in their strictest sense refer simply to the religion, learning, and occult practices of the Persian Magi, or priests of the sect of Zoroaster, in the form in which they became known to the West (see art. MAGI). Such matters, however, being both foreign and ill-understood, would naturally be more or less suspect. Hence the word tends from the first to carry with it the unfavourable associations summed up in the notion of witchcraft (see arts. Incant., Hesychius, s. v. μαγια, which he identifies with μαγευς, and Pliny, HN xxx. 11; and for further references cf. H. Hubert, in Darenberg-Saglio, s. v. "Magia"). These associations the equivalent words in the various languages of modern Europe have never lost. Bacon's attempt to rehabilitate magia as natural science in its operative aspect (de Augmentis Scientiarum, iii. ad fin.) proved quite abortive. Thus it comes about that the modern anthropologist in attributing 'magic' to a given people can hardly do so without at the same time implying that it is something inferior and bad—something that, however prevalent it may be, belongs to the lower levels or even to the pathology of mind and society. A survey of representative views on the subject will bring out the fact that, in this respect at least, most, if not all, theories tend to be at one.

2. Representative views. — As far back as 1879 E. B. Tylor laid it down that the 'confusion of objective with subjective connexion, ... so uniform in principle, though so various in detail, ... may be applied to explain one branch after another of the arts of the sorcerer and diviner, till it almost seems as though we were coming near the end of his list, and might set down practices based on the same mental process as exceptions to the general rule' (Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 129). He adds that the same state of mind will account for tabus, many of the food-prejudices of the savage, for instance, depending on the belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater (ib. p. 133). Such an attitude of mind he characterizes as one of 'gross superstition and delusion' (ib. p. 119), even while allowing that at a stage of development when human life 'was more like a long dream' such a system of error was perfectly 'intelligible' (ib. 139 f.). He pursues the same line of explanation in his later work, Primitive Culture, where magic is described as 'occult science,' i.e. a 'pseudo-science' (3rd ed., i. 112, 119). 'The principal key to the understanding of occult science is to consider it as based on the association of ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also' (i. 115 f.). He adds a disquisition on the futility of magic arts, in which he maintains that 'in the whole monstrous farrago there is practically no truth or value whatever (i. 133). Meanwhile, he holds that the laws of mind are as unchanging as the laws of chemical combination, so that 'the thing that has been will be' (i. 156). The 'symbolic magic,' as they be called, may be more a matter of spiritualism are alike hurtful superstitions born of fallacies to which the human mind is naturally prone (see ch. iv. passim, esp. ad fin.).

J. G. Frazer (The Golden Bough) maintains a position which in most respects is identical with that of Tylor. In the first edition (1890) he credits primitive man with two views of the world that exist side by side, the one view being that it is worked by personal beings acting on impulses and motives like his own, the other view amounting in germ to the conception of nature as a series of events occurring in an irrevocable order without the intervention of personal agency. The latter is the view involved in sympathetic magic (GB I. 9), though the savage acts on it, not only in magic art, but in much of the business of daily life (ib. 31). In the second edition (1900) Frazer lays far more stress on the 'fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion,' being influenced especially by the theories of H. Oldenberg (Die Religion des Veda, Berlin, 1894), F. B. Jevons (Introduction to the History of Religion, London, 1896), and A. C. Lyall (Asiatic Studies, 1st ser., London, 1890). More than that, he is now disposed to affirm that, 'in the evolution of thought, magic, as representing a lower intellectual stratum, has probably everywhere preceded religion' (GB II. p. xvi). He still represents magic as 'next of kin to science,' since the two have in common the 'general assumption of a succession of events determined by law.' Magic is nevertheless only 'the bastard sister of science.'

All magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it ever to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science.

All cases of sympathetic magic resolve themselves on analysis into mistaken applications of the laws of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity. 'Legitimately applied' these same principles 'yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic' (ib. p. 65). Religion, on the other hand, 'is opposed in principle both to magic and to science,' since its fundamental assumption is that the course of the natural and human life is controlled by personal beings superior to man. Towards such beings conciliation must be employed, whereas to exert mechanical control is the object of magic and science, though the former often essays to control spirits, treating them, however, exactly as

Egyptian (A. H. Gardner), p. 262.
Greek and Roman (K. F. Smith), p. 269.
Indian (H. A. Rose), p. 259.
Jewish (M. G. Cohn), p. 300.
Slavic (L. A. Magnus), p. 305.
Vedic (A. A. Macdonell), p. 311.
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if they were inanimate agents (ib. p. 63 f.). Finally, the human race are assumed to have passed through an "intellectual phase," in which they "attempted to force the great powers of nature to do their pleasure," and lend not yet thought of counting their favour by offerings and prayer. Such an "age of magic" finally gave place to an "age of religion" only because mankind at length were led by experience, and to such a "clearly recognition of the inherent falsehood and barrenness of magic," whereupon the more thoughtful part of them cast about for a truer theory of nature (ib. pp. 78, 79). In the third edition (1911) these main theses are retained, but the following scheme of the principal branches of magic (taken over from Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship, ch. ii.) is added, in accordance with the view that magic is simply missapplied association of ideas:

**Sympathetic Magic**

(Law of Sympathy)

- House-cauply Magic
  - Contagious Magic
    - (Law of Similarity)
    - (Law of Contact)

while 'the whole erroneous system, both theoretical and practical,' which answers to the name of magic is classified under aspects according to the following tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Magic</th>
<th>Negative Magic</th>
<th>Sorcery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical (Magic as a pseudo-science)</td>
<td>Practical (Magic as a pseudo-art)</td>
<td>Tabo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See GD, pi. 1, The Magic Art, i. 54 and 118.)

The view that tabo is a negative magic did not appear in earlier editions of The Golden Bough. Frazer holds that, if not the whole doctrine of tabo, at all events a large part of it, would seem to be but a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact (ib. i. 111 n.).

E. S. Hartland (Ritual and Belief, London, 1914) enters on a full discussion of 'The Relations of Religion and Magic' (p. 28 f.). He insists at the outset that they spring from a common root. 'I venture to suggest that in man's emotional response to his environment, in his interpretation in the terms of personality of the objects which encounter his attention, and in their investiture by him with potentiality, atmosphere, aura, mana —call it by what name you will—we have the common root of magic and religion' (p. 96).

Correspondingly, magician and priest are differentiated from a common type, namely, the medicine-man.

Roughly and provisionally it may be said that the professional magician is he who in the course of the evolution of society, by birth, by purchase, or by study and practice in the conventional methods, has acquired the most powerful aura. Similarly the professional priest is he who in these ways, or by prayer and fasting, has obtained the favour of the imaginary personages believed to inhab. in the control the affairs of men—who has, in a word, possessed himself of their aura. The union of these two professions in one person is not advediately; it is probably fundamental (ib. p. 132).

Hartland, while thus differing from Frazer on the question of origin, is disposed in other respects to follow the latter's method of delimiting magic and religion.

Magic 'conveys the notion of power, by whatsoever means acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of a higher being whose cooperation is only obtained by prayer and self-abasement' (p. 18).

On his view prayers and sacrifices are magical processes just so far as a constraining power is attributed to them; and he asks, 'Have analogous beliefs in the magical powers of a rite even disappeared from Christianity?' (p. 87).

Religion, on the other hand, is 'confined to cultual systems whose objects, as far as they are perceived, are the general will, free will, are to be approached with true worship, and may or may not grant the prayers of their suppliants.' Where the object is impersonal, or is but vaguely personal, it is none the less treated with reverence and submission, as something transcending man; it is the object of an emotional attitude, devitalised towards it. The object thus, even where it is not personal, tends to be spiritualised (ib. p. 19).

A. Lehmann of Copenhagen (Aberglaube und Zauberer von den äussten Zeiten an bis in die Gegenwart, Stuttgart, 1898) defines superstition (Aberglaube) as any belief which either fails to obtain authorisation from a given rite, or stands in contradiction with the scientific conception of nature prevailing at a given time. Correspondingly, magic or sorcery (Magie oder Zauberere) is any practice which is unengendered by superstition, or is explained in terms of superstitious notions (p. 6 f.). By insisting on the essential relativity of these two ideas he claims to have avoided many difficulties that puzzled former inquirers. For instance, it may be asked how magic is to be distinguished from miracle, the reply is that it is all a question of standpoint, Aaron performing miracles while his Egyptian rivals are mere jugglery (p. 9). In the rest, he finds two more or less independent theories to be equally at the back of magical practice, namely, the spiritist, which relies on the intermediation of personal agents, and the occultist, which calls into play mysterious powers of nature (p. 314).

H. Hubert and M. Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in Asoc. vii. (1904)) start from the conception of rites. Rites are traditional acts that are educations in a non-mechanical way, thus involving the notion of mana (q.v.), or wonder-working power (p. 14; cf. p. 138). Such a notion underlies the idea of the sacred as implied in a religious rite, but not in a magical one, a more restricted definition, non-religious, involves ideas of the same order (p. 21 f.). The differentiation of magical rites consists in the fact that they do not form part of an organised cult, and the effort tend to be regarded by the society concerned as illicit (p. 19). Thus religion and magic tend to stand to one another as two poles representing severally the social and the anti-social way of controlling the miraculous. Finally, magic, as being always the outcast of society, becomes charged with all the effects of decomposition and rejection, and so is gradually differentiated from religion more and more. This very ingenious and weighty argument, however, cannot be accepted. The sketch cannot pretend to do injustice, is made, it must be remembered, from a strictly sociological standpoint, and throughout regards magic and religion not as phases of mind, but as social institutions, having as such a reality of their own determinable in terms of form and function.

Arnold van Gennep (Les rôles de passage, Paris, 1909) treats the magico-religious as an indivisible whole, distinguishing only between the theoretical and the practical activities which it comprises, and assigning the term 'religion' to the former and 'magic' to the latter. It is essential, in his view, to insist on the indivisiblity of the relation between the theoretical and the practical sides, since the theory divorced from the practice passes into metaphysics, while the practice founded on another theory becomes science. For, of the rest, the mysterious forces which are the objects of magico-religious theory may be conceived equally well under an impersonal or a personal form, and, corresponding to magical practices, whether it issue in positive acts or in abstentions—viz., in the observance of tabus—may seek to deal with things either directly or indirectly through personal agents having power over the things, while the mechanism of association by
similarity and contact is involved in both cases alike. The theory is stated (p. 18) in tabular form as follows:

1. Theory (Religion)

- dynamism
- animism
- totemism
- spiritism
- polydemonism
- theism

2. Practice (Magic)

- sympathetic
- contagious
- direct
- indirect
- positive
- negative

Wilhelm Wundt (Volkpsychologie, vol. ii, pts. ii. and iii., Leipzig, 1895-96) makes myth or belief the ultimate source of cult or ritual, since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is but one mythical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of soul-influence, as from it are generated in succession three forms of cult, magic, fetishism, and totemism, which by reaction cause the idea of soul to develop correspondingly. To deal only with the first of these, magic in its primary form consists in the supposed direct action of soul on soul, as when the evil eye is feared, while the secondary form consists in supposed action from a distance, when the soul-influence makes itself felt indirectly by means of a symbol (ii. 46f.). Thus Wundt is entirely opposed to the Frazerian theory that magic implies a theory of natural causation on the part of the savage. On his view, while ordinary events are accepted as a matter of course, extraordinary events, demanding as they do a theory that will account for them, are at first ascribed to the soul-power or will of a man, and later (when the stage of magic is transcended) to that of a magnified man, or god, similar soul-power or will being ascribed to inanimate objects and to animals at the intermediate stages of fetishism and totemism.

Here follow the survey of representative views, those selected for examination at least exemplifying the wide diversity of the notions which it is sought for purposes of science to impose on a highly plastic, since popular, term. Now the purely verbal side of the question need not be a source of trouble. If the things are envisaged distinctly, the words may be trusted to look after themselves. Thus in the present case there are evidently different concepts answering to separate aspects of human life; and it will be sufficient for the present purpose if these aspects are discriminated, so that terminology may be given the chance of adjusting itself to the facts.

3. Magic as a general name for rudimentary cult.—On any theory of the evolution of religion which represents it as a single movement falling into distinguishable stages, there will always be a first stage of minimum development immediately preceded by a stage of which Bacon would call absentia in proximo—a 'pre-religious' stage, as it might be termed. Now, since the word 'magic' tends to bear an unfavourable sense, nothing is more natural than to dub magical whatever fails to come up to the evolutionary standard which religion is more or less arbitrarily taken to embody. It hardly matters whether, after the manner of Frazer, an age of magic is held to have preceded the age of religion, or whether, in the style of Wundt, magic is identified with the lowest form of religion. In either case magic answers to something to which is assigned an unfavourable, because inferior, place in the evolutionary scale as compared with religion at its most characteristic. Anthropological science, however, is becoming increasingly clear of constructing such scale lines so simple and so drastic. Human evolution is a tissue of many interlacing strands; and, again, the savage of to-day is no older or earlier than the civilised man, so that the modern and historical primitiveness cannot be identified off-hand. At most, then, it is with the help of psychological and sociological considerations of a general type that a primordial stage of mind and society can be theoretically posited, out of which determinate religion may be shown to have emerged by some sort of subsequent process. Such general considerations suggest that, just as Jourdain talked prose before he realized the fact, so the primeval savage acted before he thought about his action. Correspondingly, therefore, in the sphere of nascent religion there must have been a stage of cult or ritual which was the product of sheer unreflective habit, which preceded the growth of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. Certain recurrent situations in the social life of the savage, or, as for that matter, of any animal life, it is wholly subordinate to the social so long as mere gregariousness prevails—induce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find a vent somehow. This they do either through activities directed towards the production of social effect, in fighting, love-making; or else through secondary activities such as are not immediately practical in their object but serve simply as outlets of superfluous energy, such as the dances that simply play at hunting, fighting, or love-making. In either case habit entwines with the activities in question all sorts of more or less functionless accidents; and the presence of some accountable details helps to make the whole performance seem mysterious to the performers and still more so to the civilized onlooker. When the activity is of the directly practical kind, say, hunting, when the tracking, the killing of the game, and so on, explain themselves, the accompanying observances enjoined by custom which do not explain themselves so readily—for instance, wearing such and such a garb, using certain words—may well seem to call for justification even to the unthinking savage, who will at least translate his sense of the value of custom into the vague doctrine that there is 'power' in these things, that they 'work.' When, on the other hand, the activities belong to those of the secondary type which are not immediately practical, constituting 'proreptic' rites, as they might be termed, which, while affording emotional relief, act likewise on the whole as preparations for the business of life—very much as play does, in the case of the young—then accretions in the way of accidental features due to custom are likely to be more pronounced, inasmuch as there is no discipline of hard fact to impose bounds on the action. Meanwhile, in proportion as these secondary activities conform to the same stimuli as the primary activities of which they are the by-product, as, for instance, when the hunting interest overflows into a pantomimic rehearsal of the chase, they will wear an imitative appearance, though in reality more 'reperceptions' rather than imitations. When, however, an ex post facto justification of them becomes necessary, it is quite natural that the doctrine may grow up that they have some definite hold on belief, that their seemingly imitative character has something to do with their efficacy. It is putting the
cart before the horse to say, as Frazer seems to do, that the belief that 'like produces like,' or what not, generates symbolic ritual. It is, on the contrary, symbolic ritual—i.e., a ritual that involves a more or less realistic reproduction of some practical activity—that generates the doctrine of 'sympathetic' causation in one or another of its forms. As such, however, not even natural symbolic rites usually include all manner of details the mimetic bearing of which is at least not obvious; and the generalization that an 'age of magic' indules in ritual and religion, is, in fact, one general heuristic through which we may determine how far, and along what lines, the differentiation of the magical and religious elements involved in the complex needs to be pushed (see *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, issued by the Royal Anthrop. Institute, London, 1912, section on 'The Study of Magic-Religious Facts,' p. 251 f.).

4. Magic as a name for the black art and allied developments.—The view which has just been discussed and deprecated, that identifies magic with rudimentary cult as a whole, may be said to draw a horizontal line between magic and the later and more evolved products of the same tendencies which rudimentary cult embodies. The other view, which will now be examined, differs altogether from the former in that it draws a perpendicular line between magic and the social and religious energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find it, not in any philosophy about like producing like, and so on—ideas that appear quite late in the history of thought—but in vague notions of 'superstition' as practice with the barbarous. In other words, the savage comforts himself with no theory of how these ritual practices work, but is content to feel and know that they work—that, despite all appearances to the contrary (since their non-utilitarian character may be supposed to become gradually manifest), they have power and efficacy in them or behind them. It is just this faith in their efficacy that distinguishes them as Natal religious practices from such as are merely aesthetic. The former are so closely related to the practical activities that a sense of their contributory value runs through them, and they thus suggest and foreshadow practice in all sorts of ways that make for hope, courage, and confidence, whereas aesthetic enjoyment, though possessing a recreational function, does not thereby go beyond itself. It remains only to ask whether 'magic' may not serve for the designation of the most rudimentary type of cult. On the whole, it would seem a pity for the evolutionist to apply a term redolent of disparagement to what on his view is a genuine phase of the serious life as lived under certain conditions of culture. It is far less question-begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow Van Genep, and predicate magic throughout as well as a general name for the practical side of religion—which is surely an abuse of language). The science of comparative religion, if it is to do its work properly, must impartially embrace the cults of all mankind in its survey.

An observation may be added for the benefit of the field-worker, who, as a rule, has to take over his classification apparently ready-made from the hands of the theorist. If such a one has learnt to identify magic with the sympathetic principle or with those early forms of cult in which this principle appears to predominate, he will be inclined to label his collections of specific cases of sorcery as being of magic. 'Productive magic' (a term often used to describe rites of the intichiuma type, which hear on the increase of food-animals and plants), 'agriculture magic,' 'animal magic,' 'magic of hunting and agricultural rites,' or 'ritual'; and it is much more likely to lead to an unprejudiced description of all the relevant facts, whether they be of the sympathetic order or not. So, again, tabus are better treated as a part of ritual, namely, as observances of negative prescriptions, which will invariably be found to form one context with sundry other positive prescriptions; to make them a part of magic is neither necessary nor does it in the proper use of language. It may even be said to be now a recognized working principle that the first-hand observer should class all magico-religious phenomena under a single general heading and test all the phenomena by the same standard of how far, and along what lines, the differentiation of the magical and religious elements involved in the complex needs to be pushed (see *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, issued by the Royal Anthrop. Institute, London, 1912, section on 'The Study of Magic-Religious Facts,' p. 251 f.).

(a) Magic as the rival of religion.—Starting once more from the fact that the word 'magic' tends to stand for something bad, we realize at once that it is possible to treat magic as a general term, and to look at all the bad kinds of trafficking with the occult and supra-sensible in vague in a given society, while, conversely, religion may be taken to comprehend all the good kinds of such trafficking. Obviously the power of bringing wonders to pass is a two-edged sword, since surprising things may happen for weal and for woe, while, again, immoral as well as moral persons may seek benefit from miracle. It is, indeed, entirely within the discretion of the culture, on other words, the mana type that they are, from a moral point of view, ambiguous and two-sided, covering all manifestations of the efficacy of rites, whether they be beneficent or maleficient in their intention (see MANA). Now it is easy to see how rites of an ill-intentioned kind will come to be practised and will have efficacy imputed to them. Hate, greed, and the other types of anti-social attitude being more or less endemic at all levels of society, they are bound to find expression in habitual activities that assume the character of mystic rites in proportion as they abound in accretions and in secondary activities of the expositive order, such as cursing in set phrases or destroying an absent enemy in pantomime. Moreover, the very fear which hate and malice awake in the breasts of those against whom they are directed is enough to create an atmosphere in which the natural seeds of black magic cannot but germinate freely. The almost universal dread of the evil eye illustrates very well how the responsibility for the existence of a belief in sorcery often rests with the credulous victim just as much as, or more than, with the alleged aggressor. Anthropological literature is full of striking examples of natural phenomena being ascribed to supernatural agency in this way. Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin no. 5, Brisbane, 1903, p. 23) calls thanatomania,
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namely, the suggestibility leading sooner or later to death on the part of one who satisfies himself that he is doomed. Roth has had personal experience that this belief is commonly held among the Queensland natives. Thus it comes about that, by an extension of the same line of thought, 'evil magic' becomes the stock explanation offered for anomalies of a mysterious and unaccountable character.

* An individual becomes incapacitated through some chronic and painful illness which does not answer to the various medical and surgical treatment or materia medica which the illness weighs upon his mind, and after a time he becomes more and more physically feeble. "You go "sweet" [i.e., death]—the mungapu (death-bone) at him—i.e., that a "bone," pebbles, flint, etc., has been put inside him and his blood removed" (W. E. Roth, Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines, Brisbane, 1897, p. 164).

Indeed, it has often been observed that the savage scarcely recognizes the fact of 'natural' death, so ready is he to impute the event to the sinister arts of some particular individual or at least to the machinations of persons unknown (cf. art. Life and Death [Primitive], § 7). From these vague attributions of ill-will to one's neighbours it is but a step to the conception of an evil magic independent of the will and intention of any person at all. Such beliefs, and the acts of evil—such as the arungqugulhia of the Arunta (Spencer-Gillen, London, 1890, p. 548 n.), the oqon of the Hurons (J. N. B. Hewitt, Anth. Anthropologist, new ser., pt. i, 1875, p. 7), and the goings of the Malays (W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1900, p. 94)—are regarded as malignant and destructive agencies in their own right, very much as one thinks of the plague or the influenza. In short, the white man always more or less of black magic 'in the air' for the panic-ridden savage. For this reason, and seeing how much the healer of diseases and, again, the witch-finder do to foster the evil reputation of the magician by their highly-coloured accounts of the dreadful arts which it is their professional privilege to be able to counteract, one might almost be tempted to declare that the sorcerer is a mere bogy, the creation of abject fear welded to ignorance and credulity. But this would be to go too far. There seems good evidence that in Australia men and even women, despite the fact that black magic practised within the group is normally held to be punishable by death, wreak their vengeance in this way on their private enemies. Roth's own black servant, a mere layman, actually dared to point the bone at a native child. The latter of course, took the law into his own hands (N. Queensland Ethnography, Bull. no. 5, p. 30).

At most, then, it may be surmised that for every case of genuine guilt there are far more false accusations. There is a part of the Australian witch-haunted society, whether it be native Australia or 17th cent. England, that the proofs of witchcraft mainly rest on an argument from effect to cause.

As for love-magic, it may not seem at first sight to have the anti-social character of the magic of hate; but, if closely observed, it will be found on the whole to minister to hardly less disruptive purposes. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia such magic is chiefly resorted to in order to bring about a runaway match. It is true that, according to native ideas, it is merely a case of one tribal husband trying to entice the woman away from another tribal husband, so that, as Spencer and Gillen say, 'it is a breach of manners but not of custom' (p. 544). Even so, however, it would seem to be extremely liable to lead to a general fight within the group, or between one local group and another, so that its anti-social tendency is bound in the long run to become tolerably marked.

So much for what are perhaps the clearest instances of types of ritual acts generated by passions and desires which society is bound to try to suppress in the interest of its own self-preservation. Such rites can be placed in a more or less determinate class by themselves, whereas over against this class can be set in contrast another class of rites, entirely similar as regards the general nature of their mechanism, but embodying motives of a kind heir to be socially desirable. Broadly speaking, all public rites have this common quality of being licit and reputable, since the fact that they are the recognized custom of the community is taken as evidence that they exist for the furtherance of the common weal. Thus the totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, the object of which is the increase of the food-animals and plants, occupy exactly the same place in the life of the people as is filled by the rites of the Church in a Christian country. Hence E. Durkheim (Les Formes Élémentaires de la vie religieuse, Paris, 1912) takes the totemic system of Australia as the typical instance of an elementary religion, whereas Frazer, adopting what has been termed the horizontal line of division between magic and religion, would assign these totemic rites wholesale to magic. For, as we have seen, there is no better instance could be cited to illustrate the incompatibility between the horizontal and the perpendicular methods of viewing magic and religion, than the case of the less complicated societies and the more general rules of conduct. The totemism among the simpler societies at all events, public rites always rank as good and licit, does it follow that private rite as such will tend to be regarded as bad and illicit? According to Robertson Smith (Religion of the Aboriginals, London, 1894, p. 236 f.), it well-nigh amounts to this:

* 'It was the community, and not the individual, that was sure of the permanent and unfailing help of its deity. It was a national not a personal providence that was taught by ancient religion. So much was this the case that in purely personal concerns the ancients were very apt to turn, not to the recognised religion of the family or of the state, but to magical superstitions... Not only did these magical superstitions be outside religion, but in all well-ordered magic lines there were regarded as illicit. A man had no right to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belonged. In his relations to the uneven he was bound always to think and act with and for the community, and not for himself alone.'

Granting, however, that in the small undifferentiated society private enterprise is suspect, we must recognize that, as the division of labour develops and the individual asserts himself more and more, the law of the tit-for-tat is broken, and at least, the use of ritual forms for securing personal ends, such as the protection of property by taboo-marks having the force of conventional curses (see for example P. H. Hulme, 'Religious witching in New South Wales,' in Asa x. [1907] 1 f.; and cf. M. Mann and M. H. Beuchat, ib. ix. [1906] 117, on the magico-religious significance of the Eskimo property-marks). For the rest, there will always be in every society a number of ceremonial practices to which a certain amount of magico-religious value attaches that fall most naturally under the category of folk-lore, having no place in the official cult, yet being too insignificant to call for much notice favourable or unfavourable, and, on the whole, tending to be despised rather than condemned. In short, for certain purposes of this sort, they are accepted by magico-religious rites as generally akin, even while making due allowance for their tendency to group themselves round the opposite pole of beneficence and maleficence, of social service and individual greed or spite. More especially is this so when the interest passes from intent to content, from motive to mechanism. Social and anti-social rites are hardly distinguishable in respect of their external form, the standard of the most rudimentary culture. Thus the latter bear the closest resemblance to each other, the
sorcerer and priest often meeting in the person of the medicine-man. The rites are of the same general pattern, whether they be manual or oral. Lastly, the ideas that are bound up with the rites conform to a common type, new to that of mana and now to that of spirit (cf. Huxley, op. cit., p. 2). After all, it is no wonder that differentiation should hardly have begun, seeing that, so long as society is represented by an aggregate of small groups, the practice of a single spirit would be evil if practised on a friend becomes good the moment it is directed against the people just across the way. Or, again, society may halt as it were before two ethical 'cases,' when the result that ritual practices of contradictory intent may obtain something like equal toleration; the moral status of love-magic was especially ambiguous, so that, for instance, among the Kurrum tribe of Victoria, where marriage by elopement verges on the position of a recognized institution, 'while there were medicine-men who assisted those who wished to elope, there were other medicine-men who aided the pursuing kindred to discover them' (A. W. Howitt, The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia, London, 1904, p. 277). Once more the medicine-man is in a position in which the self of the sorcerer's power to punish offenders against the laws of the group, such as the novice who behaves improperly at the initiation ceremonies, or the man who attacks another by means of evil magic, but he will likewise find all his personal power use his power against his enemies, and will even bring to bear on them the power of Daramnun, the great anthropomorphic god of the mysteries, the 'eyes' of this or that religious organization, in the eyes of the tribe (Howitt, pp. 545, 692). Clearly, then, it is not to the simpler and more undifferentiated societies that we must look for an account even of these early types of organization, the rites, leading sooner or later to their organization in rival systems that henceforth to some extent develop independently. Organization and system, however, are terms that perhaps are hardly applicable even to the later developments of black magic.

It is religion that has all the organization to itself, because public approval affords it every chance of free expansion. Magic, on the other hand, as the enemy of organized and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and grows not by internal systematization, but merely as does a rubbish heap, by the casual accumulation of the waste and 'dregs' from all kinds of all kinds. At most it may affect a certain definiteness of form by imitating religious ritual in a spirit of blasphemous parody, as in the case of the 'black mass.' On the whole, however, it is a kind of utter deficiency on the side of theory, and consists simply in a congeries of practices which by perversion and distortion have lost most of the meaning that they once had. Only in this sense, do they rest on the principle of compulsion as opposed to conciliation, that, being mere rites, lacking the support of any consistent scheme of thought, they have to depend for their validity on their own inherent power. Religion, on the other hand, though never wholly escaping the tendency to impute value and efficacy to its ritual as such, is free to develop an ethical conception of the godhead in which the action of divine power is gradually converted into that of a power that makes for righteousness, and is therefore to be moved and conciliated not by rites but by righteous conduct.

(b) Magic as the rival of science.—The view advanced by Frazer to the effect that the fundamental conception of magic is identical with that of modern science (cfr. op. cit., The Magic Art, i. 220) will hardly bear close inspection. The magician surely does not postulate that the same causes will always produce the same effects. On the contrary, his art is based on the supposed possibility of miracle—on what might be termed super-constitution as contrasted with normal causation. In other words, he seeks to help out ordinary action by means of an increment of power borrowed from a supra-sensible source. This is what Taylor means by characterizing magic as 'occult science.' In many of its aspects, what was, to the modern mind, the 'black art' may be regarded as a complete reversal of the idea of magic, as a science, and be associated with processes of the most scientific character. Thus, in the chapters on the magico-religious way of thinking may be held to correspond to sciences or pseudo-sciences, inasmuch as they severally represent a body of organized lore intended on the whole for the furtherance of secular and purely technical ends. Of these the most characteristic types are faith-healing and the divination (q.v.). Faith-healing is in its most typical form a direct counterpart to sorcery, which is in essence a faith-hurting. While magic and black magic are integrated rites, the magic of the other's, since the natural procedure of the healer is first to establish by his diagnosis what exactly the wicked magician has done, and then by dramatic reversal of the action to undo it. Indeed, as has already been suggested, witchcraft is in no small part a pure invention on the part of leechcraft. To bring about a faith-cure it is essential to show that what is wrong is something that will answer to the proposed method of putting it right; and what more plain than that medicine-man may checkmate medicine-man, diamond cut diamond? Meanwhile, the occult sciences of the faith-healer in Ceylon (Cf. J. G. Frazer, Religion in the Making, ii. 299) and the known to the savage. On the contrary, it may be more or less sharply distinguished from the ordinary folk-medicine, towards which it stands in a certain attitude of intercourse.

Thus, Roth, who, as a medical man, went very carefully into the various methods of dealing with disease that prevailed among the aborigines of North Queensland, shows that "no 'doctors' attend specifically to all ailments. Being left to individual caprice, e.g., a woman looks after her husband, a mother after her child. Nor do they specially prescribe, the knowledge—where known to all—of the therapeutical value of plants of common occurrence, etc., they are the tribe's (cf. Queensland Ethnol., Bull. 8, p. 299). It is only when the ordinary treatment fails that the aid of the medicine-man is called for (q.v.).
Among the specifics in common use among the natives observed by him, Roth enumerates more than forty different plants, for some of which at least genuine medicinal properties can be claimed. Likewise, ligatures, bleeding, massage, poultices and fomentations, dressings for cuts, the use of splints for fractures, and the methods of treatment which rest on a basis of what we too would be ready to recognize as 'science,' i.e. a more or less organized common sense. At the same time, the lay mind is likewise directed to what the modern doctors would regard as a superstitious, such as reliance on charms, amulets, the sucking-string, etc. But at any rate the atmosphere of mystery with which the professional faith-believer surrounds the science of which he is or has been a part is purged away. A medical man, harmless, goes to the place where the accident happened, is shown where the snake bit, dig it out, and lets it glide away a few feet before commencing to cut it up. In this process the snake gradually diminishes in size, and gradually becomes harmless, when it is carried back to camp, where the medicine-man, turning its skin half-way inside out while still alive, throws it into water, and so makes an end of it. It is needless to say that no layman is allowed to witness any part of this procedure (p. 42).

It only remains to add, in fairness to the medicine-man, that a reputation for magic in the sense of a more or less bad and anti-social kind of wonder-working is thrust upon him by the very fact that he is a professional and hence has the public against him, according to the principle that whatever is not for the good of man is bad.
by association with the productive arts has taken into its hands the entire control of the mechanical and material sphere of human life, and within this sphere will brook no rival. In the moral sphere, on the other hand, it has no signs of making headway against the claim of religion to be the supreme authority. Meanwhile, neither science nor religion can afford to tolerate the anti-social and immoral person, who man tries to make good use of. The delinquent, therefore, finds himself in a weak humanity. In practice, however, both find it hard to distinguish between the delinquent and the innovator, so that the line between evil magic and popular praxis, on the one hand, and mere ho- doxy, on the other, tends to be even now of a somewhat fluctuating kind. As for black magic, it has almost disappeared from view in civilized society. As the folklorist knows, however, a permanent possibility of demoralizing superstition lurks in human nature, and only education in regard to both physical facts and moral truths can keep the monster down.


MAGIC (Arabian and Muslim).—The word used in Arabic for this notion is sihr, connected with the Arabic prefix s- 'to produce ill.' on the croup (Qur'an, vii. 113): It seems, therefore, to be in origin the causative of the verb hāra, 'to be bewildered,' and is explained by the verb 'to frighten' ('Jihaddhu'), whence the whole phrase resembles un+yēhēn to kalīrīn in Ac. 54. It is probable that the Hebrew shahar, used twice by Isaiah for 'conjure away,' is identical, and the Armenian shārum, 'marvel,' may be borrowed from this word.

The passage in the Qur'an which contains most information on the subject is ii. 96, where it is stated that the sihr was revealed to the two angels in Babel, Hārūt and Mārūt, who taught it to mankind, without concealing the fact that they were tempting them; the sihr showed how to separate a man from his wife, i.e. was the contrary of a love-philtre. Isaiah (44:16) connects the shahar with a magic which according to classical writers also, was the headquarters of magic:

'una Babyloun Peres Host, secretare Memphis
Omen vettunorum solut pennterea Magorum.'
(Lucan, Pharsalia, vi. 449 f.)

Hārūt and Mārūt seem from their names to be Arahame personifications of mischief and rebellion, with which their recorded operation corresponds.

In the Qur'an, as might be expected, it is not clear whether the results of sihr are always subjective only or may be objective; and some commentators think both possible. When, therefore, a miracle is branded as sihr, it may be regarded either as an optical illusion or as an illicit process due to the employment of demonic forces, as was also revealed employed them (according to the Qur'an), but this may have been a prophetic privilege. And a theological difficulty arises from the statement that sihr was revealed to all and idels fear always to be evil. The orthodox view is that magic can be objective; but some Mu'tazilite doctors and some members of the Shi'te and Hanifite schools took the other view; and even those who believed that it was objective thought that it could affect accidents only, and could not transmute substances.

The practice was forbidden, and, indeed, under penalty of death; Malik held that one convicted of sorcery should not even be given the option of repentance, whereas Shâfi'i confined the death-sentence to the case where examination of the accused proved him to be guilty of unbelief (Qustalâni, Commentary on the Manâwih. Ladmâniyâh, Cairo, 1278, vii. 116). Acquisition of the theory was, however, permissible, and, according to some, a duty incumbent on all members of the community, as protection against those who practised the art.

The recognition by Islam of the existence of jinn fârlâsh as a basis for the belief in sihr, to which, however, the attitude of the educated and of serious writers is about the same in most countries; it is not ordinarily recognized as an agent in the course of events, and has been admitted into tales of wonder and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of needs.

It figures on one occasion in the biography of the Prophet, when an illness was brought upon him by a Jew named Labîd ben al-Asâm; according to one account, the latter obtained possession of some hair left on the Prophet's comb, which he hid with some other objects in a well; according to another, the object hidden was a string with a number of knots upon it. The latter version is doubtless suggested by the penultimate sihr of the Qur'an, 'the employment of men into animals by a witch's notion is found as early as the Odyssey. In Arabic there is a special word for this process, masūm.

عِلَى كِلُّ كَنْا وَلَا نَسْتَنْبَطُ مِنْهُ أُوْلَـيْدَ" (عَلَى كِلُّ كَنْا وَلَا نَسْتَنْبَطُ مِنْهُ أُوْلَـيْدَ)

The classification cannot be maintained, though it is possible that the tendency in the case of the different nations corresponded to the methods assigned; thus, the doctrine that augury practice was introduced among the gods who were created to greater lengths by the Indians than elsewhere, whereas the theory of mysterious words may be particularly Jewish, and the Hermetic
MAGIC (Babylonian)—For the purpose of this article we may regard the term 'magic' as connoting practices which have their origin in the belief that man is able by their exercise to control the unseen powers and force them to act in accordance with his own will. Without attempting to discuss the vexed question of the relationship of magic to religion (see 'Introductory' section above), we may say that this generally accepted view of the term is based upon the adaption of a material concept. And it corresponds, moreover, to a distinct contrast in attitude towards the supernatural. Magic may be said to be present wherever power over the unseen is believed to be inherent in the ritual, whereas, according to the religious concept, the seat of power is regarded as resting outside the sphere of man's deliberate control. When the term is used in this sense, it must be admitted that a great body of the religious beliefs and practices of the Babylonians and Assyrians should be more accurately described as falling under the category of magic.

It is true that, when reading the Babylonian religious compositions, one is struck by the resemblance which many of the phrases bear to ethical passages in the Hebrew Psalms and prophetic writings. Quoted apart from their context, such passages suggest an extraordinarily high standard of morality and great depth of feeling. But it is dangerous to judge any literature merely by extracts or anthologies; and, when studied in their own surroundings, they are at once seen to have a background that is largely magical rather than moral. To take a single example, the Babylonian penitential psalms and many of the prayers to the gods show that the Babylonians had a very keen sense of sin. The contrition and misery of the penitent are expressed with great beauty of metaphor; but it is essential to examine the precise meaning of the words employed, and not to read extraneous associations into them. In this connexion it is important to realize that the moral character of sin which we find emphasized in the Hebrew prophets is quite foreign to the Babylonian conception. In almost all their religious literature the expressions 'sin,' 'sickness,' and 'possession by evil spirits' are employed as pure synonyms; they denote merely an evil state of the soul or body. In fact, a man could be said to be believed to be due to the attacks of evil spirits, under.....
whose power or influence the sufferer had fallen, whether by his own act or through the machinations of a hostile sorcerer or sorceress. Such spirits and powers of evil were legion, and were ever on the look-out to inflict bodily harm on men. They might be ghosts of the dead, or gruesome spirits half-human and half-demon, or, lastly, fiends and devils of a nature corresponding to, but lower than, that of the orthodoxy. The sole object of the magical texts was to enable the priests to control and exorcise these demons, or to break in some way the malignant influence which they exerted upon their victim. And, in order to give to the exorcism the utmost importance that the spirit or evil influence which affected the sick man should be mentioned by name. To this end the magician repeated long lists of ghosts and devils, any one of which might be the cause of the sickness. Thanks to this practice, we know a great deal about the Babylonian demons and their characteristics. In order to illustrate the manner of their attack, and how dissociated this was from any moral offence on their victim's part, it will suffice to refer briefly to one class of spirits, the ghosts of the dead. These spirits were those whose death was violent, or for some reason or other, could not find rest, but wandered as spectres over the earth. After death the spirits of men and women who died in the ordinary course of nature and were buried were believed to enter the Underworld. There they found existence of a miserable existence with the help of offerings and libations paid to them by their descendants and relatives upon earth. But, if the offerings were neglected and forgotten, the ghosts were rendered into dangerous fiends—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbirth. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or desolate places, and, if a man wandered there, they might select him as their victim and claim him. A spirit of this sort could also fasten himself on any one who had been in any way connected with him in this life, by the sharing of food with him or by the mere act of eating, drinking, or dressing in his company. From these instances it will be seen that a serious spiritual liability, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to follow both ceremonial and moral offences. To touch the dead body the generality of mankind were considered as being affected by such evil influence or ban was, according to the texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offence, such as theft, adultery, or murder, and the resulting condition of sickness or misfortune was the same. In order to escape the ban and cure his sickness or misfortune, the sufferer had recourse to the magician, who, by his knowledge of magical words, prayers, and ritual, could invoke the help of the great gods, and so gain control over the demon itself, or, in cases induced by human intervention, over the hostile sorcerer or sorceress who had instigated it. The second class of texts prepared for the use of the magician their purely magical character is sufficiently apparent from their contents. In others, where the contents refer more to the condition of the sufferer than to the possible causes of his misfortune or the means to relieve it, the essentially magical character of the compositions may sometimes be detected in notes or rubrics which give directions for preparation of the objects collected by the magician for that purpose synchronized with the destruction or removal of the evil influence under which the patient suffered. The rites sometimes required substances of some value or rarity, such as fragments of gold or precious stones; and it is probable that, except for powerful or wealthy clients, the magician would make the same fragements do again and again. But the materials of the rite also included plants, pieces of wood, various sorts of seeds, vegetables, dates, palm-spathes, sheepskin, wool, etc.—all perishable substances which could easily be consumed. And in their case the sympathetic connexion between the destruction of the ban and that of the object is obvious. That this is the correct explanation of this whole class of ritual is shown by their subsequent use of the object in the sub-section, in which the employment of images is prescribed in place of unfinished natural objects or substances. The images were to be fashioned in human form, to represent the hostile sorcerer or sorceress, and the destruction of these by fire, to
and, largely through Jewish, Syrian, and Mandaic channels, contributed in no small degree to the great and continuing development of Buddhist ideas.


**MAGIC (Buddhist).**—If we rightly understand the real character of Buddhism, what Buddhism ought to be according to its cardinal tenets, there is no possible connexion between Buddhism and magic. The only aim of the Buddhist monk is nirvana, to be attained in this world by the exercise of will power, a state of freedom from passion in order to reach freedom from rebirth, i.e., eternal, blissful nirvana. All the machinery of the intellectual and moral life is organized with a view to this. Buddhism does not deny that there are good (bodhis) acts that ripen into happiness in a future life (svarga, paradise), but monks consider them not as of so much avail for, but even as obstacles to, nirvana. Asect and religious acts (dharma, darsana, puj2) have no place in the training for nirvana, and it is an ever grave and delusive herecy to lay stress upon them. A fortiori, in contrast with Vedism and Brahmanism, Buddhism ignores all the magical theories connected with sacrifice, worship, or asceticism as a means of salvation. As far as everyday or trivial magic is concerned, its efficiency is acknowledged, but Buddhists are strictly forbidden to practise it; all kinds of magical arts and performances—e'en of a benevolent nature—are regarded as pernicious.

*But historic Buddhism* is not, in every respect, what Buddhism ought to be. Buddhists are Hindus, regular (Hindus); and no large religious body has ever been found that was always scrupulously faithful to the true spirit of its creed, the more so as the Buddhist creed implies supernatural disinterestedness and a non-Oriental disregard for any kind of superstition.

1. *Rddhi.*—There is a large category of 'superhuman' activities, which to some extent would be understood by Europeans as magical, and which are 'very good Buddhism.' We mean rddhi (Pali iddhi)—in the words of Rhys Davids, mystic wonder, 'wondrous gift,' magic power,' a mastery (prabhavah), which is only the exercise of a power acquired by pious works, by penance, and also by 'formula,' and especially by contemplation.

There is nothing 'preternatural' in the rddhi, and the natural character of the 'miracles' performed by rddhi is clearly shown in the following passages:—


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1. These are 'mundane' (suddha) good acts, in contrast with *supranatural* (lakkhana), those which lead to nirvana, i.e., the votations connected with 'trances' (חקפיא) and other 'concentrations' (kammaddhi).

MAGIC (Buddhist)

Utān-kurna (see art. Rũra, Asok or your Buddhist), or to the Brahma world ... But how can they?" 'Do you admit that I have jumped even six or three feet in air?' "Yes, I do admit that I can jump twelve feet." "But how?" 'I cause this idea to arise in my mind, that, because of this idea, the body becomes buoyant to me.' "Just as does a monkey, who has attained mastery over his thought, travel through the air." 1

Birds, etc., are, by nature, endowed with magic power, as is proved by the fact that they go through the air. Their rddhi is 'born from the ripening of acts,' i.e., the special character of some of their acts in a former life, imparts them this special 'superhuman' faculty. Gods are, of course, magicians; they go through the air, they create at will palaces and pleasures (bhoga). Sovereign kings or world-emperors (chakravartis [g.n.]), too, are magicians by nature. Ordinary men obtain momentary magic power by many devices, and are 'superhuman' at some time and for some object. 2

As a matter of fact, Buddha was looked upon by his followers—as he was by the unbelievers—as a great magician; and it is recognized by all Buddhists that magic power is one of the natural possessions of the saints, since they are holy men, just like the gods of old and the modern fakirs. Magic power ranks therefore with the divine eye, the divine ear, the knowledge of the thought of others, the knowledge of former births, the know-

ledge of future births, and, i.e., with the most desirable gifts of saintship. And it is no mean eulogy of Māndālayāna that he styled the 'best of the Buddha's disciples with regard to magic.'

It is evident that the admission of the reality of rddhi is beset with many dangers. Buddhists were, accordingly, strictly forbidden to boast of possessing such 'superhuman' faculties; that was one of the gravest sins.

There is nothing specially Buddhist in the manifestations of rddhi. Buddha's disciples win success in the phantasmagorical shows which have long been familiar to Hindu romancers and dreamers: 'Being one, he becomes many, or having become many, becomes one again; he becomes invisible or visible; he goes, feeling no obstruction, to the other side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air; he penetrates up and down through solid gold, silver, or air; he walks on water; ... he travels cross-legged in the sky; even the sun and the moon, so mighty they are, cannot approach his feet; and he is also known to reach the body in even up to the heaven of Brahmā.' 3

Stories of miraculous exhibitions intended to convert the incredulous are frequent. Buddha and his disciples willingly condescended to give 'signs.' When the Tibetan writer Taranatha narrates the medi-

teval miraculous tournaments between the Buddhist and Brahmanist scholars, which often conclude with the Buddhist victory and the conversion of kings, he only testifies the continuance of an old tradition. But—and this restriction is of paramount import—when narrating miracles, the old texts add that miracles, by themselves, prove nothing; the unbelievers, conquered by the more powerful magic of Buddha, used to say: 'Ganatama'—the 'prince'—name of the Buddha, and the one used by un-

believers—Ganatama is the magician (mārya): every thou-
sandth year there appears in the world a great magician who eats or enjoys the world (AŚvādhanakaraṇā); or, in the words of the Kandaliyavata: 'We saw Siry here a magician performs all these.'

There is in the Bodhivattvadvāmi, a text-book of the Viśṇuavānās (by Asanga, 4th-5th cent. A.D.?), 1 a complete survey of the magical power of the bodhisattvas. It is said to be twofold: puraṇaṃ rddhi, power of transformation, when a bodhisattva or Buddha acquires the nature of an existing thing; and nirmāṇakaraṇa, power of creation, when he can assume some thing or some person. The 'created persons' (nirmita, nirmāṇakaraṇa) are frequently mentioned in the Mahāyāna works; but they are not unknown in the Hinayāna, both Pāli and Chinese. Elabo-

rate theories on the nirmāṇakaraṇa are to be found in the Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivādins (Lokaprajñāpā, 1st cent. A.D.), which embody the views of the school of the Vīra Hinayāna; and in the Abhi-

dharmakośa (ch. 6), where the creative power of Buddha and of the gods (nirmāṇakaraṇa, etc.) is discussed.

2. Paritta.—Another very orthodox form of magic is parītā, or rakkh, 'guard,' 'safeguard.' It forms an important part in Shīh-halasee Buddhism under the name of spirit (spirit, Eastern Monachism, London, 1850, p. 146, Manual of Budhism, ed. D. J. Gogerly, Ceylon Buddhism, ed. A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1900, pp. 327-393). Good examples are found in Pali literature.

Taking refuge in the three 'jewels' (ratna, ratana), Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, forms a charm called 'sutta of the jewels,' which is very efficacious against illness: 'Whatever aperception we have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and let them listen attentively, i.e., with the most desirable gifts of saintship. And it is no mean eulogy of Māndālayāna that he styled the 'best of the Buddha's disciples with regard to magic.'

So also, it is said, the Peacock Jātaka, sun-worship ('the only king, the one who beholds, the light of the world') is connected with that of the Buddhas: 'wheeby tree, golden and luminous being! May I spend this day under thy care! Homage to the conscious sage! May they protect me! Homage to the Buddhas and to the illumination, to the delivered and to the deliverance!' 2

When Śākyamuni was a large golden peacock, he recited this half-solar, half-Buddhist prayer morning and evening, and consequently avoided all dangers. And, as the peacock is the born enemy of serpents, the 'sutta (or charm) of the peacock' is used as a preventive and as a cure for serpents. 3

In these examples the magical character is not very prominent: there is nothing pagan in the formulæ, which are, above all, acts of Buddhist faith; there is nothing mechanical, nothing really magical, in the efficacy ascribed to the bird. The non-Buddhist gods are clearly subordinated to the Buddha: it is almost a dogma that the Buddha converted gods and demons; 4 and it is quite reasonable to believe that they will grant their favour to the disciples of Buddha. It is believed also that benevolence (mātrī) possesses a power in itself (mātriśe), which is capable of protecting the benevolent person against all the attacks of the wicked; in order to avoid serpent-bites, it is not a bad plan to sleep on a raised bed, but the right method is to declare to all the tribes of serpents that they are being enveloped in a universal sentiment of benevolence. 5

1 A summary of the Bodhisattvadvāmanavịvas (by Asanga, 4th-5th cent. A.D.?)


3 Batanasthāna (Sutta-Nipata, ii. 1); Rūpa (Sutta-Nipata, ii. 1); Sattā (Sutta-Nipata, ii. 1); Rūpa (Dīgha, xxxii.)

4 Ratanaśas (Sutta-Nipata, ii. 1); Rūpa (Dīgha, xxxii.)

5 Morajātaka, Jātaka, ed. V. Faussboll, London, 1877-87, ii. 23.

6 A dogma for the Sarvāstivādins (see A. Couma and L. Ferron, 'Analyse du sūtra de bhājanīdīrjāva,' AMO, ii. 1910, 295-315). All sources admit: that there are still wicked gods (Dīgha, xxiii.).

8 See Gālāvānāga, vi. 2, 3, and v. 6 (SBG xx. 1637, 761.)
violence is the most noteworthy invention of Buddhism in connexion with the subject which we are discussing. Among the results of the order, which was exclusively a warlike and oriental one, are:

3. Hindu influences.—All practices tainted with magic or superstition, from the most trivial to the most serious, are strictly forbidden: astrology, divination, charms, incantations, the winning of a name, a word, or a letter, in the belief that any one may accomplish with the help of certain secret recipes and a technical method. Holy men, in ancient as in modern India, priests or others, have sought too much opportunity for making huge profits by giving horoscopes and practising white or black magic. The Buddha—the first Order—was anxious that the monks should be separated from these practices, and drew up a long list of "wrong means of livelihood," of low arts, that were strictly prohibited. The Brāhmaṇas also made an effort to distinguish themselves from sorcerers.

Among these "low arts" we may mention specially:

1. Arranging a lucky day for marriages; using charms to make people lucky or unlucky, to procure abortion, to bring on dumbness, deafness, to keep a man's jaw fixed; obtaining answers by means of the magic mirror, or through a girl possessed, bringing forth flames from one's mouth, causing virility; making a man impotent; invoking Sīri (his), the goddess of the worship of sin, etc.

Whatever precautions the Order took to avoid all paganism and superstition, there is, nevertheless, a Buddhist magic. It was impossible to guard against the influence of the Buddhist faith, since the time could have been completely ignorant of the sun or the inferior deities; a day came when the infiltrations became "streams," when paganism—gods, rites, deities—under a thin Buddhist veneer, took the place of an original literature. Of course, we find popular magic always condemned in principle (love-rates, elixir of life, etc.). What is more serious, official worship and mysticism are permeated with Hindu elements; the sun, for instance, becomes a sacred name; this is properly speaking, what is called Tantrism (q.v.).

Among the earliest of these infiltrations we may mention:

1. In some very orthodox books of the Mahāyāna, the great value attached to the sacred texts, to the stūpas, the mere reading of which effaces sin; (2) the great value attached to sacred names (e.g., the name of Amātikā); devotion turns to superstition pure and simple; (3) the name replaced the strength of the spells. (For instance, Avalokiteśvara, represented, when carried to an extreme, by the Tibetan 'prayer-wheel'; it has been noticed that, in the Lotus of the True Law, in which there is no mention of a female deity, the formulas are made from feminine vocatives; these invocations or litanies are undoubtedly borrowed from rituals; (4) the coming of a day when the rituals received the consecration of literature, and were put at the service of the great work of identifying the faithful with the Buddha


MAGIC (Celtic).—1. Wielders of magic.—Magical rites resembling those used by other races abound in Celtic paganism. They were performed by the gods, the Taitha De Danann being later regarded as supernatural wizards, by kings (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the origin of the kingship in the magic-wielding people), and by all members of society, but, above all, by the druids as the official magical class. There is evidence that they had curing women as the earlier magic-wielding persons. The rite of agricultural and the possession...
priest in rural French parishes was believed capable of causing rain in time of drought, or of averting tempests. 2. Magic affecting human beings. — The druids could make themselves or others invisible, and this was also done by Celtic saints. 2 A spell used for this purpose, by which causing it to appear in another form to his enemy and so escaped, as well as the effect produced, was called fiadh fades (the ’wild beast’s cry’). By it he and his followers appeared as deer to their foes. 3 The power of such an incantation is said to have been used in remote parts of the W. Highlands. Still more common was the power of shape-shifting, which was also ascribed to women. The evidence of Irish texts shows that the druid could take any shape, or invest others with it, while the same power is also ascribed to divinities.

The children of Lorc became swans through the arts of their stepmother, the daughter of the god Bodh Déirc, while Oisin’s mother became a faun through the power of the druid. Fear Delchea P.W. Joyce, Old Celtic Romances, London, 1894, p. 185. F. Kennedy, Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts, do, 1868, p. 52. The princess of Sénus could take any shape (Pompeia, ill. 0), and many tales of goddesses or women assuming the shape of birds are found in the sagas. In some instances the belief that a druid was connected with totemism is shown by tales upon eating certain animals by saying that they were human beings transformed.

3. Rilming’ people to death—a practice used by the fliad as well as by the druid—was connected with the power of the spoken word, though it may also have been used with the actual power of violence. Emotion to affect the body. It was usually the result of a satire spoken in verse to the victim; black, red, and white blotches arose on the face, and were followed, sooner or later, by decay or death. This is also probably a magical spell, and the fear of such a spell brought about the result automatically. Coirpre pronounced the first satire in Ireland upon Brés, king of the Faemorians, and many other instances occur in the texts. 5 To the power of the satirist was attributed a quelling force over nature itself. A magical sleep was also produced in different ways. Sometimes it was done by music, which produced first laughter, then tears, then sleep. These three results are uniformly ascribed to music in Irish sagas; they were brought about by Dagda’s harp, as well as by the song of the fliad. All this probably reflects the power of music upon primitive minds, especially since it is so frequently connected with religious or magical dances and orgiastic rites, in which the motion and the music produce delirium, that is, a confusion. But it may also suggest the soothing power of music. Similar magical sleep was caused by the music of divine visitors (see BLYST, A BOEDE OF THE CELTIC, §§ 2, 8). In other cases sleep was produced by a ‘drink of oblivion,’ probably some narcotic made from herbs; 4 but sometimes the effect was curious, as when Céchulhus, by the drink given him by the druids, was made to forget his fairy mistress, and his wife to forget her jealousy. Another ‘druidic sleep,’ in which the victim is made to forget or is rendered motionless, and occasionally in that state is caused to tell secrets, is of frequent occurrence, and is suggestive of hypnotism, the powers of which are well known to savage medicine-men, and may quite well have been employed by the druids. 2 The power of ‘glamour’ produced by

5. P.Col. vaux, O’Curry, p. 255.
7. P.Col. vaux, O’Curry, p. 255.

magicians, by which stones or trees seemed to be armed men and were attacked by the victim, is also strongly suggestive of hypnotic influence. It may, however, be merely the record of actual hallucinatory cases, since the ‘glamour’ in which the modern Celt believes is little else than hallucination. The druid could also turn a man into the lunar by throwing a wisp of straw at his face after saying a spell over it. 7 Even more primitive was the method of killing a person by throwing a spear into his throat, 2 or of making him fall by hitting him and sticking pins into him or placing it in running water, so that he might suffer or waste away. This image is the corn ered, still known, and used in remote Celtic regions.

4. The Airgead Druid. 3 ‘Druid’s hedge,’ was an invisible magic barrier made by the magician round an army, probably by circumambulating it sunrise and singing spells. Its effect was that the ranks could not be broken, but, if any one was bold enough to break through its power was gone, though the act usually cost the trespasser his life. 3

5. Magical rites connected with stones and trees. — The cult of stones and the sepalchral stones were the abode of the ghosts of the dead probably gave rise to many magical rites, the origin of which must be sought in remote times. Many of these are still practised, or perhaps much is incarnated in the barren woman who performs the rite. The woman sits on the stone, or slides down it, or thrusts her head or body through a hole in one of the stones, or holds the stone. Pregnant women do the same to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband. Similar practices are used in connexion with boulders or stones which are not sepulchral, and probably these were anterior to the use of megalithic monuments. In these cases the rocks were believed to be the abode of spirits, or perhaps manifestations of the power of the Earth divinity, which gave vitality or fruitfulness; this power was to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband.

Similar practices may have already been used by the Celts, though they necessarily adapted them to existing stones and monuments in the lands conquered by them. Other practices were the passing of sick persons three times through a holed dolmen or a weather-worn hole in a rock, to obtain strength and healing. In other cases a slit was made in an oak or ash sapling, through which the patient was passed, and the slit was then carefully closed and bound. The underlying idea is complex. The spirit of tree or stone was expected to cause healing, or there was a transference of the disease to either, or perhaps there was some idea of a new birth with renewed strength to the re-born.

Certain magical stones had the power of producing rain or wind when turned with appropriate rites, or in other cases the water in which stones of a fetish kind had been dipped procured healing when it was drunk—a method used by St Columba. Other magical rites with stones were used in cursing an enemy.

2. P.Col. xv, [1904] 144.
5. Schilb, 1. 334.
6. Celtic sants and magic.—Much of the magic of the druids was popularly ascribed to the saints who inhabited the lands where their influence, that is, their power was held to come from God. In the Lives of Celtic saints we find them opposing druids with their own weapons—neutralizing their magic, controlling the elements, producing rain, rendering themselves invulnerable, and providing supplies of food, and causing transformation or confusion through their curés. The popular belief in magic could not be eradicated, and they who now filled the places of the ancient priests were freely dowered by the people and by their biographers with the ancient powers.

See also CHAIRS and AMULETS (Celtic).


MAGIC (Chinese).—Magic in all its forms is a subject which has always fascinated the Chinese mind. The literature which deals with the theory and practice of magic is enormous; and, if much of this literature is wearisome to the modern reader on account of the child-like credulity of its author and the extravagance of their speculations, it is nevertheless worthy of more patient scrutiny and analysis than it has yet received from anthropologists. Their collection of facts, their authorship of books, and the existence of serious Chinese students of life and character. In this article we cannot do more than touch the fringe of a subject which derives much of its interest from the fact that a belief in magic is still a living force in the China of to-day.

There are many early references to a class of sorcerers or witches known as wu. This name is often applied to male as well as female witches, though in the more correct designation of the former is chi. The term chi is rarely found outside the old books, but the term wu (usually in such combination as wu-p'o, which means witch-wife) has persisted throughout the ages, and is still in common use. In pre-Confucian days the wu held a recognized position in the social organization of the country. They were entrusted even in the courts of kings with certain quasi-sacerdotal functions, and in public ceremonies they had stated duties to perform in connexion with divination and exorcism. Judging from the somewhat meagre accounts which we possess, we may suspect that the rites observed by the wu were in many respects identical with those practised to this day by the shamans of Central Asia and Siberia (see BURIATS, SHAMANISM). Their methods included mimetic dancing, drum-beating, chanting of mystic formulae, and trance-mediumship, and their efforts were directed towards the foretelling of the future, the conjuration of spirits, and (in general) the invocation of good influences and the expulsion of evil. In the course of ages their position gradually deteriorated. This was largely the result of the rise of Confucian culture, which always aimed at reducing every non-Confucian ideal and practice to a position of inferiority; but it was also due to the fact that many of the magical notions and methods of the wu fraternity were taken up and systematized by the Taoists. This is one of the reasons why the popular Taoism of modern times concerns itself with magic and sorcery to an extent which seems quite unwarranted by early Taoist philosophy, and why the illiterate village witches and fortune-tellers of the present day usually profess to act in co-operation with one or more of the innumerable Taoist deities, in spite of the fact that they are the sole surviving representatives of the ancient system of witchcraft.

There is reason to believe, however, that besides the officially-recognized wu there were always numerous ‘free-lance’ witches who carried on a lucrative business among the superstitions multitudes, and whose connexion with the State cult or predominant religion of the time was no more than nominal. It was probably sorcerers of this type who were aimed at in certain anti-witchcraft regulations (reminding us of Plato’s Laws, xl. 533) which we find in the Li Ki—the canonical ‘Book of Rites.’

Those who gave false reports about spirits, about seasons and days, about consultations of the tortoise-shell and stakes, so as to perplex the minds of the people, were severely punished (ib. xxviii. 257 f.). It may be added that the same fate befall inventors of ‘wonderful contrivances and extraordinary im- plementias,’ because such things raised doubts among the multitude (ib.).

But it seems that even the official wu were not always free from peril, for the very fact that they were supposed to have a mysterious controlling power over the forces of nature rendered them liable to terrible punishment if those forces seemed to be showing hostility to mankind.

In the year 683 B.C., e.g., there was a disastrous drought, and a certain reigning duke expressed his intention of dealing with the situation by burning two persons—an emaciated or deformed man and a witch. Evidently this was a familiar practice in such emergencies, and, if we take into consideration the endurance of its author and the extravagance of their speculations, it is worthwhile of more patient scrutiny and analysis than it has yet received from anthropologists. From this story it appears that the practice had been modified to the extent that the witch and deformed man were no longer burned alive, but were merely exposed to the scorching heat of the sun.

One explanation of these customs is that by burning a deformed or emaciated man, or by exposing him to the sun, the pity of the heavenly powers would be aroused, and rain would be sent to alleviate the wretched man’s sufferings; and that the same happy result would follow the burning or exposure of a witch, because a witch was a person who was able to compel spirits to descend to earth. A sounder explanation is based on the belief in the supposed interaction of the principles of yang and yin—the male and female, or active and passive, forces, which by their alternating pulsations or activities give rise to all natural phenomena. In time of drought the yang principle shows excessive activity and disturbs the harmony of nature’s processes; steps must be taken, therefore, to restore the balance of forces. The intricacies of the yang-yang-theory are necessarily bewildering to a Western reader until he has acquired some knowledge of the principles of feng-shui (q.v.); but it is this pseudo-philosophy-belief in which is slowly decaying in China. But is still true that the teaching supplies some of the most important hypotheses on which the edifice of Chinese magic has been erected.

No doubt it was only in extremely serious cases of drought that the witches were tortured or put to death. The regular method of obtaining their assistance in rain-making was to send them out, under the guidance of their official leader, the sei-wu, to perform a ritual dance. The dancing of the witches formed part of the ordinary ritual observed on the occasion of the official rain-sacrifices; and, if we may judge from similar practices in other parts of the world, the dancing partook of the nature of mimetic magic.

2 See SBE xxvii. 201. It has been suspected by commentators that the two stories refer to the same historical incident.
3 Ch’uan Li (Biot’s tr., ii. 195).
4 The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were temple-dances officiated by the Chou dynasty, of which only one (the huang) had anything to do with rain-making. Ceremonial dancing is not yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual proceedings at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, Aftergings Siviot, Shanghai, 1906, p. 119 f.
accompanied by music; and, if there is any truth in such ancient legends as that of King Mu (whose reign ended in 947 B.C.), we may suspect that music preceded dancing as a means of producing raves. But in the method adopted by that monarch for putting an end to the disastrous drought was to play magic music on his flute.

Many of the observances still carried out at the popular festivals in China are undoubtedly of a much more recent origin. They are intended to regulate the rainfall, to expel disease and misfortune, to ensure good harvests, and to attract good luck. communal magic of this kind is sometimes official in character, as in the case of the spring-welcoming ceremonies presided over by the local district-magistrates; but for the most part the rites are conducted by the villagers themselves, under the guidance of their own clan-committees (k'hi-shen), or headmen. Ceremonies which at one time were doubtless carried out with punctilious care and with something like religious awe have in many cases become mere village games and pastimes of which the original significance has been partially or wholly lost. Such are the lantern-dances and still-walking of the children of N. China at the full moon of the first month of the year. Few of the parish priests understand that by the skilful manipulation of their paper lanterns they are supposed to be helping and encouraging the moon to go successfully through the day and night before dawn on a certain day and cooking a dumpling which 'rises' as they are assisting nature to stimulate the dormant activities of animals and vegetation; and that in walking on stilts over ground destined to produce a crop of grain they are helping the wheat and millet to grow to their full height. It is perhaps a significant fact (when we remember the belief that the sun is played by spirits in fertility magic in other parts of the world) that many of the men and boys who take part in these festival-ceremonies are clothed for the occasion in women's garments.

Magical notions are also traceable in numerous simple acts which practically every family performs with a view to the well-being of its own members. Such are the hanging of certain plants above the doorways on certain days, the entwining of red threads in the queues of children to protect them from the demons of disease, and the affixing of pieces of scarlet cloth to the scrub-oak bushes to prevent their fruitrots and to reflect the silkworms against hurtful insects and noxious influences. At the New Year it is customary to cover the outsides of doors and windows with paper scrolls containing sage mottoes, quotations from classical and other literature, and words expressive of virtuous aims or suggestive of material prosperity. These scrolls may fairly be regarded as magic charms which will not only prevent evil from entering the house, but will attract the influences which make for good fortune and happiness. Many of the usages connected with death and burial, the ceremonial summoning of spirits to a funeral, the naming of persons by magical names are also essentially magical, though their intimate connexion with religious beliefs and observances makes it difficult to decide where magic ends and religion begins.

In China, as elsewhere, magic arts are practised for private and personal as well as for public and family purposes, and many persons who know of no formal method whereby they may bring about the fulfilment of their desires will not fail to seek the aid of magicians and witches. The witches of China have had many illustrious clients. One of them was the T'ang emperor Hsiian Tsung, who ordered certain Taoist necromancers to summon before him the shade of his dead consort, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. Very similar stories are told of the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty and the emperor Hsiao-Wu of the earlier Sung dynasty. As for the self-styled 'First Emperor', who reigned in the 3rd century B.C., the assertion that he consulted necromancers in his case was unnecessary, for he—like the king Solomon of Muhammadan legend—was himself a king of magicians. Returning to more recent times, mention may be made of a dowager, who died in 1908, but took steps for a time in the magical attainment of the 'Boxers'; and, though the 'Sacred Edict' of the emperor K'ang-hi bids men refrain from all kinds of heterodox teachings and practices, among which the arts of magic are included, and though in quite recent years proclamations have been issued warning the people not to allow themselves to be deceived by witches and soothsayers, it is beyond question that a belief in the reality of magic is by no means confined to the ignorant peasantry.

The official attitude towards 'black magic' (to use the convenient Western term) is clearly demonstrated in the anti-witchcraft clauses of the Penal Code of the late Manchu dynasty. The punishments inflicted on persons convicted of this crime were extremely severe, and it is not easy to add (in the words of a scholarly student of the subject) that 'the pages of Chinese history have never been stained by such a mad epidemic of witch-killing as has swept Europe and America in the seventeenth century.'

As recently as the summer of 1914 an alleged case of 'black magic' occurred in the territory of Wei-hai-wei, at present administered by Great Britain. The inhabitants of a certain village approached one of the British Courts with a petition in which they complained that a fellow-villager 'had been possessed by an evil spirit,' which resided in his head. It was stated that he had quarreled with the village headman, and had foretold the headman's death. 'And sure enough,' they said, 'the headman died, though there was nothing whatever the matter with him.' Two or three other enemies of the accused subsequently died in the same mysterious way; and, to crown all, a villager, on going to the shrine of the guardian-spirit of the village, discovered there a slip of paper on which were written, in the accused's handwriting, the names of various people with whom he was known to be on bad terms. This discovery created a panic among the villagers, who took it for granted that the list comprised the names of all those unfortunate persons whom the wizard had condemned to a speedy death. They therefore seized him and brought him before the magistrate, and we are told in this article, who is in his magisterial capacity had to perform the somewhat delicate task of disentangling between real and imaginary wrongs.

From the point of view of the student of magic, the special interest of this particular case centres in the unexpected part played by the tutelary deity of the village. Here, it would appear, we have an instructive example of the intermingling of religion and magic, and the junction seems to have been brought about in this way. One of the principal functions of the t'ou-ti, or village deity, is to receive the spirits of the newly dead and to act as their spiritual friend and guardian. Each village has its own little shrine dedicated to the local deity, and this shrine usually stands by the road or some place of resort of all the villagers. When a villager dies, the members of his family go in procession to the t'ou-ti shrine to make a formal announcement of the death, in order that the deity may take arrangements for the reception of the dead man's spirit. Now, at first sight, there seems to be no obvious reason why an
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expert in black magic who wishes to bring about the death of his enemies should expect the t'un-ti—who is regarded as friendly to men and interested in their welfare—to give him help and countenance in carrying out his nefarious designs against his adversaries. We may therefore place in a list of the names of his intended victims on the little stone altar of the village t'un-ti? The theory seems to be that, when the t'un-ti receives the name, it will assume itself that the persons bearing those names are already dead, and will make preparations in the under-world for the reception of their souls. These preparations will act with a powerful attractive force. It is believed that this will create in them an irresistible inclination to sever their connexion with their respective bodies. The non-arrival in the under world of the spirits of persons whose death had already been announced in a formal manner would cause bewilderment to the well-meaning t'un-ti, and perhaps arouse its wrath; and, as it is strongly advisable, in the interests of the community in general, to ‘save the face’ of the t'un-ti and maintain friendly relations with him, the only reasonable course for the spirits in question to adopt is to bow to the inevitable and remain in the premature loss of their physical bodies.

Magical and semi-religious theories of this kind are hardly likely to find Western parallels; but many of the ordinary magical practices of the Chinese seem to fall into the category of forms of sympathetic and mimetic magic with which we are familiar in Europe.

The great artist, Ku K'ai-chih (4th cent. of our era), one of whose paintings is among the most treasured artistic possessions of the British Museum, was himself a graduate in magic. When he painted the portrait of a girl whom he loved, he drew her portrait, and in the place where the heart should be he stuck a thorn. Thereupon the girl, who knew nothing of the portrait and the thorn, fell on her knees and kissed the portrait, and in the place in her countenance which the heart occupied, there sprang a thorn which, after she had kissed it, caused her to bleed profusely, so that she died of the bleeding, with the portrait in her hand. This is surely a magic conception, though not a very well-organized affair, for the purposes of magic.

That many of the poets and artists of China have been credited with a knowledge of magic is no matter for surprise when we know how frequently their passionate love of wild nature brought them into contact with the Buddhists and Taoists. The artists’ favourite mountain-dwelling-places have always been the caves and forests and ravines of the mysterious mountains. These mountain-dwelling ascetics have been for ages regarded by the Chinese as possessing occult secrets of various kinds, and, though their disciples and biographers endowed them with faculties which they never possessed and which the best of them never pretended to possess, it is highly probable that there were some who, in the course of their own heart-searchings and their solitary communings with nature, not only made valuable discoveries as to the properties of plants and herbs, but were also successful pioneers in various untrdden fields of psychology and mysticism. To some extent, at least, the popular belief in their supernatural capacities and attainments was justified.

When Buddhism first came to China, and for some centuries afterwards, the relations between Buddhists and Taoists were often strained to breaking point. The victories of the Buddhists—If we may credit the Buddhist historians and biographers—were often brought about by miraculous occurrences which non-Buddhists would perhaps describe as magic if not as mere conjuring tricks. But, in some cases, to draw a distinction between miracles and magic. A miracle, as F. S. Hartland remarks, is ‘legitimate magic,’ while magic is ‘a forbidden miracle.’ However this may be, many of the marvellous doings attributed to Buddhist monks and hermits bear a close resemblance to those recorded of Christian saints. But we know from the earliest Buddhist scriptures that the brethren were not encouraged to engage in magical operations, and that was certainly not by the help of miracles or of magic that the Buddhists achieved their most substantial successes in China. The Taoists, however, did not scruple to employ such operations as would yield forms of magic and sorcery, and it is their fatal readiness to meet the popular demand for signs and wonders that is largely answerable for their present degeneration (see TAOISM). If we had space to deal with matters of detail, it would be necessary to describe the various magical uses made of plants and animals and also of manufactured articles such as metal mirrors and weapons. An authority has stated (see EB 11 viii. 577) that magic mirrors are mentioned in Chinese literature of the 9th cent.; but they are mentioned and their uses fully described much earlier than that. The curious book known as Pao Po-i-tzii, which was written by the famous wizard Ko Hung in the 4th cent. of our era, contains full accounts of how to detect the presence of evil demons and other spirits by the use of magic mirrors. The belief once prevalent in the British Isles that a witch could turn herself into a hare is paralleled by the Far Eastern belief (still extremely common in China) that demon-witches can change themselves into birds, butterflies, and other beasts. A book could be filled with the magical notions and theories which in China are based on the habits and peculiarities of animals. Even insects are not exempt from the necessity of making a contribution to the treasury of magical lore. There is in China a destructive little insect known to Europeans as the silver-fish (Leptisma saccharina), which is a most unwelcome visitor to libraries. It is believed that, if one of these insects gets into a Taoist classic and eats the two characters shên-hsin ("spiritual-immortal"), its silverly body will become five-coloured. If the coloured insect be subsequently caught and eaten, the man who eats it will have the happiness of attaining the goal of Taoist ambition—he will overcome death and develop into a spiritual being.

As to trees, plant-fanciers and gardeners believed to possess some magical property or to be adaptable to magical uses. The cypress, pine, and similar trees are supposed to be conducive to immortality, and various kinds of herbs, the principal of which was the hemic, was in the habit of sleeping on a bed of pine-needles, we may be sure that this was not done merely as a means of mortifying the flesh. The willow is much used as a rain-charm. In times of drought in Shansi and neighbouring provinces adults and children may be seen going about with willow-wreaths on their heads. The peach-tree is famous for its magical properties, and for this reason peach-twig and peach-blossom are frequently mentioned in Chinese fairy-lore. The use of peachwood for the exorcism of evil spirits is very ancient, for the brandishing of peach-wands was a part of the prescribed procedure of the imperial examination at royal courts under the Ch'in kings and probably at a much earlier date.

That large and important subdivision of Chinese magic which concerns itself with charms and amulets and invocation is dealt with elsewhere (see Literature below). Here it must suffice to mention that the principal purveyor of charms is

1 Ritual and Belief, London, 1914, p. 84.
2 Pig's full cheek is likkle, p. 73. (in pamphlet de Groot, Religious System of China, iv. 162.) see also art. LIEUTENANT.
the 'Celestial Master'—usually described by Europeans as 'the Taotist pope'—who lives among the Dragon-Tiger Mountains in the province of Kiang Si; or deriving magic lore largely in the hands of Taotist specialists and shu-pao; but Confucianism has always had under its patronage the complex systems of divination which are based on that ancient classic the I King, or 'Book of Changes' (SBE XVI.). There is a grass known as zhih-tiao which grows on the grave of Confucius and is carefully gathered and put into vials; the dried stalks of this plant are believed to retain some of the ling, or spiritual efficacy, which lies latent in the sacred soil, and they are or were highly valued for divining purposes. For years a very interesting discovery of 'oracle bones' and tortoise-shell fragments was made in the province of Honan. They are believed (mainly on the evidence of the archaic script) to belong to the 12th cent. B.C., though certain authorities assign some of them to a somewhat later period. An inspection of these fragments throws a most welcome light on the classical and post-classical references to the ancient methods of forerun and astrology.

Divination by the tortoise-shell and by the dried stalks of certain plants 'were the methods by which the ancient sages learned the future; because they believe in sacred days and days, revealed spiritual helps, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the medicine and divination get their operations, their plexities and settle their misgivings' (Li Ki, i. 5. 5. 37 [SBE XXVII]).

The forms of magic which are or were popularly supposed to be associated with astrology and palmistry, and with automatic writing, telepathy, clairvoyance, and 'possession' by gods or demons, are too ample for the present, and there is good reason to believe that any society for 'psychic research' which showed itself enterprising enough to conduct some patient investigations on Chinese soil would be rewarded by interesting and perhaps valuable results.

LITERATURE.—The subject of magic and allied topics is exhaustively dealt with in J. J. M. de Groot, The Religious System of China, London, 1902, esp. vols. v. and vi. E. Blois's Fr. tr. of the Chou Li (Le Tchou-Li, Paris, 1851) should be consulted for information regarding the official standing and functions of the shu (see esp. ii. 70-74). There are many references to magic and mystery—some of them shrewdly critical—in Wang Ch'ing, Jen Hsing, an Eng. tr. of which (by A. Forbes) has appeared in two parts (pt. I, London, 1897; pt. II, Bombay, 1897); also in Li Jen, Hui Deng t'ien, ts'ao-ml, 1861, 72, and SBE vii. [1858], xxvii. [1885], xxviii. [1886], and xxxix. [1891], and XL [1891], English readers will find all the references to magic and mystery in the text amply discussed in the above article. Students of the subject will also do well to consult the following: H. F. Blodget, Chinese Traditions, Shanghai, 1911 (Voritza sinnologicae, no. 22), and L. ویگر, Folklore chinoise moderne, Paris, 1909. From a more popular point of view the subject of Chinese magic has been dealt with in N. B. Denny, Folklore of China, London, 1876, and F. E. Bates, The Magic and Mystery of China, London, 1894. Interesting sidelights on popular actions of magic can be gathered from the collection of stories known as the Liu Ch'iu, tr. H. A. Giles, under the title Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, London, 1899, new ed., Shanghai, 1908. The Chinese literature dealing with the subject from every conceivable point of view is voluminous, and hitherto only fragments of it have been translated. Good Chinese bibliographies will be found in the works of de Groot, de Boe, and Wigger referred to.

See also DEIVOT AND SPIRIT (Chinese), CHAMPS AND ACTUITY (Buddhist), Devotion (Buddhist), FENG SHUI, FENG SHUI, VARY AND FATS (Chinese), Calendar (Chinese), Fortune (Chinese), Medical Experience with the Dead Body, 1887, and CHAMPS AND ACTIVITY (DEITY).

K. P. JOHNSON.

MAGIC (Egyptian)—I. The Egyptian view of magic.—If the Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they actually were, they might, from their own point of view, have described all their actions as either original or magical. By original action we understand the various modes of coping with inanimate things and living beings which were suggested by habit, mother wit,

1 See, e.g., various passages in the I King, Shu King, LI KI, and Shang Kung's Commentaries on the Shang Kung. A very good account of the way to catch crocodiles (e.g., Book of the Dead, tr. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1898, ch. xxxvii) is to be found in BAS (North China Branch) xiv. (1914) 661.
MAGIC (Egyptian)

From the Egyptian point of view we may say that there was no such thing as 'religion'; there was only magic, i.e., the equivalent of which is 'magical power.' The universe being populated by three homogeneous groups of beings—the gods, the dead, and living human persons—their actions, whether ethical or unethical, or used for or against one group and another, were either ordinary or uncaney (hike). The gods and the dead were somewhat uncaney themselves, so that all dealings with them or performed by them were more or less hike. It was only when men treated them ordinarily, and as man to man, that this quality of hike was reduced to a minimum, as in the case of spontaneous prayer and the letters to the dead— in fact, in those rare instances where the solemn phraseology of ritual was avoided.

3. Magic defined for Egyptian purposes as privata religio.—We shall hardly be able to avoid rendering the English words 'magic' or 'magical power'; but, if the Egyptian conception of hike be taken as the criterion of what is magical and what is not, we shall have little or no use for the word 'religion,' and a multitude of forms and conditions for which we cannot naturally describe as 'religious' will fall under the head of 'magic.' It is advisable, therefore, in defining 'magic' for Egyptian purposes, to strike a compromise between the Egyptian connotation of hike and the English connotation of 'magic.' Taking our cue from the former, we shall restrict the sense of 'magic' to those actions which clearly have the implications of mystery and the miraculous; at the same time we shall attempt to maintain the distinction between magic and religion, or, rather, between magic and other kinds of religious acts and formally in accordance with the practical of Egyptologists, instinctively adopted but inconsistently carried out, to contrast 'magic' with the 'cult of the dead' and the 'cult of the gods,' as referring exclusively to those rites which dwell in the temples of the dead and the instance almost at the advantage of living human beings, the cults of the dead and of the gods being this division implicitly classed together as 'religion.' Magical acts are those performed by or for men, as those actions which men performed for their own benefit or for the benefit of other living men, and which demanded certain miraculous powers for their performance. Variously arrayed against two misconceptions: in the first place, it must be clearly understood that the gods and the dead may, as indeed they usually do, enter into the dynamic processes of the magical rite; the principle of division is that of 'de quo' but not 'enfome'; in the second place, magic as thus defined did not differ essentially in its mechanism from the cults of the dead and of the gods, nor was it necessarily regarded with any such awe as that of the latter.

For a similar definition see A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Egyptian Magic,' in Two, Third Internatl. Congr., Hist. Rel., Oxford, 1908, i. 208-210. Erman ("Egyptische Religione," Berlin, 1869), though forming a very different estimate of magic from that here adopted, accepts the same tripartite division of the active aspect of religion into Gotterkultus, Totenkultus, and Zauberkultus. Magic as thus defined has a whole native literature of its own; various hieratic papyri in Leyden, Turin, London, Berlin, Cairo, Rome, Vienna, and elsewhere, mostly dating from the New Kingdom; several similar papers of the Middle Kingdom, in the Kansensu find of 1869, still unpublished and in the writer's hands; numerous ostraca in various collections. Besides these there must be named the medico-magical papyri (see art., DOREAU and MERCURIE [Egyptian]); and the so-called Omp of Horus, of which the type is the Metternich Side (ed. v. Gollmisch, Leipzig, 1877).

The abstract concept of hike is once or twice found described in the Pyramid Texts as resembling neither the restricted meaning assigned to 'magic' in this section. Two physicians of the Old Kingdom bear, besides the honorific title 'priest of Horus in Hundred-towns' (whence cigar'), and such men as Mariette, Les Moutons de l'ancien empire, Paris, 1889, p. 96; R. Lepsius, Denkmaler, Berlin, 1849-58, ii. 91a.)

The defined concept of hike is figured in the form of a man in some sculptures of the Vth dyn. (L. Borchardt, Das Grabmaleont des Königs Sekhem, Leipzig, 1914, ii. pl. 50), and in the occasional occurrence also in the human form of Hapi, the Egyptian name for the god of those maladies; and the same general similarity also runs through the old chronicle of the annals of the Pharaohs and the Egyptian History (see A. Mori, La Rituale du culte divin journalist in Egypte, Paris, 1909).

4. The purposes of magic.—In theory the domain of magic was as wide as men's desires themselves, magical art supplying all those things that were not procurable by simpler means. Our existing materials, which illustrate only a limited number of purposes, are probably very one-sided. The Egyptians believed, or feigned to believe, that their wizards could work all kinds of wonders; in a late tale a charm is made to bring the viceroy of Ethiopia up to Egypt, to the place where Pharaoh dwells, where he is to be beaten with five hundred blows with the stick, and also humiliate the land of Ethiopia again, 'all in six hours thither' (Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 59). It is said to have been related at the court of Cheops how one magician could not only give devoured an adulterer, how another parted the waters of a lake into which a jewel had accidentally fallen, and how a third cut off a goose's head and replaced it in a twinkling (Erman, Die Münzen des Papyri Westcar, Berlin, 1891, i. 8 f.). The magical contest of Moses with Jannes and Jambres (Ex 7-2, 2 Ti 3) is this quite Egyptian in spirit. Passing from such fabulous reports to practical magic, we may classify the above uses under a comparatively small number of heads:

1. DEFEATING.—How important this class was may be judged from the fact that the most and common usage is 'down' (ib.) is said to have 'made magical spells for men for defence against things that happened' (P. Petersch, 1120 A ed. Gollmisch, Petersburg, 1871, p. 112).

(1) Prophetica.—To avert death, W. Pluete and F. Rossi, Papyrus of Theban Ebers, 1925-26, pl. 45b: 10; C. De Witte, Geschichte und Myth. London, 1857, pl. 25f; and against sorceries, Pop. Turin, 123; Pop. Leyden, 122; and 'all long-tailed animals that eat flesh and drink blood,' the Papyrus magica Harris (ed. F. J. Chabas, Chalculon-sur-Saône, 1861; also DODD, Egyptische Lieutenante Papyri, pl. 100 and crocodiles and other dangers of the river, such as drowning, ib. recta; against soakers, L. Stern, Papyrus Ebers, Leipzig, 1875, pl. 97, 17.}
The magic which was rejoining, the hearts of multitudes grieveth for it; Horus has slain it by his magic. He who murdered is to stay. Stand up, Osiris, and he who would protest is taken by force to life. He who came as one is carried forth of himself, Horus has slain him. They are consigned upon the earth. All men, when they behold Ra, praise the son of Osiris. Turn back, thou maketh, confused art thou which poison was in any limb of the son of Ra. Behold, the magic of the garment of life hath been performed. The poison, come forth upon the ground.

To be recorded—Two hands with the two feathers on its head, being made of topwood and painted. Open its mouth and offer to let it break all bonds and incense. Fill two vessels, one suffering from the bite of any maket and rectify from beginning. It will repeat the poison. A successful epoch! (Pap. Turin, 251, 3. and in Berlin, 1385-8.)

7. Analysis of the magical rite. —Except in certain border-line cases (prognostics, medical treatment, etc.), the magical rite is always two-fold and consists of an oral rite, consisting of certain words to be recited, and (2) a manual rite, consisting of certain actions to be performed. These two portions must be discussed in detail.

(1) The oral rite. —The task that lay before the magician was to entitle the text to effectiveness, the difficulty, which might consequently be regarded as a hostile and aggressive force. This force is not always completely personified, but more often than not it is treated personally, being commanded, persuaded, cajoled, warned, threatened, or cursed, just like a human being.

A leading idea in defensive magic, which embraces no small part of our modern superstitions, is that magic antagonists are often enumerated in a long ransom—a, the souls of a god, the souls of a goddess, the souls of a man, the souls of a female, the souls of a female, the souls of a dead man, the souls of a dead woman, etc. (Pap. 30, 12); the enemy male or female, dead man male or female, adversary male or female (Pap. Turin, 222, 5). Any god could doubles the attack human. As a result, the savage or malicious delle, like that, the murder of Osiris, or Sakinum, the ‘lady of pestilence’ (ad - dib), was doubtless most to be feared. The dead were specially to be his enemies, being the cause of his unhappy or embittered that might torment the living, for the magician sometimes warms them that their tombs are endangering (Zauberpruiche, recto 8, 7-9; Pap. 12, 18, 13). The possessing spirit was particularly likely to be of foreign origin, a negro or an Egyptian, the tombs of which he might discover, 8-10; and it was wont to come secretly, arriving in darkness, gliding in, its nose backwards and its face turned (4, 1, 94). Its mode of taking possession is, as a rule, vague; the ‘demon’ or ‘Gh, Bohrohe [2] doubtless often dwell with or in the afflicted one (Robben Steele, 11, 19 = Budge, Egyptian Reading Book, London, 1935, p. 271), but sometimes it was protected some kind of poison, such as its semen, urine, or the like (Pap. Leyden, 656, verso 6, 61; cf. especially the word ‘Whe’ in Ebers, 24, 34, 10, etc.). Or else, again, the hostile power might attack with arrows (Pap. Leyden 656, 1, 5). The evil influences were most easily eradiated through the excercises of the spell, such as the sweat or urine (Zauberpruiche, recto 2, 8-10); or they might come out in the shape of winds (Pap. Leyden 656, verso 12, 9). All the members of the body were subject to attacks of the kind, whence their frequent enumeration in magical texts (see below); here they are classified under the rubric called upon as a subject of comment and venom forth, which is in them (Pap. Leyden 656, verso 2, 2, 12-14).

The malignant force was sometimes merely informed of its defeat:

* Thou flyest before the sorcerer, before the servant of Horus, as soon as he mentions the named Horus, or the name of Seth, the lord of heaven. He seizes his scissors, and smitest thy foreman and thy heart. Thou fallst upon the ground on which thou lovest to spend, and thou requistest thy heart. So dost thou die, and the prophet forth to the house of Ra! that Horus has conquered the disease (Pap. Leyden 656, verso 2, 2, 12-14).

Sometimes the magician frustrates the aims of the enemy by a simple voto:

* Dost thou come to kiss this child? I suffer thee not to kiss it (Zauberpruiche, verso 2, 1)."

Elsewhere, as in the example quoted in § 6, the poison is bidon to flow forth upon the earth. Warnings frequently supplemented and reinforced such commands as this:

* Fall not upon his tongue; it is a serpent at the mouth of its hole (Zauberpruiche, verso 2, 11, in the midst of a long series of similar phrases.)

Commands and warnings falling in their effect, a more persuasive means is tried:

* Come, lay thee down, departing to the place where thy
beauteous women are, on whose hair is nayrth, and fresh incense on their shoulders (Zauber-Wörterbücher, recto 3. 5–6).

Or else the demon is made to understand that in delaying too long he holds the whole order of nature in suspense: "Rē' waits for thee in order to shine, and Atom to set, that then mayest quit the arm of N son of M" (Pap. Leyden 254, verso 4. 2–4).

In the last resort curses are employed:

"Every god curses thee, every goddess curses thee. ... The goddess Eunund curses thee, the Little Eunund curses thee (Pap. Leyden 254, verso 1. 1–2).

It often happens, indeed almost in every spell, that gods are taken sides to the sorcerer's(1) aid. They are involved with salvations and praises:

"Hail to thee, Horus, thou art in the town of Hundreds, thou sharp-horned one, whoショクed to the mark. ... I come to thee, I praise thy beauty; destroy thou the evil that is in my limbs" (Pap. Leyden 251, 3. 10–13).

A trait characteristic of Egyptian magic noted Origen of Lycaon (ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1857, p. 245) is the threatening tone often adopted towards the gods; examples are very common:

"On the night that the wife of Horus (Sobk, the serpent god) was near to die, I suffer not the Nile to best upon its bank, I suffer not the sun to shine upon the earth, I suffer not the heat o' the day, and I suffer not to be kept by the beer of the gods, who are hungry by both day and night—on that night of the burial of Osiris" (Pap. Turin, 137. 1–4).

The most daring menace of all is the following:

"I will throw fire into Baalz and burn up Osiris" (Pap. Turin, 135. 10; ed. Ehres, 39, 8).

On such occasions the magician is apt to disclaim his responsibility:

"It is not I who say it, it is not I who repeat it; it is Isis who says it, it is Isis who repeats it" (Pap. Leyden 256, recto 11. 7; Pap. Turin, 136. 8–9; Pap. mag. Harris, 9. 11). Elsewhere the gods are referred to in the third person, and the more numerous they are, the more ominous the threat. Thus it is likely to be seen, that as the limbs of the body are enumerated,2 it often happens that each separate limb is identified with, or said to belong to, some special deity; and the last ends with the words:

"There is no limb of his without a god" (Pap. Leyden 258, verso 6. 2).

"Avast thou, for I am Horus; retire thou, for I am the son of Osiris. The magic of my mother is the protection of my limbs" (Heart medical Papysus, 11. 41.)

At other times he merely claims to be 'the servant of Horus' (Pap. Leyden 345, verso F 1; Pap. Turin, 134. 1).

Often a mythical precedent was alluded to or narrated at length, and the mere mention of a parallel case seems to have been considered a usefull expedient for ensuring the success of the rite. Thus the magician declares:

"I will banish all bad and evil things which come to fall upon M the son of M, even as Rē' saved himself from his enemies, even as Khnum saved himself from Loke, even as Horus saved himself from Seth, and even as Thoth saved himself from Beh3" (Pap. Turin, 118. 9–10).

More often the point of the narrative is merely implied; in the following short incantation against burns even the names of the interlocutors, namely a messenger and a magically efficacious messenger, are left out:

"'Try so Horus has been burnt in the desert.' "Is water there?" "There is no water there. "There is water in my mouth, and a Nile and a Jordan, I give thee a magical fire" (Ebers, 60. 3–4; see H. Schäfer, in ZA xxxvi. (1895) 159–151).

Many valuable fragments of myths have been preserved to us by these means.

Especially frequent are tales that turn upon the revelation of the true name of a god; a well-known instance is the story of how Isis devised a stratagem by which the sin-god Rē' should be compelled to divulge his name; this she brought about by causing him to receive a small little which might could care save herself (Pap. Turin, 131–133).

Less well known is the narrative of the attempts made by Seth to provoke Horus into betraying his real name, which would have given the mischievous god power over his nephew; Horus, however, invents various absurd names, and so manages to elude his wicked uncle (Pap. Turin, 134 f.).

The importance of names in Egyptian magic was very considerable; the knowledge of names gave control, whether for good or for evil. It was not a rare proverb that 'a man lives who is concealed by his name' (Pap. Turin, 137. 9, etc.). Thus to be familiar with the names of the epagomenal days (Pap. Leyden 329, 2. 6) was a safe method of protecting oneself against their perils. This is a topic that might be greatly elaborated (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]).

Closely akin to the question of the importance of names is that of the importance of language. Certain formulae were supposed to possess particular efficacy, such as the words 'Protection behind, a protection that comes, a protection!' (Zauber-Wörterbücher, recto 9, 2). The magical potency of anything depends in a large degree on its mysteriousness, and it is therefore not at all surprising that cabalistic gibberish (Pap. mag. Harris, verso C) and foreign spells were held in high esteem (Der Londoner mythologische Papysus, ed. W. Weszinski, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 27, 28, 32, the last being in the Kafi language).

The significance attached to names and language is an aspect of the doctrine of sympathy, by far the most fertile conception of all those underlying the magical rite. This doctrine, which gives to things that have once been associated in any way remain henceforth connected and almost interchangeable for practical purposes; its chief varieties are (1) the principle of contiguity, which affirms that things that belong together or have once been in contact continue to influence one another even when separated; and (2) the principle of homoeopathy, according to which like has special power to affect like. These and other forms of sympathetic magic not so easily classified are of constant recurrence in the Egyptian magical books, both in the oral and in the manual rites; the recital of mythical precepts also clearly comes under this head. The very idea of the oral rite is an instance of homeopathic magic, for language may be said to imitate and image the things which it expresses, and in so doing verbal references to a desired effect may have been considered instrumental in producing it.

Sympathetic magic takes curious forms at times; one or two instances may be singled out. In connection with the importance of language reference may be made to the suggestion of the magician that:

"I make a charm for him against the 'afri-plant, which does injury, of which a leaf destroys the beast, which is sweet to men and sour to the dead" (Zauber-Wörterbücher, recto 7. 4).

The virtues here ascribed to the 'afri-plant and to honey are of obscure origin, but the destructive

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1 For similar examples from the funerary books see H. Grabow, ZA xlix. (1911) 45–54.
2 See Erman's remarks, Zauber-Wörterbücher, p. 23.
property of onions is clearly due to the fact that the Egyptian word for onions was ḫḏḏy (the vowel is merely guessed), while 'to destroy' was ḫḏḏw. In order to tell whether a five-month-old infant would live or not, the following incantation is to be recited:

"If it says yes, that means it will live; if it says no, that means it will die" (Ebers, 97, 13).

The sound ḫḏḏy resembles the emphatic Egyptian conjunction for 'no' (see Za xlv. [1907] 182).

A widely different example of the supposed influence of like upon like is illustrated by the following words, addressed to a demon that is causing sickness:

"Thy head has no power over his head, thy arms have no power over his arms, thy legs have no power over his legs" (A. H. Gardner, I. O. Miles, and H. Thompsett, Thothian ostraca, London, 1914, p. 144).

A conditional curse that runs upon similar lines may also be quoted:

"If he is dead to this decree, may Osiris provide, may Isis pursue his wife, and Horus pursue his children" (H. Sottas, Description des papyrus funéraires, Paris, 1912, p. 125).

The mystical potency attaching to certain numbers doubtless originated in associations of thought that to us are obscure. The number seven, in Egyptian magic, was regarded as particularly efficacious where final curses are to be pronounced to the seven Hathors (Pap. med. Berlin, 21, 8; Pap. Turin, 157, 12; cf. ἡ ἑκάστη θεά ἔχει ὁμορροφίαν [A. Dieterich, Eine Mithridatargurie, Leipzig, 1910, p. 71]):

seven days must be observed, seven times and seven. Additional words were added to some of the seventh knots in their seven books (Pap. Turin, 159, 141); and, similarly, we read of:

"the seven hawks who are in front of the barque of Rē" (ib. 136, 5).

Oral rites have occasionally to be recited seven times (ib. 138, 9, 10), but the more usual number is four (Pap. Leyden 348, verso 3, 5, 4, 10, etc.; Pap. Turin, 29, 6, 11, 1, 7, 4), a number doubtless associated with the 'four pillars of heaven' (ὁ ἕκτωρ στροφῶν [Dieterich, p. 71]), or, as we should say, the four cardinal points.

A characteristic feature of the oral rite is its complexity. This is shown in various ways, and not least in the love manifested for enumerations. Reference has been made to the long lists of parts of the body, and to the formulae naming all the possible enemies from whom attacks are to be feared. Similarly, lists are found of the various ways in which a man might meet his death (Pap. Turin, 130, 123; Pap. Petrie, Gisch and Rifsh, pl. 27 c); and of the various exorcisms through which the demon might transmit his baneful influence (Pap. Leyden 345, verso 6, ff.). This quasi-legal tautology is to be explained partly by the desire to cover all eventualities, and partly by the necessity of compelling respect for the learning and skill of the magician.

(2) The manual rites.—(a) Active elements.—The employment of images played an important part in the ancient side of magic. Sometimes it is the hostile power to be destroyed that is thus counterfeited and done to death; so, in the Book of Overthrowing Apophis, the words of the oral rite are:

"to be recited over as Apophis made of wax or drawn on a new sheet of papyrus and thrown into the fire" (30, 29; cf. 22).

More often the object imitated represented a means of effecting the purpose of the rite.

Thus in a spell to assist childbirth there was made 'a dwarf of clay to be placed on the forehead of the woman who is giving birth' (Pap. Leyden 340, recto 12, 6).

Miniature hands, seals, and crocodiles were powerful to ward off evil, doubtless by playing it, sending it up, or devoring it (Zaubersprüche, verso 2, 4; cf. Za xxxix. [1901] 87). A great number of the amulets found in such abundance in Egypt is the evidence of a magical nature, all, indeed, except those whose purpose was exclusively funerary. Like the images mentioned above, amulets can, if explicable at all, always be interpreted by the principle of sympathetic magic in one or other of its various forms (see Pettit, Amulets, in 1914).

The materials of which such images and amulets should be made are nearly always specified, and it is evident that this was considered a matter of vital importance. Here we meet with a new aspect of sympathetic magic, namely the doctrine of properties; every plant, stone, metal, and colour possessed its own peculiar virtue, which prompted its use in the diverse cases. Wax and clay were very commonly employed, and perhaps not only because they were easy of manipulation; their plasticity may have been thought symbolic of a wide adaptability. Astrological myths assign a divine origin to various substances; thus the bees that supply the wax are said to have sprung from tears shed by Rē (Pap. Salt 335, 2, 5-6, [unpublished]), and the cedar-tree emanated from the sweat of Osiris (ZA xlvii. [1910] 71).

Images were not immediately potent of themselves, but had to be charged with magical power in one way or another. The oral rite is usually recited over them (ὁ μὲν ἀριθμόν πάσην, and this transitory element of magical magic seems to have sustained their continuous efficacy.

A fabulous story the magician: Her, the son of Pa-nehe, made a lithe image of four hearers and provided writing upon them, gave them breath of respiration, and made them live' (Erman, Stücke, Leipzig, 1899, p. 87).

Elsewhere the ceremony of 'opening the mouth,' familiar from the funerary ritual, was performed over the magical figure (Pap. Turin, 151, 7), and offerings and incense were presented to it in token of its power animating condition (ib.; Pap. Leyden 346, 2, 3). Drawings upon papyrus or rag were treated in exactly the same way, and seem to have been equally effective (Pap. Leyden 346, 4b; Pap. Turin, 51, 7, 3); or the figures of the gods whose help was invoked could be sketched on the patient's hand, and licked off by some one (Pap. Turin, 6b). At times the mediating image could be dispensed with; the magician pronounced his spell, and then spat on the diseased limb (Ebers, 30, 17).

Magically charged amulets, images, or beads were often attached to the person whom they were designed to protect or locales; some kind of contact was a prime necessity of Egyptian magic; e.g., we read of spells that were fastened to the left foot (Pap. Leyden 345, verso 4, 3); but the neck was actually the spot where magic images were worn (Zaubersprüche, recto 1, 3, 8, 3, and passion). The string or strip of rag employed for this purpose was usually tied into magical knots (gυμένα), seven being the favourite number. Such knotted strings have often been found and are to be seen in many collections (Erman, Zaubersprüche, p. 31). In other lands than Egypt the idea of the magical knot is frequently to 'bind' the hostile force; but, though references to binding demons can be found in Egyptian magical texts (Pap. mag. Harris, verso A 9), it is not in connexion with knots. One view that seems to have been taken of the knot was that, whatever were obstacles, as e., in the following words put into the mouth of a magician:

"If the patient is between these seven knots, which Horus has made on his body, I will not allow the sun to shine," etc. (Pap. Turin, 158, 8).

Particularly interesting is a spell where twelve gods were invoked.

These were drawn 'on a rag of fine linen to be tied into twelve knots, and fastened to them bread, but it has no effect. To be placed on the neck of a man' (Pap. Leyden 346, 2, 3).

Here evidently each knot was put under the guardianship of a special deity, and thus formed a divinely warded protection between the malignant influence and its possible victim.
Initiative or significant actions were frequently performed with the apparatus of the magical rite; we have seen how a waxen image of Apophis was thrown into the fire and destroyed, and similar cases could be multiplied.

At this point may be mentioned the composite stele known as Clêp of Horus; these are of comparatively late date (fact that medicine and after), and are covered with magical texts of the kind described above, and with sculptured figures, chief among which is the figure of Horus with his feet on which stele. So often, have been placed in buildings for their protection, and especially to rid them of snakes and scorpions (see Golenischeff, Metternichstele; G. Daressy, Textes et destins monopoles, Cairo, 1903).

Magical rites could not be performed at any time and under any conditions, but strict rules and restrictions had to be observed. Of these some, like the injunction to the magician to stand "with his face to the East" (Pap. Leyden 347, 12. 10), are of so many different types that they elude classification. Times and seasons, like every other aspect of Egyptian life, have their own specific properties; some days were lucky and others unlucky, in part at least through mythological associations (for such calendars on papyri see art. CALENDAR [Egyptian], § 2). Such considerations had to be borne in mind with magical accounts, where magical rites were concerned, and perhaps more attention was paid to the question of time than is indicated in the brief instructions usually given as to the performance of the manual rites.

Of one spell we learn that it had to be recited "at even tide, when the sun is setting" (Zauberprints, verso 3. 7); in another case seven knots have to be tied, "one in the morning, and another in the evening, until seven knots are complete" (Zauberprints, verso 3. 5).

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plannations, it explains by superstitions reasons. So far as medicine was practised without a sense of mystery and without making appeals to faith, it was the work of the latter but, wherever there was consciousness of its exceptional, occult nature, it might be said to lapse back into the domain of magic. Egyptian medical incantations are best known in its physical and logical speculations; the *materi media*, on the other hand, remained permanently under the influence of magical conceptions.

The Egyptian alchemic treatise quoted by Maspero (PSBA xiii. (1891) 502) exactly defines the difference between the physician (sensu) and the practitioner of magic. The former exercises his functions as a physician, 'mechanically and by book,' while the latter is a 'priest' (papésis), 'acting through his own religious feeling' (διὰ τῆς ἰδιαὶς ἰδεῶν καὶ τῶν). There appears to be no common word for 'magician' (σεμ, 'charmer,' e.g., in Ebers, 99, 3, is very rare), and magicians certainly formed no caste of their own. It is in accordance with the homogeneity of religion and magic emphasized above (§ 2) that the priests should have been the chief repositories of magical knowledge, and particularly those priests whose function was to be versed in the sacred writings. The subjects of many of the books kept in the libraries of the temples could not be described otherwise than as magical (see H. Brugsch, Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1889-90, p. 156; cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 263). The 'lector-priest' (chrest-kos) is specifically known as one versed in the sacred incantations (Pop. med. Berlin, s. 10), as having discovered important incantations (Pop. med. London, s. 12), and as being endowed with the gift of prophecy (Pop. Philo, 82). In short, priests, doctors, and sacred scribes alike received the final touches to their education at colleges called 'the house of life' (per-ōnkhô); of these we know but little.

Socho, Pap. eg. 93, describes how he was summoned by Pharaoh to restore the per-ōnkh (in Sais) *because the king knew the value of that art* (i.e. the medicinal art) (ZA xxxvii. (1859) 74). There was a per-ōnkh at Abydos, apparently attached to the temple (Loure. A 25 = ZA xxvii. (1859) 110). The word *per-ōnkh* among the bilingual decrees is rendered in the demotic as 'scribes of the house of life' (see Griffith, Ptolemaic Papryi, Manchester, 1909, p. 31, n. 13, Stories of the High Priests, p. 19). Magic could be learnt as the per-ōnkh (ib.; Pap. mag. Harris, 6, 19).

On the whole, we receive the impression that less importance was attached in Egypt than in other lands to the personality of the magician; his powers might in some cases be due to special gifts, but, broadly speaking, the belief in magic was a tribute to knowledge, and not to the supernatural powers of certain men. The instructions appended to magical incantations usually presuppose that private individuals could use them for their own profit if only they observed the right precautions. Thus the magician's presence was not essential, and his authority lay solely in the fact that he was the possessor of magical knowledge; the epithet *magician* (râtsh, rodsh, rodsh-hi) was commonly applied to him (Bek. Stel. 11; Ebers, 1. 9).

This point is well brought out in a passage describing the all-wise of the Pharaoh Amosis:

"An oracle was obtained from Sothis, one of the gods of writing; the reverence of Thoth is beside him, and he gives to him knowledge of things, so that he guides scribes according to his wish in one great of hi, 20 = 10, 9; Thoth, Urbanitae, iv. (Leipzig, 1900) 19 f.

10. *Celebrities in magic._—Egyptian-wise, we will begin with the gods. Thoth was the most powerful of all magicians; in the west and the north the invention of his name gave rise to the name of Hermes Trismegistos (q.v.); see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 58). The skill of Thoth as a magician is associated with his reputation as the inventor of hieroglyphics and in its physical and mathematical speculations; in the myth of Osiris he played the part of 'physician of the eye of Horus' (Pap. med. Horae, 14, 5). Isis enjoyed great fame as a sorceress, manifestly an account of the nurse device to protect her infant son Horus (Pap. Turin, 31+77. 6; Ebers, 1. 12 and passim). Horus himself was not devoid of magical ability, though it was mainly in his skill Boee of the Beothos that this was displayed; the Horus of Letopolis is described as the 'chief physician in the house of Re' (Pap. Turin, 124. 5). The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Uraeus-snake on the forehead of Re' and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Re, finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Ptah or Rê by name; she is often referred to as Wret-hi, 'she who is great of magic' (Sethe, Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumsws. Aegypt., v. (Leipzig, 1812) 129). Her temple was at Abydos, and Thoth, god of the 11th dpyn, practised medicine and composed anatomical books. Under King Zoser of the 11th dpyn, lived the wise Inthepet, whose skill as a doctor led to his identification with the Greeks Asclepius; like Amenhotep, son of Hepu, a famous man of the reign of Amenophis III. (XVIIIth dpyn), Inthepet was in late times worshipped as a god (see art. HEROES AND HEROINES, 1. 2). The prince Hardeleft, a son of Cheops, was similarly noted for his deep learning and wise utterances; he was the reputed discoverer of various books of hik' incorporated in the Bible (Seth, Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, i. 18). Another royal prince, who was high priest of Ptah, because the hero of many tales in which he appears as a great magician; this was Khamwese, one of the innumerable progeny of Flanesees it. (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 21). In the later Greek and patrician literature reference is made to various Egyptian magicians of note, which is the last native Pharaoh, who plays an important part in the legend of Alexander the Great.

11. *The nature of Egyptian magic._—The magical rite, as described in § 7, was by no means wholly irrational in its methods; indeed, granting its premises, namely the existence of gods and demons, the theory of possession, the principles of sympathy, and the doctrine of properties, their manner of setting to work was perfectly logical and businesslike. Here, at first sight, we are face to face with a paradox; the essence of hik' we stated to reside in its opposition to the mechanism of ordinary action (§ 1), yet now the methods of magic are declared to be simple and straightforward. The fact is that no explanation of the magical rite is afforded by the consideration of its parts either critically or collectively; its explanation can be sought only in the concept of hik', which is a thing apart from, and, as it were, superimposed upon, the methods and premises of the magical rite, a sort of general principle making this what it is.1 Without the concept of hik' the magical rite would doubtless have seemed to the Egyptians no more than what to us it appears to be, a puerile, though not wholly meaningless.

principles, is more primitive and, for that very reason, more cosmopolitan, more literally devoid of attrihbuteable national traits, than magic. Anything which might be considered indigenous is usually secondary as well as comparatively unimportant, and, in any case, can rarely be identified with certainty. This is especially true of the two examples of classical antiquity, namely, Homeric magic and the records of classical magic in general. Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and practised by the common man, and even the literary record of magic theory and practice begins with Homer and covers every imaginable variety of particularity until the latest times. But, rich as they are, the records of classical magic are too incomplete and the possibility of filling the lacunae is too remote to warrant us in hoping that a search for the indigenous would meet with any success. We shall therefore omit all reference to this aspect of our subject. For this reason, too, as well as on account of the intimate cultural relations between Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the two nations as one.

r. Magic and religion.—From more than one point of view the civilization of classical antiquity is still quite familiar, though far more new, than the corresponding period of history, and it is still possible to distinguish with that of any other period in history. No civilization has shown such remarkable ability to observe, reflect, organize, and create in so many and so various ways, that it has been called the greatest genius of the world in any previous period of history. Yet and among all the higher civilizations of the world there is none in which magic—of all things the most relentlessly and essentially primitive—had such an abiding influence, none in which men had such a perennial interest in the subject, none in which the progress of magic from the lore of the farmer to the incantations of the philosopher is more clearly marked and more profoundly illustrated.

The paradox, however, is only apparent. Owing to its exaggerated conservatism, the religion of both nations always remained amazingly primitive, so primitive that it was always possible to distinguish it from magic on the basis of any essential details of ceremonial or of the generalizations from which they were derived. Even the doctrine of incarnation, with all the conclusions for which it is ultimately responsible, was never distinctive of the one as opposed to the other. It is obvious, therefore, that the Greeks and Romans were always in the position of their primitive ancestors—that they were utterly unable to distinguish clearly between magic and their religion on the basis of this or of any other criterion which, when seriously applied, would have left their traditional and religious ideas unimpaired. In the primitive religions of the world, men have transformed their once redoubtable magic into an interesting but harmless fossil. Their only course was to cling to the ancient distinction of official recognition.

According to this distinction, religion is prescribed, official, or organized cult. Magic is prohibited, secret; at most it is permitted, without being prescribed (N. W. Thomas, EBr ii 850, summarizing H. Hubert). Magic cannot be distinguished from religion by the doctrine of sympathy, or by any supposed necessary sequence of cause and effect, or even by its malevolent character. Religion, then, is the orthodox, magic is heterodox, it being understood, of course, that for the Greeks and Romans the criterion of orthodoxy was the official recognition of their own State. The god must be officially recognized by the State, and his ceremonial must be the one prescribed by the official experts of the State. Other gods, and therefore their ceremonies, are heterodox. Even orthodox gods must be approached only by prescribed ceremonies.

This Greco-Roman retention of the primitive distinction between magic and religion is part of the ancient root system of human thought which, in its unchanging essential combination of words and pantomime. There was perhaps once a period when even the most glib \-wasiworded" of attributible national traits, than magic. Anything which might be considered indigenous is usually secondary as well as comparatively unimportant, and, in any case, can rarely be identified with certainty. This is especially true of the two examples of classical antiquity, namely, Homeric magic and the records of classical magic in general. Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and practised by the common man, and even the literary record of magic theory and practice begins with Homer and covers every imaginable variety of particularity until the latest times. But, rich as they are, the records of classical magic are too incomplete and the possibility of filling the lacunae is too remote to warrant us in hoping that a search for the indigenous would meet with any success. We shall therefore omit all reference to this aspect of our subject. For this reason, too, as well as on account of the intimate cultural relations between Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the two nations as one.

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the bewildering array of phenomena with which we have to deal. For instance, it will be seen at once that the only effect of magic, so far as magic itself is concerned, is, so to speak, to define its social position. It does not necessarily destroy or even impair the belief in the reality and power of magic as such; on the contrary, from the very nature of the case, that belief is necessarily borne along with it. Hence the persistence of magic in a civilization otherwise so advanced as was that of classical antiquity.

To anticipate a little, but not to argue this test of orthodoxy, e.g., in the case of Cato's cure for a sprained hip (de Agr. 160). By any other test it is patently magic; but Cato did not consider it magic, or he would not have recommended it. It was orthodox, i.e., it was Roman, it had an immemorial tradition in the Roman countryside; at the most, it had become secularized. By the same test the old Roman ritual for calling out and appropriating the gods of a conquered city (Macrob. III. ix. 7) is religion, and the operation known as 'calling down the moon' is magic. Again, the same criterion is responsible for the well-known method of raising the heterodox to the orthodox by a process of official recognition. This device of naturalizing foreign cults and thereby encompassing within the sphere of their influence heaven and hell as well as humanity, is several times illustrated in the religious history of the Romans.1 All foreign religions, therefore, were classified as magic. The foreign cult, as such, was occasionally despised, but quite as often it was thought to be full of terrible possibilities in the way of mysterious knowledge. This was especially the case if its possessors were an older nation or a nation far away in space or time. Despite their narrowly good sense, the Greeks were much impressed by the pretentious wisdom of the East, as after them were the Romans by the complicated mummeries of the Eleusines. Nations living far away, particularly those who live at or near the place where the sun rises from the under world in the morning or goes down into it at night, are notable for their knowledge of magic. Under such circumstances as these whole nations may be endowed by nature with magic power, especially for some given thing. Remoteness in time is, if anything, a more powerful factor than remoteness in space. When a faith has become current thereby becomes magico-religious. In Italy the term la vecchia religione is known to be used as a synonym for 'magic.' So the elder and alien race is apt to be looked upon, especially by those who superseded it in the same country, as a race of formidable magicians—so formidable, in fact and, by reason of their antiquity, so much nearer the days of the gods, that they themselves are sometimes believed to have been of supernatural origin. But they are still heterodox, they belong to the old order of things, they are more or less allied to the Lords of Misrule.

One of the most characteristic features of magic is a direct result of this persistent association of the heterodox and the foreign. From the very first, there is no magician like the one from foreign parts (Theocritus ii. 162 and often), no magic like the image of the other. Homer (Hymn. to Demeter 210), as the poet is careful to tell us, was 'Egyptian'; the very word 'magic' suggests the influence of Persia; and to the end of the Empire the native practitioners had no vogue as compared with that of his rival who was, or pretended to be, 'Egyptian.' 2 It is true, of course, that 'magic is prohibited, save to the most, not prescribed.' But, so far as classical antiquity is concerned, these distinctions seem to be secondary and derivative. Magic was prohibited because it was heterodox. The Roman, in his characteristic secret rites of any sort, above all, foreign rites with mysteries, were those Greek cults so much affected by the Greeks themselves. If the Greeks objected to the secrecy of magic, it could only have been because magic itself was implicated in them both for the

1 E. Schmitz, 'Kultübertragungen,' in RVV vii. 1199.

2. Magic and legislation.—The general reputation of magic at all times was due to the same criterion; it was always illicit, it was always distrusted, it always had a bad name. And when the law stepped in as it did at an early date in both Greece and Rome—the orthodox and the legal, the heterodox and the illegal, became synonymous terms. Magic was then criminal, and punished accordingly. The reason, before the law began at an early period, but, so far, at least, as Greece is concerned, our records are too incomplete to give a very satisfactory idea of the question. In Greece, however, as in Rome, it concerned itself most seriously with the matter of strange religions—a burning question as soon as communication with the outside world became possible and extended; still further, the fact that, after a long period of war, alien beliefs and rituals came pouring in from every side. From the Decenniviri to Theodosius and beyond, the Roman laws against magic were confirmed and reinforced, the domain of magic was at once particularized and extended, new laws were frequently passed, and the jurisprudence of the subject grew steadily in volume and importance. And, so far as the legal aspect of magic is concerned, it may be emphasized now that, whether in Greece or in Rome, the ultimate foundation and guide of procedure was always the old criterion itself becomes magic.

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considered dangerous, and no doubt it was largely for this reason that magic was so rigorously proscribed and its practitioners sought to live as an illicit, secret affair alive.\(^1\)

The recorded history of Roman legislation on the subject of foreign rites begins with the cause célèbre of its type, the Senatorius consultum de Sacrificiis in 15 B.C. (Liv. xxxvi. 35).\(^2\) In connection with which it was ordered that all books of divination and magic should be destroyed. The history of Roman legislation on the subject of magic, whether directed against specific persons or groups, is a long one, beginning with the Decennviri (Leges XII. Tit. viii. 5).\(^3\) Notable in later days was the Lex Cornelia de Scelestis et Veneficiis in 82 B.C.\(^4\) Dio Chrysostomus (50) tells us that in 32 B.C. the triumvirs, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, banished the magicians and astrologers, and refers (ii. 36) to a speech by Maccenas against foreign religions and secret societies for purposes of magic. In A.D. 16 Tiberius banished the magicians and mathematici, and in the same reign L. Pittanius was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock and P. Marcus was executed 'more priestly' outside the Walls (Str. ii. 33).\(^5\) Manco Sciarus committed suicide to escape a suit for magic (ib. vi. 29). Under Nero, Servilia, the young daughter of Soranus, was accused of selling a certain 'power to prolong the means to have her father's life by magic rites (ib. xvi. 31).

The prescriptions of Tiberius were renewed by Claudius (ib. xii. 52) and Vitellius (Suet. Vital. 14).\(^6\) After the death of the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors, magic was marked down by the laws of Diocletian against the mathematici, Manichaei, and mathematici (Coll. xv. iii. 1 [Huschke]). Sometimes the law prescribed severe and punishable penalties, and how far the Roman law on its own account had been extended by the 3rd cent. A.D. may be seen from the Sententiar of Julius Paulus\(^7\) on the Lex Cornelia de Scelestis:

\textit{nullum dam, si eit id donec laciunt, tamen maiam exempli res est, tulliores in metallos, ··· seminestere in manchum anibus parte bonorum requestare; quod si ex «hoc mulier aut homo peribet, summo supplicio adhibitur. Qui sacra impia nocturna ut quem obruentium, deligentum, ··· fecerint facendas curam, aut ··· religiosum aut ··· incensore. Qui hominem inomoventem esse eis saeulique ··· templumve eius movitur, ··· templumve puerorum hostia oblicuit, vel si hominum sit capta peccatum. Magia artis ··· seminum saepissimo afficit placuit, ··· est, bestias obici aut ··· magis salutis.}·

It is sometimes in fact true that the magic of the time was used to bring about evil to others.

**3. Derivation and definition.**—The words for 'magic' in Greek and Latin record some real or supposed fact or power of the human organism which was sometimes not recognized as such by the average person, or was recognized only by a few, and this fact or power was not always clearly defined. What these words indicate is that there existed in the ancient world a certain type of activity which was given certain names, but these names do not always correspond to the modern terms for 'magic'.

The word for 'magic' in Greek is 
\textit{muqai,}, a sense that appears to go back to the mythical and religious practices of the ancient Greeks. The word 
\textit{muqai} is used in a variety of contexts, including in the context of religious rituals, divination, and the like. It is often used to refer to activities that are considered to be magical or sorcerous in nature.

In Latin, the word for 'magic' is \textit{malorum}. The word \textit{malorum} is derived from \textit{malus}, meaning 'evil' or 'bad'. It is often used to refer to activities that are considered to be malevolent or harmful in nature.

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excellent illustration of the Greek and Roman attitude towards an alien faith to which allusion has already been made. In its original and restricted sense θεια is nothing more than magic or alchemy. Porphyry (C. C. 3, 5, 8 f.); Plato, Ath. 1. 229 e. It is well known that this faith, which was imported to Greece by means of the Phoenician Macri (so called, Plut. Flam. 105 b. 5) and was, as such, not only an indirect illustration of the great religions of the world. It was importuned, and had no official standing; even though impressive, it was unauthorized. Between these two extremes stands the well-known Roman sect of 'magic,' as contrasted with the genuine, so-called 'pagan' religion. This sect, so-called, was often of the family type, kept up in one's own house or on the street corner, and was not looked upon with great respect by the great religions of the world.

It is often true that a man has the right to call himself a magician, and to escape from its old associations with magic (see ALCHEMY).

It has already been noted that divination, even by the criteria of official sanction, occupies a more or less indeterminate position between magic and religion. Indeed, parrela and magic are so thoroughly commingled that even in ancient times there is often merely a syncretism for the one and the other. The difference is in the manner in which the sub-division is supplied by official sanction. Nekyomantia, for example, was religions if used in a family cult, i.e., it was presumed that a man has the right to call himself a magician, and to escape from its old associations with magic (see ALCHEMY).

Under any other circumstances it is not only magic, but one of the most formidable and characteristic operations of magic. The same distinction holds good in another very important and extensive branch of divination, one in which every one was interested and which all the schools of philosophy, especially the Stoics, investigated and discussed at great length—the source, valuation, and interpretation of dreams (σνασοπωρία; see DREAMS AND SLEEP, vol. v. p. 301, and cf. Artenidorus, Onomasticon, a curious practice of the 2nd cent. AD, which is still living). The method officially sanctioned for securing true and prophetiie dreams (σνασοπωρία, σνασοπορία) was incubatio, but the magic papyri (esp. the Papp., Amsterdam, Hug. Bos.; see also the papp. 1. 62) hold the aforesaid formulae and charms for obtaining such dreams. Hubert would also include within the sphere of magic such practices as divination per fortes with verses of Homer, Vergil, or the Scriptures, (πράγματες, ἀριστοτέλους, Athen. 1. 9, 261 F) and, in general, any ceremonial for purposes of divination which implies the use of magic rites in our sense of the word. By that criterion he should agree with Hubert that divination in private cults was strongly tinged with magic. The same was true even of official divination, although this was when the oracles were revived in the 2nd cent. and was for historical reasons. In all these cases, however, magic was distinguished from religion by the usual criterion of official sanction.

II. MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD.—Until the age of Pericles the history of our subject is largely confined to what Hubert calls the 'mythology' of magic. This is partly due to the fact that our record is of the fragmentary and incomplete kind. The evidence belongs to types less likely to be concerned with such a subject. But it is fairly certain that not far from the time of Pericles magic itself rapidly assumed greater importance in the everyday life of the nation. By that time the average man's faith in the old gods was rapidly diminishing; and among the factors contributing to the growth and spread of magic and kindred ideas in any people the decay of orthodox belief is by no means the last to be considered.

1. The magicians.—Among mythical magicians, the Telchines (of Telchines), the Dactyls, the Curetes and the Corybantes (see KOUETES and KORYBANTES)—hold a position which amply illustrates the fundamental ideas about magic already mentioned. The first of these were related to the Hellenic inhabitants of Greek lands—the Telchines, of Rhodes (Strabo, p. 472; Diod. Sic. v. 55, though here, as with the others, there is a tendency in the text to carry away the truth (of origin); the Dactyls, of Cretan or Phrygian Ida (Strabo, p. 355; Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1129); and the

1 C. A. Lobeck, Agathopoeia, Königsberg, 1830, p. 452.
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Curetes, of Arcasmania.1 As such, they were all regarded as servants of the gods and, indeed, as themselves more or less divine; and, in some cases, they actually had a cult.2 Even the Telchines, a community of smiths mentioned in the myths of Greece, were in their time founders of cults (Diod. Sic. v. 55; cf. Paus. ii. ix. 5). But they all belong to the old order, they are all heterodox; they are all chthonic; they are all laced (Strabo, p. 601).3 Indeed, the Telchines are inimical to the gods and spiteful towards men. They use the water of the Styx in their charms (Nomus, Dione, xiv. 36); they are malignant sorcerers, who wither the plants, ruin the crops, and make barren the most desirable animals.

Most notable is the possession of these clans in the history of the arts. As the Cyclopes were the servants of Hephaestus, so these semi-divine corporations of smiths were the first workers in iron and copper, gold and silver; in fact, they were the inventors of metallurgy. Hence the Telchines in particular are aptly compared by W. Pape4 to the Koboide of Germanic mythology. These clans of demonic master magicians know all the secrets of nature. The Daityli were masters of music and of music (Plato, Theaet. 152a). They were regarded as inventors of the famous Ephesiaca (Gree. Myth. ii. 15 [PG viii. 751]). The Centaurs Chiron and Nessus are also masters of the healing art. The gift of prophecy, though naturally common to all by reason of their magic powers, is especially associated with the Curetes. Among all nations the most notable symptom of the power to prophecy is an ecstatic state of mind.

The assumed origin and pattern of the Corybantic worship, the birth of the most widely spread cult of this nature among the Greeks and Romans, was the wild noise and clatter of the armed dance of the Curetes around the baby Zeus—really a primitive spell, an άρφοράς, to keep the child from harm (see KOUKIES and KOBYNTAI).

The great individual magicians of Greek mythology are Prometheus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 845; Val. Flacc. vii. 366), Agamemnon,5 Melampus (Apollod. ii. ii. 2), Oenone (ib. iii. xii. 6), Promethoe (ib. iii. xvi. 1), Agamem or Perimede (Roscher, s.v.); Theoc. ii. 16 and schol.), Circe (Roscher, ii. 1193), and Medea (ib. s.v.). The special, though not the exclusive gift of all inventors of magic, Prometheus, the wise and kindly Titan, belongs to the old regime. Melampus comes from Thessaly, the distant land of magicians. All the rest (except Oenone, and even she is a water-nymph) are in some way connected with the sun or—what amounts to the same thing—with the sea or the moon. Agamem or is the grandson of Poseidon. The rest are descendants of Helios. Agamem or is also the beloved of Poseidon. The greatest of all are Circe and Medea—both of the seed of Helios and Poseidon, both from Colchis, the distant land where the sun god himself rises at dawn from the ocean stream.

Circe. In the Homerid account—the most marvellously correct and sympathetic portrayal in all literature of her curious, abnormal, not quite human type—Circe dwells far away in the mystic and trackless regions of Circe, but no more consciously cruel than the child who separates some luckless fly from its wings, this ίγνατας, whose special power is metamorphosis, amuses herself with enticing such wandering mariners as come within her sphere to drink magic wassail made straight

1 Roscher, ii. 1088.
2 ib. ii. 1611.
3 Reisch, p. 1161 f.
4 Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen, Brunswick, 1875, s.v.
5 Tappe.
6 Daeubner, p. 18, n. 7.

way turn them into swine. Like any other queen of the mermaids, Circe is immoral rather than immoral. Nothing could be more in harmony with her type than her first meeting with Odysseus and their subsequent life together, or than the fact that, in the long run and all things considered, the Wanderer never had a more disinterested friend among women.

Curetes.—Medea is a relative of Circe and, like Circe, was sometimes worshipped as a goddess (Hes. Theog. 955 ff.; Alcman, cited by Athenag. Legat. pro Christ. 14); in fact, the Romans identified her with Angitia and the Bona Dea (Macrob. i. xii.; Serv. on Aeneid. iii. 209). Mythical magic is most distinctly the sorceress, and her powers as such are the most varied and terrible. As Hubert says,6 she is evidently the most highly developed personality in a group of homonyms. It was therefore the constant tendency of tradition to make her the originator of rites and charms which previously had no definite pedigree at all or were attributed to some more obscure rival. At all events, in song and story, in the long annals of magic itself, there never has been a sorceress to compare with Medea. Medea, the beautiful daughter of Aeetes, the king of the Curetes, was mistress of the goddess of the crossways, Medea τρακόρωτισσα, daughter of Λετώ, and granddaughter of the sun-god, is still the arch-enchantress of all the Occident. She is first and foremost a φάραγες. It is therefore to her enchantments, particularly to her knowledge of φάραγες that her power is derived. Her box of magic simples is often mentioned (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 802, iv. 25), and in art she is often represented as holding it in her hand. Her charms are innumerable.7 She can restore youth, bestow invulnerability, hurl the dragon of the golden fleece to slumber, quiet the storms, make the rivers pause on their course, call down the moon from heaven, etc. Indeed, Apollonius's description (iv. 1665-72) of her procedure when, from the deck of the Argo, she cast the evil eye on the giant Talus far away on the cliffs of Crete and brought him down to his death is enough to chill one's blood. But Medea is also beneficent, and K. Seeliger (in Roscher) even suggests that this was really her primitive character. She heals the wounds of the bewitched savages, cures Hercules of his madness, frees the Corinthians from famine, and is even a prophetess.

Even in the fancy of the unlettered her memory never fades. She is the subject of a popular tradition of her continued to grow in its own way (Tib. i. 51, note, ed. K. F. Smith, New York, 1913). Special feasts of magic were supposed to have been her invention (e.g., Paus. ii. xii. 1), and, as the line just cited from Tibullius suggests, we may be sure that the litori

* carinimum valentium

Refax aequo devocere sidera∗

of Candida, to which Horace refers (Epod. xvii. 4) contained more than one charm claimed to be Medea's own. So, too, the magic plants and simples for which Thessaly was so famous were supposed to have sprung up in the first lane from the box of charms lost by Medea as she was passing over that land with her winged dragons (schol. Aristoph. Nuob. 749; Aristides, i. p. 76 [Dindorf]). Her fame in the Occident is so great that she is obliged to agree that she never lived among men; she was merely a child of popular fancy and the foster-child of a long line of literary artists few of whom were men of transcendent genius; and yet she reaches and dominates the most wonderful women in all classical antiquity. Poets, historians, orators, philosophers, even unimpressionable grammarians

2 Roscher, ii. 2463, for list and references.
and commentators—few fail to mention her. Ovid never escaped from her spell. From Homer to the last feeble echoes of rhetoric, and again in the renaissance of the modern world, here is a dominant personality, and the story of her love and her lover, her betrayal and her terrible revenge, has never grown old or lost its interest and charm.

For the guess, Medea is the typical Graeco-Roman enchantress. Her connexion with Hecate, her methods of discovering, securing, preparing, and administering her φάρμακα, and the large preponderance of φαρμακεία itself in her theory and practice of magic are all typical of every other enchantress both in literature and in life from Homer to the end of the classical world.

2. Their methods.—φάρμακα are either to be swallow, adulatoria, i. e. drinks to inspire love—or plasters. The distinction is medical, but it also Hecatean, and applies equally well to magic at any time. Circe uses a salve to restore her victims to human shape (Od. x. 391); Medea uses another to render Jason invulnerable (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1041 ff.), and still another—in the form of an aspersion—to put the dragon to sleep (ib. iv. 156); in the old Lesbian folk-tale Apollodorus gave Panax a box of salve which, when applied as directed, gave him youth and surpassing beauty (Aelian, Var. Hist. xii. 18; Serv. on Aen. iii. 279; Palaemon, Apoll. Rhod. x. 117; Dial. Mort. i. 27; Roscher, s. e. 'Phœon'). The shirt of Nessus and the robe of Creusa belong to the same type. Pamphila (Apoll. Met. iii. 21) so far went as to have a box filled with little caskets, each containing a special salve for given morphomachy.

Quite as ancient and characteristic is the φάρμακον taken as a drink. So Helen, herself a sorceress, administered her Egyptian nepenthe (Od. iv. 229-232) to every one who had been subjected to all her transformations (ib. x. 257); so Medea performed some of her feats. And here, again, the method is typical of later times. One branch of it—the use of φάρμακα or φάρμακον, i. e. drinks to inspire love—or perhaps the commonest and most characteristic feature of all ancient magic. It is to be noted here in Circe's case the process is not completed until she touches the victim with her ἑξητρητής, or magic wand. In art Medea is frequently represented with a wand; with a wand Athene makes Odysseus look young again (Od. xvi. 172); so Hermes overpowers our senses (II. xiv. 243; Od. v. 47) and, in fact, every one knows to this day the magician's outfit, even if he is nothing more than an ordinary sleight-of-hand performer, is complete without this ancien and dramatic accessory. The use of the wand seems to be an application of the doctrine of sympathy. It facilitates the transfer of the magician's power to the object upon which he wishes to exert it. But in all cases the wand is a help rather than an actual necessity. Exception, perhaps, in the case of the gods just mentioned, who, as such, are too powerful to need it, the really essential thing is the φάρμακον, and, as we have seen, the Graeco-Roman theory of magic presupposes that Circe had already prepared her φάρμακα to the accomplishment of the proper charm, and that Helen's nepenthe had been similarly treated either by herself or by the specialists from whom she had procured it.

The same rules hold good for φάρμακα in the art of healing. The sons of Autolycus bind up the wound of Odysseus, and stop the flow of blood with a salve (Od. xix. 457); the divine physician Asclepius, follows the same methods (Pind. Pyth. iii. 52; cf. iv. 217; schol. Isthm. vi. 53; cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 1194 (Jebb), and at all times the use of incantation as the usual and a remedy was so characteristic that one of our richest sources for the study of φάρμακα as magic is the works of the physicians from Hippocrates to Marcellus. Not that men like Hippocrates and Galen were much impressed by the magic of medicine; but their patients were, and any good doctor learns that his most powerful allies are the patient's own determination to recover and his belief that he is going to succeed. In popular medicine, of course, the survival of magic is much more marked. Here, too, the practice of Greek-Roman times is typical. The case of Iphicles.

(Apollod. i. ix. 12; Roscher, ii. 306) is an excellent example.

For ten years Iphicles could have no children. At last he consulted Melampus the seer. Melampus, whose specialty, like that of Moses the Arizonaut (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 916 ff.), was the language of birds, consulted the 'fares.' Taravias said that ten years before, while casting raisins, Iphicles had threatened his father Phylacus with the knife. It was then discovered that the knife had at that time, and presumably by Phylacus himself, been struck into the tree with which the life and well-being of Iphicles were bound up: and it had stuck there ever since. The knife was removed, the rust scraped off and prepared as a φάρμακον, and when Iphicles had taken it as prescribed, he immediately recovered his powers. Similarly, the wound of Telephus could be cured only by the rust on the spear of Achilles by which the wound had originally been inflicted. The principle is, of course, frequently illustrated in the later history of Graeco-Roman magic, and still survives in our own manner saying that 'the hair of the dog cures his bite.'

Other branches of magic referred to in this period are equally typical. According to Homer (Od. x. 516 ff.), Odyssey learned from Circe how to call up the dead, and the ceremonial of νομοδοματία, as the poet pictures it, always remained practically the same, of indeed the same, as in the Odyssey of dodecs, as described by Diog. Laert. (vill. 59, 82 ff.), show clearly that the type of the νομοδομί became finally fixed at a very early period. Again, the bag of winds, given by Zelus to Circe (Od. i. 16 ff.) repeats the symbolism of wind and weather magic in all times and countries. The same is true of the primitive rustic magic attributed to the Thracian Dionysus, particularly, the earliest of moulds, as described by Apollod. (ii. 28, 29), that 'drawing down the moon' was certainly familiar long before the time of Sophron, who, according to Suidas, was a contemporary of Xerxes. Presumably this charm was from the first looked upon as the special property of the Thessalian witches. At all events, the idea was firmly fixed in the time of Aristophanes (Nubes, 749) and was never afterwards forgotten.

III. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.—We have seen that, in conformity with the law of distance in time or space or both, the early Greeks attributed special magic powers to their alien predecessors, the Thracians, the Phrygians, and Curetes; and the Persians, and the Pelasgi—and that unusual activity and ability in magic were attributed to what at the time were felt to be such distant countries as Colchis, Egypt, Thessaly, that, even the islands of the mysterious nations of the Far East, and the still more mysterious peoples of the Far North took their turn as redoubtable magicians.

But the privacy always remained with Thessaly.

In the time of Aristophanes as in the time of Apuleius, Thessaly was par excellence the realm of magic and magicians. The literature is full of it, and evidently the literature was in this respect a faithful reflection of average opinion. And such opinion was at large. Numberless passages might be cited to show that in the Athens of Pericles, as long afterwards in the Rome of Augustus, the average professional enchantress found it 'a profession' to advertise herself as a 'genuine Thessalian.'

Orpheim.—Thrace too, though Pliny (HN xxx.

1 W. Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldkunde, Berlin, 1857, p. 207.
1. Plut. Sympos. viii. 8; Apul. Apologia ii. 32; Diog. Laert. ix. 7; Lucian, Neopy-
manes, 6; Apoll. Tyran. Ep. xvi). We now know 
that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster; indeed, 
there are told still later movements but a religious movement of 
the most momentous importance in the spiritual development of classi-
cal antiquity, and ultimately of the entire Western world (see p. 307). It was 
a heterodox and, therefore, 'magic.' This seems to 
be the first great and definite example 
within historical times of the implantation of a 
supernatural religion on Greek orthodoxy. 
Aristo-

2 For formulas attributed to Orphics see E. Abel, Orphica, 
Leipzig, 1883; E. Wundt, Einleitung in das 
(Leipzig, 1889). 
3 Op cit. p. 1409. 
4 Lobek, p. 625.
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The usual term for a magician is μάγος, but the word does not occur in the law of Dioscorides. 1 Veneraculae is the generic name for any magical ceremony, whether local or legal, and sometimes of σευδεία as the epithet of a magician is used in the same way. The same in Chronicles there was still more or less associated with his Persian origin, but with the first year of Titus 2 he comes under the ban of the law, and after Trajan's time is supposed to apply to some who practised illegal magic (Cod. Theod. xvi. 16; Cod. Justin. xi. 37.). Sages, 'wise woman,' is probably one of the oldest words for a 'witch' in the language, and the fact that it also means a 'tawd' is a sufficient indication of the ράγος social position as well as the real function and origin of a magician. She is one of the standard characters of the Roman elegy. Strabo (geog. v. 4. 4), Menander's 'screech owl,' was a name for women witches which records the popular Roman explanation of vampire.

As the Greeks looked upon Thessaly, so the old Romans appear to have looked upon Etruria, as a land of magic and magicians. Among other accomplishments, the Etruscans knew how to call up the dead, bring on rain, and discover hidden springs (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aquilex'). So, too, such ancient and mysterious peoples as the Sabines, Marsi, and Peligni were particularly famous for certain magical powers (Verg. Aen. vii. 758; Hor. Epod. v. 76, xxvi. 29, 60, Sat. i. 19 f.; HN xxi. 78; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 141 f.). The Romans saved the Etruscan haruspice even to an early date by naturalizing in Cato (de Agr. v. 4) classes it with the rituals of the augures, karioli, and Chaldaei as a matter which any solid farmer would do well to avoid; but, all the same, the name of Macrinius, who was unaware of its own charm for a spined hip has a suspiciously foreign sound. Even then Roman magic had been exposed for some time to the influx of foreign religions which set in soon after the Second Punic War (c. 218 B.C.). An overpowering influence of Hellenism began still earlier; and, as we have seen, Greek magic itself had been thoroughly commingled and overlaid with foreign elements. Finally, our principal Roman source for the details of magic practice is the poets—and the poets confine themselves for the most part to the Greek tradition. The result is that after Cato's time we are dealing not so much with Greek magic or Roman magic as with the magic of the Graeco-Roman Empire.

Before referring to the ancient literature connected with this subject—originally enormous and still formidable—it should be observed that no small amount of magic of a certain type had already passed into the category of what Hubert aptly calls 'mages éternelles,' 3 i.e., magic too old to have a definite origin, and so common that the fact that other material magic has long since been forgotten—in short, magic that has been secularized and is reckoned merely so much scientific knowledge already acquired. This explains why Pliny, a hard-headed Roman who had no use whatever for what he would define as magic, is for us a principal source for those magic formulae and incantations which long usage had made part of medicine and the various sciences with which he deals. And to a greater or less extent similar material may be found in any other ancient authority who deals with the same matters. One of the most important themes of Graeco-Roman science was the tradition of the given subject. Perhaps this explains the curious fact that in the course of time the very word φαραγός itself acquired the same meaning as 'magic.' 4

For these as well as for other reasons already given, few sources are so valuable to the student of Graeco-Roman magic as the ancient treatises concerned with medicine, especially if, like Pliny, the reader turn from an inveterate collector of useless information, or if, like the de Medicamentis of Parcellus, the book is intended for home use. One of the most notable and characteristic developments of antiquity, especially during and after the Alexandrian age, was the extent to which every conceivable subject of a scientific or quasi-scientific nature was treated as literature, particularly as a theme for verse. In such cases whatever magic there was in the subject was rarely forgotten. Valuable sources for the magic of medicine, therefore, are the Θηρηα and Alexipharmaca of Nicander (for in more famous works we look on the same subject by Aemilius Macer) and the long passage on snakes in Lucan, ix. 607-657, which doubtless owed much to Macer. Particularly valuable, too, are those writers who deal with some homelier branch of medicine, such as the art of the veterinary—like Palladius and the authors of Hippocrasia and the Mulomedicina. Especially notable among physicians are Zosimus of Amida, Theophrastus Nonnus, and Alexander of Tralles, but, above all, Cyranides and Dioscorides. Serinbonus Largus and Serenus Sammonicus also might be considered. In short, an ancient doctor, however wise or learned, is likely to contribute something to medical magic.

The writers on agriculture and kindred themes (e.g., Cato, Varro, Columella, the author of the Grieginae) made also contributions to botany, beginning with Theophrastus (Historia Plantarum), the naturalists, and the writers of φαραγός, like Neptunals, are valuable. The same is true of the Etruscans like Celcius, the poet of the Paradoxa, of the Aphrodisiaca, and of the Paramagni. In short, omitting for the present that large and important class of writers who deal with the subject merely as a literary asset, any ancient author, no matter what his theme may be, is likely to contribute something to our knowledge of contemporary magic.

It is the philosophers, however, especially the philosophers of a certain type, who are most intimately associated with the most remarkable phase in the history of our subject. We have already seen at how early a date the spiritual life of antiquity began to feel the impact of foreign ideas and systems. The Orphics, the Magi, the worship of Mithra, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews—these are merely the most important. And the process was facilitated to an indefinite extent by the conquests of Alexander, as it was again later by the extension of Roman power to whatever seemed worth while in the way of territory; the laws were passed and, as we have seen, were severely enforced. But they appear to have been practically powerless. The classical world was a babel of creeds, and in the time of Augustus the great capital was alive with a dozen different kinds of magicians, from the lowly saga to the impressive Chaldaeus. As yet the average man of birth and education was not, as one might say, dangerously affected by these different varieties of heterodoxy; but already powerful disintegrating influences had long been at work. As early as three hundred years before Augustus, the great tide of mysticism and related ideas was already rising. Orphism was prominent in it. But Orphism (and, for that matter, any other specific creed that one might name) was perhaps quite as much a symptom as a cause. Spiritual unrest was much-widened. Men needed wine and the old bottles could not contain it. The craving which for generations had been more or less vague grew in volume and intensity, and finally reached its acme in the 2nd cent. of our era. There were creeds then—like those of Isis and Mithra—that would seem to have just missed becoming great religions of the future. Then we have, too, in that same period, Apollonius of Tyana and the Perigrinius of Lucan, who were philosophers of the contemporary type,
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Theurgical philosophy was violently attacked by the Sceptics, Epicureans, and Cynics (Philostor. Apoll. Typos, viii. 39). Among the most important works were the Karâ Mâyâ of the Epicurean Celsus (probably the adversary of Origen, and the one to whom Lucian dedicated his Pseudomathema), and the Faîtrés Êphak of the Cynic Cœnasus. The Iphid Matheoueoros of Sextus Empiricus still survives, and it is unusually dreary reading. Like Lucian (e.g., in his Alexander seu Pseudomathema, Deorum, Philos., Philol.) he did not pretend to be only magic, but everything marvellous in either religion or mythology. Lucian feels that the wandering priests of the Syrian goddess are no better than any other magicians.

The Christians.—The attitude of the Christians, as we have seen, was different. According to Origen, Celsus had no right to deny the reality of magic; Augustine was quite certain that the rites used for summoning demons were efficacious (de Circ. Dei, xxi. 8); and, indeed, the Church Fathers in general are far from denying the existence and power of magic (Epiph. Har. xxxiv. 1; Tert. Apol. 35, de Anima, § 7; En. Prop. Evang. v. 14), especially in those early days when it was the duty of each individual to make the sharpest possible distinction between the Christians and the Gnostics. All heretics in general and Gnostics in particular were magicians, and their faith was magic (Iren. v. 14 3 f.; Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 26). Paganism in any form was magic. For the Alexandrian theurgia the difference between gods and demons was merely a difference in degree; for the Christians there was an absolute opposition between the two: God was good, all the demons were evil; the pagan gods were all demons, therefore all the pagan gods were evil. Any and all marvels which did not happen to be orthodox were the work of the demons.

It will be seen that this is really the familiar old distinction between the orthodox and the heterodox, with a much greater emphasis on the second. The conclusion, also ancient, that the one was good and the other evil, per se. And the same old distinction carried with it the same old assumption that the one was just as real as the other. The Christians never dreamed of a character of the combination, but, as Augustine (loc. cit.) saw, and as Porphyry himself acknowledged (quoted by En. Prop. Evang. v. 10), they could make no satisfactory distinction between gnostia, magia, and theurgia. Their principal characteristic was the character and intentions of the individual performing the given ceremony—a criterion hard to apply and of no real value in itself. Their theurgia became dissociated from religion; its position in society, like that of the theurgia of the old Egyptians, was not such as to give it the character of a religion; in fact, even without it the Alexandrian philosophy had all the outward appearance of religion. The attack on Apuleius was supported more by the various initiations of which he was so proud and the sanctity of the traditions which he invoked than by any specific acts of magic with which he was charged. Theurgia did afterwards enter religion, but it entered by the Gnostics, not by the philosophers—and this only in so far as the Gnostics who transformed it into a cult were recognized as a religious organization. So, too, the cult of Mithra gave a religious character to theories and ceremonies that in Pliny’s time (HA xxi. 17 f.) were described only as strange and fantastic and the Poinandres of Hermes Trismegistus, Asclepius, Diotyus Hortetis Trismegistis, the Hieroglyphica of Horapollon, and the astrological works.
The magic of Egypt.

The magic papyri.—But most important of all are the magic papyri which continue to turn up from time to time in Egypt. Hubert gives the list of those published down to 1904; for later finds and their discussion, the reader is referred to Von Chr.," etc., by H. Wilcken, "Papyrkunde" (Leipzig, 1912), the "Archivo für Papyrys suche," and the occasional reports in "Borsa"n's Jahresbericht des klassischen Altertums." The magic papyri belong to the latter part of the period between A.D. 300 and 500. Their discovery is peculiarly fortunate in view of the fact that they belong to a type which came under the ban of the law, and which some of the later emperors, notably Diocletian, made sedulous efforts to destroy. They are not original and independent works, but merely handbooks of magic, and, as might be expected, the editorial tradition is very poor. There are often different versions of the same thing; sometimes the hymn or formula in one version will be considerably abbreviated as compared with the same formula in another version; again, certain habitual formulae are often merely inverted. It is therefore extremely difficult to reconstruct any complete and trustworthy text of this type.

The authorities habitually quoted and the sources, so far as we can trace them, seem in some respects to bear out Pliny's statements in his account (HN XXX, 1 ff.) of the growth and development of magic. Pliny distinguishes the different primary sources of ancient magic: (1) the Persian school, founded by Zoroaster; his 2,000,000 verses on this important subject (note the childish exaggeration characteristic of the Chinese papyri) were translated into Greek by the Greeks of Athens, Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus belonged to this school, and also certain ancient Medes, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Democritus explained the magic books of Dardanus, which he had found in his tomb; they were written in Phoenician. (2) The second is the Jewish school, descended from Moses, lamesses, and lotapes ("Ap. Meg. p. 755; Apul. de Mag. 3; Ex. 71°-72"); and (3) the third is a Cypriote school.

It will be observed that Pliny makes no reference to the Egyptian school, which was particularly important and which, of course, is often mentioned in the papyri themselves. One of the most important authorities in magic alchemy is Maria, the Jewess, but the papyrus also refer to real philosophers like Thales, Anaxagoras, Heracleitus, and Diogenes. The genuine magicians, i.e. the contemporary or recent authorities, are generally referred to under such names as Zosimus, Synesius, Olympiodorus, Pelagius, and Iamblichus. Now and then we find such curious and characteristic documents as a letter of the magician Nephtos to Pammachitos, a charm of Solomon, or a letter of Pithys, the Thessalian, to Osthanes. This gives some idea of the activities of the Alexandrian magicians towards the tradition which they followed.

It is no longer possible to trace the Persian, druidical, and Brahmanical elements in this strange compound. Assyro-Chaldaean influence, of course, has been strong, but it appears to have been indirect. Jewish influence, on the contrary, was both strong and direct, the magic papyri being strongly affected by Jewish influence. The influence of the Hermetic tradition of real magic. But, as Hubert remarks, they brought no organized system to bear upon the Greek-Roman type, but merely introduced certain important elements of magic. Especially important here was the Bible, which was introduced into the Egyptian by way of the Hermetic tradition, after being translated from Greek, and furnished part of the more or less peculiar mythology of magic at this time. There are also extensively mentioned in incantations, especially the different forms of his name (Aoth, Abnath, Athabath, Abrian, Adonis, etc.). Especially frequent, too, are the names of Moses, Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, and the various archangels. F. G. Kenyon has explained 'Abraxas' as a corruption of the Hebrew benediction hab-brenkak dachrav, 'pronounce the blessing,' which still survives in the magic of modern times as the familiar 'abracadabra.' Hebrew words more or less corrupted are frequent in the papyrus, and Christian influences also evident; it followed in the wake of Judaism, and, though naturally not so strong, is of the same general type.

But one of the most remarkable contributions of all is that of Egypt, as we might expect of a country so ancient, so full of pretentious wisdom, with a language so full of optical arrastra, utterly strange, which to the ordinary outsider seemed so hopelessly complicated and mysterious. The last two qualifications alone—both sovereign for charms—are enough to establish the reputation of Egypt as a land of magic and magicians. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the Jews, the Egyptians contributed a complete, organized system of magic to the combination. The fact that, as we learn from the 'Book of the Dead,' a magician could be prosecuted shows that the old Egyptians had long since separated magic from religion by the familial criterion of official recognition. So far as the Greeks and Romans are concerned, the great name here is Hermes Trismegistus. He is not only the principal vehicle and interpreter of Egyptian magic, but, as we have seen, the Hermetic tradition is quite as powerful in the articulate presentation of the Hebrew contributions.

All these foreign influences on the theory and practice of Greek-Roman magic of this later period are more or less clearly traceable in the magic papyri. But it is to be observed that they are never clearly differentiated. Isis, e.g., reveals the wonderful art of magic to Horus. This is all well enough; it is all well enough; but Isis and Horus were one of the same. But Isis and Horus were one of the same.

V. THEORY OF MAGIC.—The procedures of magic, especially of magic so highly developed as was that of Greece and Rome, are, at first sight, bewilderingly complex. To the main ideas, the essential principles from which they all derive and upon which they are based. To the main ideas, the essential principles from which they all derive and upon which they are based.
are all founded, are simple, universal, and eternal. The fundamental purpose of magic is to compel by supernatural means; the primary object and supposed result of every charm is some form of constraint. Possession or obsession (παράγως) is a constraint, any form of constraint, as lyanthrophia, a constraint, 

The language of plants and the details of ritual are largely suggested and guided by some form of this fundamental idea. One sees it most clearly in such symbolic acts as the tying of knots, the driving of nails, and the binding of images.

The object of every magic act is to put beings or things into or take them out of a state in which certain movements, certain changes, certain phenomena must inevitably ensue. A character or condition is either produced or suppressed, a spell is either imposed or removed.

The doctrine of sympathy.—One of the great fundamental principles of magic art is the doctrine of sympathy; but, while the doctrine of sympathy exists, not indeed to explain all, this would be expecting too much of such a phenomenon as magic, in spite of the fact that its deductions are, in their way, so amazingly logical. It is also true that magic is supposed to work in two ways; it either reaches its object independently and directly and acts at once, as it were, automatically, or—and this was the prevailing theory of the Greeks and Romans—it reaches its object indirectly through the agency of some intervening power to whom its behests are addressed and by whom they are executed. The distinction is important and enlightening; but here, again, we must not expect too much of the magician; he is not always a clear thinker, and he has an inveterate habit of calling all known powers to his aid, whether they happen to be logically related or not.

The doctrine of sympathy is most clearly seen in the direct method. The simplest and most common form of the doctrine of sympathy is that in which the magic power possessed or acquired by a given thing works upon the desired object by contact. The virtue of the amulet (see CHARMS AND AMULETS) is shared by the person who wears it, the virtue of philtres and φαραγωγεῖν of any kind is appropriated by those who take them as directed. It may be observed, however, that even here, so far as the general natural power had already intervened in the preparation of the given article; and the magician's characteristic method of phalalizing for power is naïvely illustrated by the rule that in preparing a φαραγωγεῖν one should combine ingredients which individually are capable of producing the desired effect. The reasoning is evident. The large use of magic of this type, i.e., φαραγωγεῖν, helps to explain the magic of the Greeks and Romans, which was considered the supernatural power had already intervened in the preparation of the given article, and the magician's characteristic method of phalalizing for power is naïvely illustrated by the rule that in preparing a φαραγωγεῖν one should combine ingredients which individually are capable of producing the desired effect. The reasoning is evident. The large use of magic of this type, i.e., φαραγωγεῖν, helps to explain the magic of the Greeks and Romans, which was considered the

Primitive medicine is a fearsome adventure for the patient. In rare cases the mana inheres in the object as such, but this is generally a secondary condition. As a rule, the mana is acquired, or merely accidental. Some objects are only conductors of mana—which explains why they can be used for apparently contradictory purposes. Other simple ingredients in a large number of charms—such as honey, flour, rain-water, etc.—have lost their original significance. Objects are according to the usual rules—some real or fancied resemblance, some association (such, e.g., with the name of a god, etc. A certain thing, e.g., is yellow, therefore it is good for jaundice. Such odd names for plants as 'Love's Beard' or 'Venus' Ears' record associations and found widespread originally secret. The place from which an object comes is often a decisive factor: articles found in the public baths were magic. The Christians considered certain filthy animals magic because they were associated with the devil. Certain names of plants and minerals are magic because they correspond to the planets. Sometimes the decision is made from etymology, true or false; the reseda owes its power to its name only (/HN xxvii. 131).

The virtue of lead for certain purposes is due to the fact that it is heavy or cold or indestructible, etc.

One of the most important applications of the doctrine of sympathy is the use of symbolism. As we have already seen, symbolism is even more characteristic of magic than it is of religion. Hubert defines two methods. In the one, which is particularly characteristic of primitive magic, in which we wish our magic to act is represented by a substitute. The most notable example of this class is the use of clay and waxen puppets. The second consists in predetermining the desired action and result (Tib. i. vi. 53 f.; Soph. Aias, 1715)—e.g., apply a stone to a wart (contact and sympathy), throw the stone away (symbolism), and the wart goes with it. Or, if you have a pain in your stomach, apply a stomach to the part affected, and your pain becomes his pain, etc. (/HN xxii. 140; Hesiod, xviii. 18 N.)

The same idea of contact and sympathy creates the familiar rule of magic homoeopathy, that the cause of a given thing is also its remedy.

But, so far as magic is concerned, perhaps the most momentous deduction from the doctrine of sympathy is the rule that the part may stand for the whole, that the two are inseparably connected; the part is able to draw the whole to itself, if aided by magic. What Vergil called the caeaeus of Anacates had a special function and a special significance in the pretended solutio aurumis of the unhappy Dido (Aen. iv. 494 f.). Without assuming the active co-operation of this principle, we cannot appreciate the power of the inwardness of the striking performances of magic in classical antiquity. If, for instance, a magician can secure bones of the dead, he has a special and powerful means of calling up the soul to which these originally belonged (Tib. i. ii. 46)—which is one important reason why witches were so often accused of haunting the gravesyards (Hor. Sat. i. 8; Lucan, vi. 590), and in primitive times the principal reason why the corpse was so carefully watched until it was safe in the grave (Petron. 63; Apul. Met. ii. 21).

So, too, if we wish to reach the living, it is very important to possess a lock of their hair, the parings of their nails, or anything nearly or remotely associated with them. Nothing is more intimately and entirely part and parcel of a thing than its real name. 'Home, it is said (Tib. i. ii. 57 f., with the precision of a precise rule; /Macrob. iii. ix. 2; /HN xxviii. 18, iii. 65; /Plut. Quest. Rom. 61 [p. 279 A]; Serv. on Aen. i. 277; Celinus, 1; Lydus, de Mens. iv. 73), is only the abode of the greatest city with world dominion. The true name, i.e., the name which would have enabled her enemies to conjure against her with magic, was a religious secret. So the clay or waxen image may be comparatively harmless until it has been

1 Hubert, op. cit. p. 1505.
cereemonially named with the true name of the person whom it is meant to represent.¹

Names are not the only words which are an integral part of the things which they represent. A similar relation exists between the verb, or the sentence in which it is contained, and the act it describes. Hence, of course, the theory of incantation as opposed to that of prayer in the modern sense. From this point of view the lines of Euripides (Hippol. 473 f.),

\[ \text{Euripides, I. Virgil.} \]

are true not only of magic theory in general, but of the Greek-Roman conception of magic in particular. Incantation is rarely, if ever, absent from some stage of the act. The influence of the indirect method is seen even more clearly in the fact that sympathy is often created by the ancients which accompanies the act (e.g., INN xxvi. 93). In the exorcism of disease the incantation is often sufficient in itself. Again, a mere verbal comparison is sufficient, especially if accompanied by a gesture.

² *Psalms* 15:16 tango! extenuates Trimachlo piously (Petron. 39), to avoid possible consequences when he touches it. It is true that the words are the elements which are associated with the unfortunate character in his story was touched by the witch.

Given, therefore, the right words in the right order, the indirect method is, in reality, the desired result must ensue. But which words? Ancient formula connected with or naming the appropriate gods are, of course, valuable, but in many cases not applicable with another words in an utterly incomprehensible tongue. The most famous example in antiquity was the so-called *Epiassos Grammatra* attributed to the Dactyl.²

But it is important that an incantation should consist of what, even in the most general sense, could be termed articulate speech of any sort. More music, e.g., as such is distinctly magic. The great musicians of mythology—Amphion, Orpheus, Valmódemón, etc.—are always magicians. We no longer attribute the power of music to magic in the literal sense, but primitive man hardly be blamed for doing so. The ancient doctors made considerable use of music in their practice, and we ourselves have learned that it is sometimes distinctly beneficial in certain obstinate nervous disorders of long standing.

Here our peculiar dream is with a class of sounds which are anything but musical, but which are mentioned again in the literature of the Empire as being especially powerful and efficacious in magic incantations. Lucan, vi. 686 f., tells us that all the sounds of nature were imitated by such an expert as Euchartho, and does not fail to add his usual and characteristic catalogue. But Lucan is too anxious to tell us all he has read in his uncle's library to be of any great value in a matter like this. Whatever they afterwards may have become, we can be sure that those phenomena were simpler and more specific, that they were probably inspired by some aspect of the doctrine of sympathy, and used for a special purpose.

The Romans habitually describe them by *stirxor* and *stirides*. The sounds to which these words are applied are modern trite, the file of a saw to the cracking of a door and the shrilling of a locust. But they are all alike in being inarticulate, high-pitched, and disagreeable. The obvious and inductive parallel is rich, we think, from Grecian *goyria*. The *goyria* were specifically necromancers and, as we saw above (p. 271), they were supposed to have received their name from the most notable peculiarity of their magic, viz. from their wailing and crying among the tombs.² So, long afterwards, in Graeco-Roman times the charms described by *stirxor* and *stirides* are very characteristic of *nekyomantia*. If so, and we can hardly doubt it, the inarticulate and disagreeable sounds of the two words should be just those described as "wailing and crying among the tombs," and their purpose should be to call up the dead. Such being the case, the two most common and characteristic uses of *stirxor* and *stirides* outside the sphere of magic itself are illuminating. (1) One of these is that sneaking and gibbering of the dead to which the ancients so often refer:

³ Ecce inter tunulos atque ossa carentia bustis *embrum* facies dire *stirides* inanitum (Petron. xxix. 137); *auribus incertum* funerales *stirides* umbrae (Lucan, vi. 652; *cit. Stat. Theb. vii. 779; Sil. Ital. xii. 600; Claudian, in Buc. I. 116; Ovid, Fast. vi. 892, *pap. 743*; Hor. Od. iv. 331; and Hor. Sat. i. viii. 501.²

By the doctrine, therefore, of sympathy the *stirides* of the necromancers were an imitation of the wailing and crying of the dead in the bannish, the moaning of souls that can find no rest, the ominous cry of the *pseon* or *stirinx*, quelling ghosts of those who died before their time (see *P. linealis* of Lucan's *Sid. em. II. 39*; the most remarkable and ill-omened bird in classical folklore. Owls, disembodied spirits, or necromancers calling up those spirits—so far as the cry alone was concerned—be sure which was which? As a matter of fact, all three were more or less ineffectually confused with each other, and there can be no doubt that the cry had much to do with the situation. The *stirix* is associated with all sorts of witchcraft in antiquity, but especially and above all with vanipirism in its various forms (see the present writer's note on Tib. I. v. 42). The classics are rich in examples of the type which happens to be more familiar to us, especially in the erotic sphere. The return of Proteus Glauca is a case in point (Roscher, s. v.), also the story of the *Lamia* (Philostr. Apoll. Tyss. iv. 25) immortalized by Keats, and the simple and touching tale told by Pliny of *Tris* (Mirab. 1) which is the prototype of Schiller's *Brant von Korinth* and Gautier's *Morte Amoureuse*.

But witchcraft is characteristic whenever they like, and they do so regularly, when their object is some form of necromancy.

Ovid, *Amor*. i. viii. 13-18, speaking of Dippus, the reprobate sage with eyes of different colours (*papula duplex*),¹ says:

³ Hanc erro nocturnen versam voceque per umbras
Susipero et piuma corvus amica tegi;
Susipero, et fama; oculis quoque papula duplex
Fulminant et gemino lumine ab orbe minat;
Eosal antiquis procos stavaque squarit.
Et solidam longo carneum fiant hominum.

But the ever present and most gruesome side of this idea, as of magic in general, is the sexual side. Most frequently the witch is like Pampilha in Apuleius (*Met. iii. 21*). She assumes the form of a *stirix* to fly to her lover; she never comes to him as a human and normal woman. The fire of hell are in her veins, the taste of blood and death is on her lips. She is the erotic vampire—the *sucudan* as she was called in the Middle Ages—who haunts her victim in his dreams and little by little draws towards her by the narrow in his bones. Hence it is that the Graeco-Roman screech-owl, who, even at her best, as Flinney substantially says (*IN* x. 34), seems to make no effort to be a person or set like a burning and self-respecting fowl of the air, belongs quite as


² See E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tubingen, 1907, p. 61; often in the later.
much to the kingdom of dreams, as to the kingdom of the mind. (Jowett, p. 174) For instance whether the *strīa* is a real *strīa* or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, Fasti, vi. 141)? Indeed, as early as Plautus (Pseud. 820) cf. Procl. v. v. 17) *strīa* already meant ‘wicked, ’ as well as ‘screen of mist. ’ It is evidently the Roman parallel of the old Greek ἄγάμας records a popular belief which showed no tendency to diminish in later days. 

So the magician. Our surviving testimony is insufficient to give us a very clear idea how the powers of the classical magician were defined or from what sources they were supposed to be derived. For the Egyptians, as Hultsch remarks, the magician was like the priest in being closely associated, if not actually identified, with the god whose power he was utilizing, and perhaps in the ultimate issue this is everywhere the explanation of his power. Particularly notable was the development of this principle among the Alexandrian theurgi. Here, of course, the characteristic Greco-Roman preference for the indirect method afforded a favourable soil, but, without doubt, the chief factor was the direct influence of the Egyptian theory just mentioned.

But, granted that he does identify himself with the god, how does he get it, or does he acquire it, and, if so, how? The *theurgi* emphasized the theory that it was acquired, and the methods recommended indicate in themselves the religious and philosophical system permeated with the ideas and ceremonial characteristics of mysticism. Asceticism was recommended, but, above all, the magician must be a sot. Such persons may have a revelation, a vision, or more or less directly by way of fallen angels or the archangels (Tert. de Idol. 91, Apol. 35). Indeed, Maria the Jewess was instructed by God Himself: ‘Gods, kings, great philosophers, and sages of old even in this aspect of later magic. The ‘Book of Moses'4 gives us a good idea of the complicated ceremonial through which the candidate was supposed to pass in order to arrive at the perfection desired. There were purifications, sacrificial rites, invocations, and, to crown all, a revelation of the *Kēphāneia* (how the universe was made and the secrets thereof). This process is not so much special as to separate the mage from other gods, as appears to have been the idea of the Egyptian prototype, but with the stars and planets, i.e. the universal powers. The magician, especially the magician-alephemist, derives his power from the acquaintance with the forces of nature. He has established *rapport* with the universe; and, as there is also *rapport* between all the parts of the universe, he has extended his power over the entire universe as a whole. This, of course, is the old doctrine of sympathy on a particularly grand and impressive scale. The result of the ceremony is that the magician, the *theurgus*, is himself no longer a man, but a god.5

This is a conception calculated to appeal to any man whose imagination is still in working order, but it does not emerge clearly in ordinary magic. It belongs rather to mystical magic, which was the special development of serious souls, some of them really great, who believed that this path would lead them to the undiscovered secrets of life, death, and immortality. To speak in terms of the average man and of the history of the art as a whole, the idea which determined the powers of the magician were much the same as those which dictated the choice of a magic object or the con- 

\[2\] Dieterich, p. 126. 
\[4\] Dieterich, p. 126, n. 1. 

The powers invoked.—But the most characteristic feature of Greek and Roman magic is the universal prevalence of the indirect method and its influence on the development of the art. So far as Greece and Rome were concerned, the theory of demons—those spirits to whose action practically every phenomenon in life was ascribed, the corruption of the world at large as it was of Plato and his
followers (Plut. de Defectu Orac. 10). Diseases were caused by specific demons, panic was caused by Pan; such figures as the Erinyes, Nemesis, Panna, Empusa, the Moerai, Αρχάγγελοι, and Βασιλικοί are not only popular but very old. There are even demons whose only function is to execute the commands of the highest deities; they are called popos and there are others who are merely διάμαρτυριοι, or omen-givers. The efficacy, e.g., of the τέκτον demands, as Hubert observes, the creation of a demon or of a spell—a characteristic result of the primitive view that nothing in this world can happen or be except by the individual exertion in every case of conscious, energizing will.

The magician may find it necessary or advisable to consider other spirits besides the specific agents of the phenomenon in question. He cannot be sure of success beforehand. He may make mistakes, and a mistake in a ceremony is fatal. And, even if everything is correct, the ceremony may be entirely upset by something unexpected and unforeseen. In addition, therefore, to the specific energizing demon, he considers it prudent to summon to his aid such other powers as he may command. He calls on some appropriate god, e.g., to send him the necessary energizing demon, or he summons the spirit to whom the efficacy of the rite is supposed to belong. Hence the 'familiar,' the magician's own 'demoniac factotum,' which assumed such importance in the Middle Ages.

The object, therefore, of magic was to act upon such a god or demon, and would naturally be furthered only by energizing spirits or as auxiliaries. Some of these powers occur only in the tradition of magic itself, but the large majority are common to both magic and religion. The most important of all are the demons. Plato himself (Studios, s.e. μαγεία), as well as the average man, attributed to them the success of any magic rite. The magic charms of the later periods are full of invocations to demons, and names of demons, as well as of demons' names, in a formula. What is the function, the powers, the efficacy, the rank of these demons? What is the hierarchy of demons, and what are their functions and the order of the demons? These are questions which are both the most important and the most difficult in the study of magic.

If he wishes to teach the demon the rank of demons, became messengers of the universal deity (Aug. de Civ. Dei, i. 19), while the archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, have rank with the archontes of the Gnostics as tutelary gods of the planets (W. Anz. TU xv. [Leipzig, 1897] passim). With Christianity the old gods became demons, and demons now took rank with the conservative of conservatives, never gave them up, though all of them now without distinction were in the service of the devil.

One of the most important classes of demons connected with magic are the spirits of the dead, the νεκροφόροι, especially those who, like the δαιμόνια, died violent deaths or otherwise before their time. These demons may be attacked by the spell or charm by which one calls up the dead named. This is the domain of certain magic circles. These demons are the dead, the 'summons' of the dead, and therefore cannot rest in their graves. The heroes, so to speak, have a somewhat higher social position, but they too are important in magic. A notable peculiarity of paganism as contrasted with its successor was the inability to make a sharp distinction between gods and demons. The obvious criterion would be power or disposition. Neither were trustworthy. Some demons were greater than some gods, and some gods were as unmistakably malignant as some demons were beneficent. The demons, therefore, were not the only powers to whom the magician addressed himself. The gods themselves were often put in the place of demons, or demons were put in the place of gods. The preference is, of course, for the di inferi—Hades, Demeter, Persephone, Baubo, the Praxidikai, the Eryine, Gaia, Cybele, especially those who, like the gods, are the demons of the Middle Ages. If a demon is present, the demon may pass back and forth between the two worlds.

The greatest of all, the goddess per excellént was magic and magicians throughout antiquity, is the Semele of the Romance, the Despoina of the Oriental ways, and the queen of the ghosts, who sweeps through the night followed by her dreadful train of questing spirits. Her power is universal, but she is specially connected with the magic of love, metamorphosis, and ψάμμους. The most famous and dramatic incantations of antiquity are associated with her. The bimata, the τέκτον, the stenaditis, the redoubtable spuma lunulce, and the rhomboi are only a few of the objects of which she is especially associated with her. The school on Apollo. Rhod. iii. 478 even informs us that Circe was her daughter. At all events, Medea was her priestess, Minos was called her son, etc. The circle of the demons, especially in the magic papyri, comes Hermes Chthoniosus, often confused with Hermes Trismegistus (Diog. Laert. proem. 7; Porphyry. de Abstin. ii. 16).

But the Kýkos Oéi, the great gods, are also addressed, and not only the great gods of foreign races—which we should expect—but those of Greece and Rome. This habit, however, belongs more prominently to the Semele of the later period. Here the habit of calling on a number of gods at once, or of reinforcing the name of some Greek god with the names of all the strange gods of foreign lands who were supposed to be identical with him, or of calling Ἰάω as the name of the god of gods, or Ἰάω, in the feminine, to sum up, as it were, all the aspects of divinity, or of combining gods in the hermaaphroditic form for the same purpose—these are perhaps the most famous and the most complete of all the illustrations of the magician's intrepid habit of pluralizing for power. The result is, of course, that the divinities lose all personality and, as Hubert says, 'become mere factors of a divine total.' Nothing was left but the name, and even...
this was more or less concealed or defaced in the magician's characteristic effort to get at the true name, the name of power for the now somewhat vague supernatural force which he wished to utilize. Having the name and also the image of the god, he could use the force for anything desired, it being understood, of course, that the一大堆 ceremonial had been performed as were appropriate for realizing the mystic presence of the god.

4. Rites and ceremonies.—Thanks to this habit of magic or superimposition from every direction all kinds of strange and, therefore, particularly irresponsible forces, a magic ceremony was even more complex than a religious ceremony. Especially notable in all ages is the number of conditions and precautions which have to be observed. This is characteristic of any cult in which the theory of incantation still survives. Under such circumstances the immediate conclusion always is that religion is a perfect pursuit. Any man who approaches gods with an invocation so worded and presented that it is a command which must be obeyed knows that he is handling an edged tool able to cut both ways. The gods resent the imperative, especially from an inferior, and will destroy him if they can. The Roman account of the death of old king Tullus shows how dangerous it was in Italy, and the region, much more in magic—for an amateur to start the complicated machinery of invocation. There was an old Greek saying that 'the witch who draws down the moon finally draws it down on herself.' The saying is strongly emphasized in the Middle Ages, that the magician, of all people, is foredoomed to something like the fate of Tullus Hostilius in the end. The Greek is also apt as a specific illustration. It is generally held that of all charms one of the most difficult and dangerous was 'drawing down the moon'—so dangerous, in fact, that the magician is supposed even to have intended a counter-magic in the form of the moon and the sun, which is addressed, 'Our Lady Moon'—a suggestive forerunner of the 'magic circle' of which we hear so much in the more pretentious magic of the Middle Ages.

The magician must also observe certain rules, likewise characteristic of religion, which, to a large extent, are suggested by the nature of the powers with whom he has to deal. He, or the person in whose service the charm is being performed, or both, must be in such a condition that contact with the spirits evoked shall be without danger. Regulations vary, but among the most common are χειρας, 'purity,' ablutions at stated intervals, anointings with oil, avoidance of certain foods (esp. fish), fasting, temporary chastity (cf. Tib. II. 1. 11,); the regular ascetism so often referred to by the eisagoges poets, etc.). More rigorous and more numerous are the conditions attending the performance of the rite itself, and most important is the observance of nudity or its ceremonial equivalent. The ceremony of consecrating the wand, i.e. without knots or fastenings of any kind, or it must be coarse, or of linen, and in the last case, either white or white with purple streamers (the ceremonial significance of colours has already been referred to). Having gone through the preliminary purifications and donned the appropriate raiment, the operator must then consider the attitude to assume. This is vital. In most cases there are gestures which cannot be omitted. Equally important is the magician's own state of mind. The magician's practice indicates that his attitude must be, he must put all his soul into the accomplishment of the rite (Cædilus Martialis, 19).

The time at which the rite should be performed is also very important, and is largely determined by the habits and associations of the god to be addressed, and is an immediate deduction from the law of sympathy. For magic in general, but in particular for the magician, connected with Selene—Hecate, sunset and the few minutes just before sunrise are very favourable; so, too, any phase of the moon, but, above all, the new and full moon. The stars and planets for the most part became important only after astrology gave greater precision to the sort of influence supposed to be exerted by each. As a matter of course, night is a better time than day.

The place is quite as important as the time, and the choice of it is again a direct deduction from the law of sympathy, as regards either the god to be addressed or the person to be affected. Roads, streets, boundaries, and the threshold are all sacred in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the graveyard nekyomantia. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

Finally, as in all the divining ceremonies which the operator does not venture to perform unless he is armed with some sort of protective charm against the god whom he is addressing, or against any one who might interrupt the ceremony, or against the counter-curses of the counter-charms.

The best and clearest description of the ceremony, properly speaking, is given by Hubert. It involves the use of two kinds of rites. The purpose of the one is to accomplish the object itself of the ceremony by a logical application of the principles of magic action; the object of the other is to manufacture or, at least, to assure the presence of the actual magic power sufficient to work in the way prepared and thus to accomplish the purpose desired. In other words, to state it in terms of modern electrical science—the theory of which is curiously near to that of magic—he must construct the proper machinery and establish the proper connections; then, before turning on the power, he must see to it that the power is really there.

The first class of rites, the machinery and connections, calls for the use of a number of objects or parts which, in the end, generally come to be considered magic in themselves. One of the most common and dramatic is the magic wand, which is really a conductor of the magician's mana. The divining rod, though used in a different way and for a different purpose, derived its efficacy from a similar conception. The Etruscans used it in searching for hidden springs (Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. 'Aquilex'), and, as the writer of this article can testify from personal observation, as late as twenty years ago a similar method for discovering the best place in which to dig a well was still used occasionally in the American countryside. In addition to the magic wand and the divining rod, we have the apparatus of dactylophantis (Ann. Marc. XXIX. 1. 29), the lamps in lochomantia, the basins of water in locomboantia, keys in their symbolic use, cymbals, the various substances referred to above, threads of different colours, portions of the dead, the κόλπος (Pind. Pyth. iv. 213, and often), the famous rhombus, turia, or vertebrae, 'witch's wheel,' the rotation of which, by imitation and sympathy, was sovereign to influence the will of the person whom one wished to gain, etc.
All these end by being considered magic in themselves, but, in view of what has been said, it will be seen that this idea is secondary. Their real function and purpose was to facilitate or render possible the action of magic power and, at least originally, they were chosen from that point of view.

Sometimes the ceremonial proper needs the assistance of some other means besides the object itself to put the person interested in a state to receive the benefit of the action desired. A case in point is the ceremonial of incubatio. The purpose of incubatio is to bring to the person with the appropriate conditions to secure for him the true and prophetic dream which he desires. Conditions are, as often, dictated by the law of sympathy. And, except that the nature of dreams was never quite clear to the ancients—and perhaps will never be quite clear to any one—the nameless theorists and thinkers by whom these conditions were first discovered and formulated appear to have been quite familiar with the results of J. Börner’s famous dissertation afterwards incorporated and extended in W. H. Roscher’s *Epithelien: eine pathologisch-mythologische Abhandlung über die Alpträume und Apothe- monate von sonstigen Art* (Leipzig, 1901). Börner showed that, among other things, in a healthy person nightmare is usually due to partial suffocation caused by burying one’s head in the pillow; and, this, that the nightmare, the incubus, appears to approach the dreamer is always measured by the rate of suffocation, but, above all, that the appearance of the incubus itself is to a surprising extent determined by the material and texture of the coverings. Such being the case, though L. Laißner goes too far in his theory that the *Uralpiratismus*, the primordial nightmare, is the father of all mythology, we may at least suspect with Roscher that Pan’s legs were the inevitable result of the style of bed-quilts used by his primeval worshippers (cf. Laißner’s method of securing an interview with Fauns in *Verg. Ec. vii. 81 ff.*), and, for that matter, that the incubi, succubae, stripes, and all their monstrous brood must have entered this world in the first place by the Ivo (Iv). If so, it is certain that some of our most cherished legends, our best and most thrilling stories, and our finest poetry are literally the stuff that dreams are made of.

But all magic operations none is more common, characteristic, more dramatic and impressive, or a better illustration of the doctrine of sympathy than the casting of spells (cf. Hecatetes, xi. 14, and the examples noted below). The special feature of this operation is due to the theory that, if the person whom we wish to reach with our magic is absent or far away, his place may be filled by a puppet, or some symbolical substitute for him. If, then, the ceremonial is appropriate, whatever we do to the puppet will be exactly repeated, literally or symbolically, as desired, on the person whom the puppet represents. Consecration of the one is immediately followed by consecration of the other (*Verg. Ec. viii. 74 f.*), binding of the one by the desired condition symbolized by it in the other, running needles into the heart of the one by some effect on the other symbolized by such a process—as, e.g., wasting away to death with no apparent cause (Ovid, *Amor. III. vii. 29 f.*, *Heroid. vi. 21*, and often). Sometimes one figure may stand for an indefinite number, as in the spells of Nectanebo (pseudo-Cleomenes, l. 1). One may cast a spell on spirits as well as mortals by this means (*Eus. Prep. Evang. v. 12 f.*).

Hence we have cases in which two puppets are used, one representing the person to be acted upon, the other the spirit by whom the action is to be performed (*Hor. Sat. I. viii. 26 ff.*). Occasionally even three figures appear to have been used (*Schol. Bern. on Verg. Ec. viii. 75*). Often they were hollow, and their power was enhanced by putting written instructions to the intervening demon in the puppet, and the puppets must be made of clay or wax, but occasionally other substances were just as rigorously prescribed. Enesidem (*loc. cit.*) speaks of such an image of Hermes made of pulvinate earth and the roots of rue. A sheet of metal or even of paper upon which the figure has been traced is often considered sufficient. The value and philosophy of exvoto have already been mentioned. But one may use such arbitrary substitutes as the body of a bird, a sprig of myrtle or of rue, etc. Indeed, as we have already seen, the name is sufficient in itself. On the same principle, a written incantation placed in a tomb has the same effect as would a puppet (*Apul. Met. i. 10, de Mag. 53*).

The verbal portions of a magic rite are of the highest importance. In many cases they are the operator’s attempt to work his incantation in order that he may make no mistake as to the meaning and object of the symbolic rite. The puppet is inscribed with the name of the person whom it represents, and by a written statement of what is to happen to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful to utter the name of the patient who is to benefit by it. Again, in constructing a devoto, one should specify in order each and every part in which it is desired that the proposed victim shall suffer.

The indirect method is also directly responsible for the conclusion that incantations are a special help to the operator in the accomplishment of his second great task—the creation of magic power. Hence the use of the magic hymns and litanies, the object of which is to ensure the presence and active participation of the appropriate spirit, to indicate his duty, and, if necessary, to frighten him into doing it.

We have seen how various objects, plants, simples, etc., originally selected as facilitating in some way magic rapport, finally came to be considered magic in themselves. Names and incantations underwent precisely the same secondary development from being a means to an end they became magic per se. The further conclusion was then drawn that their power might be indefinitely increased by frequent repetition, by lengthening certain syllables to an extraordinary extent, by abstracting certain syllables and decorating them with affixes and suffixes, by rearranging them in different combinations, and especially by disposing them so as to form certain figures. Examples still surviving are *abracadabra,* and *sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (see *Theanuris Ling. Lat.*, a. a. * Arepo*). The Ephebia Grammatica belong to the same type (*Porphyry, de Myst. vi. 4*). Mystery and power were further enhanced by the use of magic alphabets, by certain sacred inks, and so on. Numbers pass through the same experience and acquire the same magic power per se—e.g., there are seven planets. If, therefore, we wish to invoke them, there is nothing so compelling as the pronunciation of the seven vowels or a sevenfold repetition of a ceremony.

1 L. Deubner’s *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1904, is the standard work on this subject.


3 *Ratel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889.

1 Cf. Rieß, op. cit., p. 908.


4 For clay and wax images see Abt, op. cit. p. 153 f., and L. Fahn, in *AVF* ii. (1905) 125 ff.

5 See esp. Fahn, op. cit.


MAGIC (Greek and Roman)  

Some dreams must be interpreted as the future, while others are intended to provide insight into the unconscious. In ancient Greece, dreams were considered to be divine messages, and their interpretation was an important part of religious and personal life. The Greeks believed that dreams could predict the future or reveal hidden truths. They often consulted priests oracles to interpret the meaning of their dreams. The interpretation of dreams was considered an important aspect of religious and personal life in ancient Greece.
MAGIC (Greek and Roman)

This article. It is the business of magic, as long as it remains magic, to speak only in the imperative. It must, therefore, retain and emphasize these primitive doctrines—notably the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms—which are supposed to enable it to use the imperative successfully in addressing the gods. It is also the business of magic, partly because it is an outlaw and bound to assert its impossibility to a reordered, to ordain ordinary, if not impossible, things—among them, things which the social and legal restraints of religion would not allow it to promise. In the course of its long and exceptionally brilliant history classical magic promises practically everything from a cure for warts to a receipt for personal immortality—all tried and true. Magic, therefore, was obliged not only to retain but to develop in every possible way those primitive aids to its imperative. It pluralized for power. And religion had done the same. But magic was an outlaw, it had no position in society. It was free to range at will, to gather into one portentous plural strange and terrible gods from the four corners of the earth, to combine them with the native gods, to rearrange, reorganize, mutilate, etc., in the ways described. In the long run, as we have seen, the pantheon of Greek-Roman magic was a pandemonium, and confusion worse confounded, in which the only relating principle seems to be the sheer expanse of the system as such. All its forms has been pushed to its uttermost limits.

To the very end magic was obsessed by the old imperative and, therefore, by the time-honoured magic for making it. Whether as a potion, as a charm, as a spell, as a rite, as an incantation, as a curse, as a jinx, magic was a force, and it appeals for the most part only to such persons as the special investigator and the historian of manners and customs. But the most characteristic and best example of a Greek-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art. One is inclined to assume, and perhaps justly, that this was particularly notable of such periods as the Hellenistic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic and striking, in that it was seen not only as a means for the attainment of personal ends, as is often the case with magic, but also as protest against social and political evils. Thus magic became a method for the expression of the individual's dissatisfaction with the state of affairs and a means of escape from the realities of life.

In an article like this it is impossible as well as inadvisable to attempt a thoroughgoing investigation of the debt of creative literature to magic in antiquity. We must content ourselves with a passing reference to a few of those magic operations which are most frequently mentioned, and which by reason of their dramatic possibilities are best suited to the purpose of literary art.

One of the most notable of these is nekyomantia, calling up the dead to ask them questions. Nekyomantia is rarely absent from that catalogue of magic feats with which so many of the Roman poets seem to be obsessed (see for instance, as an actual note), They also mention even more frequently three other feats which are particularly awesome, but for which the modern reader, at least, can see no adequate reasons. It always seems to them that they are merely a useful, though by no means necessary, preparation for nekyomantia. These are producing earthquakes, splitting the ground, and making the rivers either stand still or run backwards. The magician uses his own hands to split the ground; the behaviour of the rivers is
merely a consequence of the quake. He splits the ground so that the ghosts can hear his incantation (i.e. be reached and affected by it) and then can come straight up to him from Hades (Sen. Gaud. 571, Luean, vi. 729). As we have seen, the literary use of necyomantia begins with the famous passage of the Odyssey (xii. 24 ff.). The essential details of the ceremonial as Homer describes it were always the same not only in literary tradition but in actual life. Doubtless, Luean felt that his own long and lurid description of Erichthon’s special performance for the benefit of Sextus Pompeius before the battle at Agrigentum was the masterpiece of its kind. And so it is. It would be hard to find a more glaring illustration of what can happen to literature in an age when a furious lust for effect is not restrained by any principles of rhetorical self-control or common sense. Nekyomantia had a long and brilliant tradition in the drama. Examples still surviving are Aeschylus, Perses (the ghost of Darius), and Seneca, Oedipus, 560 ff. Indeed, ghosts were as common, it would appear, in the ancient as in the Elizabethan drama. Klytēs Χαρόπολος, ‘Charon’s step-ladder,’ was the popular name for the regular staircase by which the阴魂 passed into the world from the world below. Nekyomantia was also quite as characteristic of comedy. In the later days of the Roman Republic Decimus Laberius wrote a mime entitled necyomantia. This and similar themes were characteristic of the mime as developed by Philiotus and his immediate successors during and after the Augustan age. Brilliant examples in the satirical sphere are Horace, Fasti, v, and Persius, Sat. i. 

If we choose to emphasize the literary influence as such of the Homeric Nekyia, we can say that it is responsible for one of the most notable developments in critical literature. This is the theme of the Descent into Hades. The Homeric passage is directly responsible for the 6th book of the Aenid and its numerous echoes in epic and narrative poetry both ancient and modern. Nor was it the only department to be affected. The theme was a favorite in the Old Comedy of Athens, although, as it happens, the Fros of Aristophanes is the only example surviving. The same is true of the satirical literature of the Alexandrian and Hellenistic ages. It was characteristic of their didactic methods to appropriate for their own purposes the traditional folklore and mythology. One of the most notable was the Kαραβάς εἰς Άδην, which practically became conventionalized as a μική-αν- σένεια for the presentation of doctrines and opinions. Alluded to it are such examples as Horace, Sat. ii. v., Seneca, Apocolocyntosis, such works of Lucian as the Dialogues of the Dead, and Claudian’s attacks on Euripides. The Epicpharmicus of Ennius and probably certain of the lost satires of Lucilius and Varro were illustrations. The poet Natos used it to a notable extent. But, while necyomantia is the most prominent and pervasive aspect of literary magic, the most famous and popular was the love charm known as  ‘drawing down the moon.’ It is first mentioned in surviving literature by Aristophanes, Nubia, 760, again and again by later writers, and still survives, it is said, in modern Greece. It was the theme of no fewer than four masterpieces: a lost mine of Sophron in the time of Xerxes, the lost Tetralogy of Memorion (HN xxx. 7), the second Tetralogy of Sophron (found on Sophocles), and the eighth Oedipus of Vergil (found on Theocritus). Certainly, too, Lucian, Philopseudes, 14 ff., is a masterpiece of its kind. The atmosphere reflects to the life that aspect of the 2nd cent. which suggests the modern milieu in which these are spiritualism, and kindred ideas are wont to grow luxuriantly.

In this passage of Lucian we have the 'Professor's story' of how his disciple, Glaukon, was saved by the great 'Hyperborian' magician, Lucan. The legend that Glaukon, a prosperous young man whose father had been dead about a year, fell fairly ill with love for the dying Chloris. Chloris was the daughter of Zephyr and Lara, and was in love with the young man, and all the time the latter was unaware of her love. The story is then told of how Chloris was felled by a snake and was brought to Glaukon. Upon telling the student of his story, he was said by the 'Professor' to feel so 'light' that he immediately advanced to the services of the great Hyperborian. From henceforth, to be paid in advance—to supply the necessary sacrifices—and sixteen more if the operation was successful. This is the conclusion—which showed that the specialist was not only a great man but also a just and scrupulously conscientious man—he insisted on having an elaborate rite of necyomantia, to call up the boy's late lamented father and ask his consent. The old gentleman was furious at first, but finally told them to proceed. A dramatic description of the ensuing ceremony follows—how the moon came down, how Chloris came up, how the ghosts beckoned around, how, at the psychological moment, the distinguished operator 'told the sort of little figure of Cupid which he had fashioned out of clay to go and fetch Chloris.' Away flew the tiny thing at once. A few minutes later there comes a knock on Glaukon's door, in rushes Chloris, throws arms around him, and says 'μεγαλομεγάλη σοις ('like a girl utterly crazy with love'), and there she stays till cockcrow! Then up rose the moon to heaven, and the ghost of Glaukon's father and Chloris and the ghost disappeared.

But the 'Professor's' listener is not duly impressed. Beside, he knows the girl. He doesn't see the use, he says, of calling on one Hyperborian magician, one goddess, and one clay amadon to take his amorous caress. In overcoming his fear to do so, and who, as every one knows, is ready to follow a man to the North Pole and beyond for the love of him. 

Such books as the Metamorphoses of Ovid and the lost poem of the same name by his predecessor, Nicander, show that change of form was quite as characteristic of classical mythology and folklore as of the Thousand and One Nights. Transformation was Cioe's specialty, and the Homeric account of her methods (Od. x. 212 ff.) has always remained the most famous literary account of the performance of the magic. Apart from its actual realization and the vivid and circumstantial accounts of transformation by magic are those in which Apuleius (Met. iii. 21 ff.) and Lucian (Asimis [the common source of both was the lost romance of Lucius of Patra]) tell how the witch, Pamphile, made an owl of herself, and how, immediately afterwards, Fetis, her maid, made an ass of Lucius. But, as a rule, magic as such is not prominent in metamorphosis as a literary theme. The transformation was cliche, and the focus was on the power for in this particular feat the dramatic point is the transformation scene, and all else is likely to be subordinate, even in those cases where the transformation is the primary motive. Vergil’s sorceress, e.g., says that she has seen the werewolf transformation with her own eyes and that it was done by magic:

1Ipsa sedict Moeris (nascuor piuma Ponte);
Ipsa sepe lupam fieri et ac condere silvis
Sororia ('Alv. viii. 28 f.').

In all the famous werewolf stories of antiquity, as in most of the stories told by Ovid, the magic element is either absent, ignored, or referred to as so slight that it calls for no special notice here. Magic command of the wind and weather is often mentioned, and nothing in the way of magic was more common in everyday life, but the one famous passage is that in which is given the wind’s bag of winds to Odysseus (Od. x. 10 ff.). Also unique—and terrible—is the spell of the evil eye cast by Medea upon the giant Talus (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1602 ff.; Ovid Metv. vii. 262 ff.;). As we have seen, the full and dramatic description of her charm for renewing the youth of Jason’s father, Jason. More famous was her presence of doing the same favour for the aged Pelias, but the instant it was given (Apollod. i. ix. 27; Hygin. Fab. 24; Macrobi. v. xix. 9 f.). This was the theme of the lost 'ταῦτα Πέτρουδας'.

of Sophocles. Indeed, the lost plays of the Greek tragic poets would have been a wonderful field for the study of the use of magic for literary purposes. 1

Creusa's role was a famous theme. Euripides (Medea, 1205 ff.) merely described the awful effect of it upon the wearer; Seneca (Medea, 740 ff.), the preparation of it. Which is the more artistic and effective may easily be seen by comparison.

On this last there are types of magic in which it is precisely the preliminaries, the things which witches do because they have something terrible in prospect, that are full of dramatic possibilities.

As we have seen, the necromancers are always eager to get mortal remains in order to be better able to call up their late owners. Striking examples are Trimalchio's story in Petron. 63, and the dramatic experience of Thelyphron as told by him after dinner in Apuleius, Met. ii. 21 ff. So, speaking in terms of magic theory, the dreadful scene of Horace, Bod., was only a means to an end; the object of the witches was to secure the strongest possible love-charm. The liver is the seat of desire (Hor. Odes, iv. i. 12); therefore the liver is sovereign in a charm to produce desire. When it first hits the liver for the arrows, he irritates the snake for some time before he kills it, so that it may secrete more poison and that the poison may be more virulent. So, in that case, the harder the liver the more the desire, so much the more it actually accumulates desire, as it were, and stores it up within. If, therefore, we can secure a liver still containing a maximum of desire so accumulated, we have a charm of maximum power for arousing desire in others. Hence, in this scene, the poor child who has been kidnapped by the witches for that purpose must look as if it had died. A prolonged agonizingly intense desire for food and drink, which is deliberately aggravated as much as possible by always keeping food and drink before his eyes. After the child was dead, his liver was removed, and, upon being prepared with the appropriate ceremonial, became a love-charm of superhuman power, a φιλίτρον secured in a special way for a special purpose.

The gathering of herbs is another preliminary of φάμακατα, which was fully appreciated for its dramatic possibilities. In literature the process is regularly associated with Medea (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 87 ff.; Plut. Meroe, 224 ff.; special emphasis was probably laid on this by Sophocles in his Περίκτερον). She went out at night and by the light of the full moon cut her hand and behind her back, ἐλατρεύοντες (see HECATHE'S SUPPERS).

So far as philtres are concerned, the most notable contribution to literature is what might be called the case of Beauty v. Magic in the court of Love. 2 Its first appearance is in the scene between Hermione and Andromache (Eur. Androm. 265 ff.), to which attention has already been called. The subsequent transformation of the question at issue is a striking and characteristic illustration of the methods and development of ancient literary art. The topic was announced from the start, clanged through, argued in the schools of philosophy, enlarged upon in the schools of rhetoric (Menander, ἱσεύ 646 K.; Aen. 375 R.; Lucret. iv. 1278 ff.; Tib. i. 43, viii. 23; Ovid. Fasti, 35 ff., don't mind this, S. 506 ff.). Some time in the unrecorded past it was given a new turn and made the basis of a properly illustrative and sprightly anecdote in which the appropri-

1 [Note on Satyr, Life of Euripides, Oxon., Pop. H. 165-6, A.J.P. xxxiv. (1913) 62-73.}

2 [Abit, op. cit. p. 173 ff.]
all seemed like a nightmare to the prisoner at the bar, and his impressions are fully shared by the reader. What surprised him— and it surprises us too—was that the trial was held in the ample hall of the house yet, every seat was taken, and people had even climbed up on the pillars to get a better view. After the trial, the law of the goddess was passed: one must be prepared to refuse to the tormented and make them to peace. At this point the poor old mother, who had been so wasteful of her kindness, and who had been so much in the habit of being lectured on, mastered herself and insisted that the unfolding assassin be compelled to look upon his imageless. But she said not a word and even with the corpse, cried by fists, and decently covered with a cloth. Lucina was forced, much against his will, to raise the cloth, and discovered two stiletto wounds in her back, but two minor wounds in her head and neck. A little more force was needed to get the wretched man out of the house. But, instead of being expelled, he was received into the house. Mystified, but relieved, Lucina was escorted home in triumph.

The day was cold, and a regular festival of Reus, the goddess of love. Lucina's own contribution to this particular occasion had been so original and successful that the city had triumphantly voted her a bronze equestrian statue. Lucina was still mistified and, indeed, somewhat resentful. As soon, however, as Podis had the opportunity, she let him into the secret.

At Pamphila was passing the barber's shop the day before the murder, she had caught sight of a blond youth from Bascul who was in the chair having his hair cut. She fell in love with him then and there, and went straight home and began preparing a charm to draw him to her. The necessary preliminary, of course, was the possession of something belonging to the man. So Podis says in substance, 'I was sent out to steal a lock of his hair. But the barber caught me before I could succeed, and he made no doubt that he would make me give him the hair, which I had in my dress. I was in despair. But on the way home I passed a shop in which a woman was cutting the hair off some wine. So, to save the barber, I picked up some of the yellow locks I could find, and managed to get them on my dress for the rest of the night. She took them, and began her charm about the time you started for the dinner-party. The charm worked only too well, and she was given the hair of the original owners of those locks—two passionate wine-skills struggling really to get at their love and melt at her feet. And so it comes that "non homlicium mun, sed utricium amєcte-te" ("the lover now in my arms is after all not a non-personal"").

But nothing, perhaps, is a clearer proof of the premonition of magic in everyday life than the fact that, as H. Reich has abundantly shown, 7 the favorite method of most (but not all) of that magic as a literary asset is the most popular type of drama in the ancient world. This is the minstone (see DRAMA [Roman], vol. iv. p. 904). Transformations of men and animals were frequent; all kinds of charms were performed; the effects of all kinds of powerful magic were represented. Witches, warlocks, magicians, prophets, ghosts, demons, popular divinities, Empusa, Mormo, Incubo, Anna Perenna, Mefesto, Eudora, Eudora, etc., were all typical characters. The play went on in fairyland quite as often as on the Imperial streets or in the Imperial country-side. And sometimes, no doubt, it was hard for the audience to see in which of these it was realistic—the very name insists upon it. But the investigation of Graeco-Roman magic emphasizes the undeniable fact that, after all, the real- istic picture of the magic was more likely to be, or to seem, realistic. The native gifts of imagination and fancy were too enduring, the native inheritance of mythology and folklore was too rich and interesting, to allow it. Magic was one of those vices of the intellectual youth which the Graeco-Roman world never quite outgrew. But intellectual youth also has its virtues; and these two great Aryan races of the Mediterranean basin, in some other respects as in theirs, have the unique and priceless gift of never really growing old.


KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

MAGIC (Indian).—I. HINDU.—Indian magic is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites may be practised by laymen and magical properties are attributed to countless objects. The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Brahmins, and is primarily Hindu but has Muhammadan elements affiliated to it. The Yogi claims to hold the material world in fee by the magical powers which he has acquired through the study of the Brahmans. But this claim is not supported by the authorities, and this Yogi's power is disconnected from superstition of the worst type, and the Yogi in reality is better known as a common swindler, posing as a yogi. This is the tale of the magic boat, the gift of it comes from a Hindu and is a matter of public and private life. The Brahmins are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 50 jottas, or figures, consisting of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, etc., and geometric figures that are not known to free-masonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc., as well as to ensure easy parturition. The Yogi in particular claim power to transmute base metals into silver and gold—a claim which enables them (and those who partake of them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

2. OCCASIONS.—Magical rites are practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth to procure offspring and ensure its safety and to determine and predict its sex, and to resuscitate the dead.

1. Marriage.—The magic practised at a wedding is often symbolical. For example, just as naked women plough the soil in times of scarcity to ensure a crop, so the vrata of the Brahman bride of the Balija caste performs a mimic ploughing ceremony, stirring up earth in a basket with a stick or miniature plough. Similar rites are in vogue among the Palli, Kannama, Sambaludayan, and Todiyamy. The Kannama bride carries seedlings in her lap, apparently to be planted by the groom. Among the Kaju a milk-post of Odina Wedler is set up, and, if it takes root and flourishes, it is a happy omen. A Unni bride plants a jasmine shoot, whose flowers she should present to the deity. The parting of the bride's hair with a thorn is probably an imitation of the ploughing rites.

The Indian conceptions that all life is one, and that life is something tangible or material, come out in several rites. Thus, at the beginning of a wedding, the cedar scatterance and graha (wicked)
seed on some white-ant earth near five pots filled with water. By the time the wedding is concluded, these seeds have sprouted and are culled by the pair, taken to the village well, and cast into it—obviously to ensure their fertility. An Iliayan couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays, and the Mala groom digs with his knife a few furrows, which his bride fills with grain and water after he has covered it up. Apparently the wide-spread custom of grinding grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, e.g., in Bombay.

The grindstone is also used among the Bhondari in Madras; the bridegroom stands on it, while women bring a mill-stone and powder three kinds of grain with it; then he sits on the dais, and a number of married women each touch seven times with a grinding-stone an area not placed on his head. A Bedar couple are invited by the Brahman priest to stand on a grinding-mill placed beneath the pandal.

Among the Aongamaalayan a grinding-stone and a heka, representing the god Siva and the goddess Sakti, are placed in the north-east corner at the actual wedding, and at their side pans containing nine kinds of seedlings are set. Seven pots are arranged in a row between the stone and a branched lamp, and married women bring water from seven streams and pour it into a pot in front of the lamp. The grinding-stone is also used in Bhopal.

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Komati by a doll which is rocked in a cradle, but both the prospective parents profess lack of leisure to look after it. The Parivarun union is a stone鼎 representing the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.' The Konga Vellâda bridegroom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, which his worships. It is supposed to represent the Konga king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the milk is probably ophthalmologic. A newly married Bedar or Boya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rice has been showered over them. In Bombay the rice-powder is used to personeate the baby.

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing a child in her lap, and fruit is an effective substitute for one. On the same principle women whose husbands are alive are admitted to take part in the wedding rites, more especially if they have sons living; whereas widows and those whose children have died should be excluded, at least from the more significant rites. Similarly, widowers are excluded from certain functions. Unmarried girls may, however, take the place of married women, e.g., among the Badaga, married women or virgins, preferably the bridegroom's sisters, go to a stream in procession to bring water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots.

Water as a source of fertility also plays a great part in wedding rites. Thus bathing is an essential part of old and modern weddings, and visits to a well or stream are very common. The use of pots full of water is to be explained in the same way. Thus among the Aikitar of Bombay a couple already married bring pots from a potter's house to that of each party to the marriage, and after an elaborate rite the boy pours water from a jar. A jar also plays a prominent part in other rites, including a widow's re-marriage.

Fish being an emblem of fertility, they are often caught by the bridal pair—e.g., among the Gudigara of Madras; the Holeya let the fish go after kissing them. But the Kustriyas, in Madras, only pretend to catch them, as do the Nambuthiri Brahmanas.

The potter's wheel, symbolical of the creative power which furnishes food in both of its forms, is clay, is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed into a revolving lump, like a linga, and wheel and clay together bear a strong resemblance to the confection of linga and yoni.

The Pola-star (Dhruva in northern India) is called Arunachâ on Madras, and, as the wife of the Sâ Vasiśṭha, is pointed out to the bride as the model of conjugal fidelity.

(2) Birth.—Magical rites to procure children are very usual. A typical rite, often resorted to by barren women, consists in burning down seven houses. In Madras a Koyil woman sometimes throws a coco-nut down in front of the cloth on which portraits of ancestors are sewn, and vowkes obeisance to it, and this cures her sterility. Bathing is also a cure for this misfortune, especially bathing over a corpse.

In the Andamans a pregnant woman sows seed. Pregnancy, moreover, involves peculiar risks necessitating the protection of magic and the avoidance of various evil omen, such as stepping on the heelrope of a horse, which might apparently cause protracted labour, or crossing a running stream, which would result in miscarriage—a common belief in the Panjab. In Travancore tamarind juice is dropped into a pregnant woman's mouth to cast out devils.

When his wife's first pregnancy is announced, a Keta husband in Madras lets his hair grow long and leaves a coc-nut in a pot, and on the child's birth he is under pollution till he sees the next crescent moon. A Makkuvan husband also lets his hair grow until the third day after the birth. A coco-nut, cocked as leaves, and areca nuts are laid at the place where he sits to be shaved, and the coco-nut is smashed to pieces by one of his own septs. A Nambuthiri Brahman also remains unshorn while any of his wives are pregnant. Pre-natal divination to ascertain as to magic to determine the child's sex are also common. Thus the Cherumans in Madras employ devil-drivers, who seat the woman in front of a tent-like structure with a coco-nut in her lap. When open, the fruits predict the child's sex, the birth of twins, and the child's expectation of life or death. The goddess Kâli is supposed to be present in the tent, and prayer is offered to her to cast out the devil from the woman's body.

Another rite which is believed to influence the child's sex is the so-called simanta of the Sudras in Madras. In a first pregnancy, water or human milk is poured over the woman's back by her husband's sister. To ensure that the child shall be a male the pradakshina is performed on the third month of pregnancy, the wife fasting that day until she is fed by her husband with a grain of corn and two beans symbolizing the male organ. Sometimes curd is poured over them before she swallows them, and she also pours juice of a grass into her right nostril.

1 Thurston, I. 206.  2 ib. ii. 305.  3 ib. iv. 364.  4 ib. ix. pt. i. (1901) 153.  5 ib. iv. 15.  6 ib. vi. 201.  7 To xxv. pt. i. (1885) 124.  8 ib. vi. 182.  9 ib. vii. 136.  10 Fo xvi. 117.  11 xvii. pt. i. 217.  12 Fo. 1893.  13 Thurston, l. 33.  14 ib. 1041.  15 ib. 117, 18.  16 Fo. xv. pt. i. (1883) 167.  17 ib. 107.


1 Thurston, ii. 308.  2 ib. iv. 97.  3 ib. iv. 208.  4 ib. iv. 197.  5 ib. i. 10, 106, 185.  6 ib. iv. 63.  7 Central Register of India, 1901.  8 Fo i. pt. i. 31, 161.  9 NABHNI (1892) 130.  10 Central Register of India (1905) 132.  11 Thurston, I. 33.  12 Fo. xvi. pt. i. (1885) 167.  13 Thurston, iv. 23.  14 ib. xvi. 115.  15 ib. 169.  16 ib. vi. 102.  17 ib. vi. 211, 213.
Quite distinct from this Brahmanical rite is one of the Kammalans in Annam, who endues the spirit with magical properties: a man who conveys himself in servitude to the spirit of this tree will get all that he wants, but only at the risk of his life. For twenty-one days he must take a pot full of water daily to the jungle, and on his way back cast half of it upon a particular tree; on the twenty-first night he will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will appear to him, and, if he escapes death, he will get all that he wants as the price of his condition.  The tree called <i>belkass</i> (<i>Callicarpa coracana</i>) has magical properties; any one cutting it down or tampering with it loses all his hair and becomes very ill. It yields a milk which mires blisters, and even to sink in its shade, while it is exuding it, has that effect. Indeed it is dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. This belief is current in the Murree Hills, in the Panjab, but in that very part the Gijars use amulets of <i>baker</i> (<i>its usual Indian name</i>) to ward off the evil eye (<i>sagar</i>) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished.

To cure scorpion bite the insect should at once be caught and burnt, and the smoke allowed to touch the bite. To cure <i>saya</i>, or consumption, in a child (said to be due to enchantment caused by ashes taken from a burning place and thrown over or near the child) the parents should give away salt equal to the child's weight. Toothache is cured by a magical rite which consists in spreading sand on a clean piece of board and writing on it the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet. The patient then holds his aching tooth between his thumb and index finger, and touches each letter in turn with a pointed instrument. When he reaches the sixth letter, if not before, the pain is cured. At each he should be asked if he is cured, and, when he says that he is, he should be asked how long he wishes for relief. He should reply 'two years,' as that is the limit of the charm's efficacy.

After a bad dream, a Gârâ, in Assam, collects a reed-like grass and is beaten with it by a priest, who repeats certain exorcisms. Then they carry a cock to the nearest stream, kill it, and let its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts the dreamer bathes in the water. The prayers, the chastisement, and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the boat is allowed to carry off the ill-luck.

On the first day of sowing sugar-cane, sweetened rice is brought to the field, and women smear the outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the labourers. Next morning a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on a spindle. This custom is falling into disuse.

Magic squares are in vogue among Hindustans. Thus one which totals 90 lengthways cures quartan ague; one totalling 100 every way causes excess of milk in cows and women and of <i>ghâ</i> in a <i>chum</i>; one totalling 150 every way will, if worn round one's neck or in one's <i>poyyr</i> (turban), bring any person under one's power; and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Squares totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.

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1 NINQ lv. (1894) § 797.
2 NINQ lv. (1894) § 722, and Selection Calcutta Review, viii. (1899) 124 (Calcutta Review, CXXV. (1899) 280). In the latter R. C. Temple identifies the <i>baker</i> with the <i>Skr. vata</i>, or <i>bahuvar</i> tree, but describes the <i>baker</i> as a low thorny shrub of the <i>jzizyphus</i>, or <i>jub</i>, family, the fruit of which is the 'fruit of paradise' in Arabic poesy—on which account the tree is much prized in Tripoli and Mina.
3 NINQ lv. (1894) § 693.
4 PB. ii. 376.
7 NINQ lv. (1894) § 402.
8 PB. i. 357.
The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a bîr, or demon, may be brought to life.

Let the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in the evening eat sweet rice milk. At 8 p.m. dress red clothes provided with a circle of red thread around the ground. Sit in its centre with four cardamoms, some catechu, betel-nuts, and some firewood to be burnt in a leather hunter and an alms bag. ‘Incantation can break down the stars’ 8000 times—and a demon will be at your service.

II. ISLAM.—Muhammadans classify magic as being: ḍalāl (legerdemain), low sīfī, and sātānic (shaitānī). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the greatest of God’s names—the ʾānāʾ, which is imparted only to the elect, and by which the dead can be raised. But God’s other names, and those of Muhammad and of the good jīn, are also efficacious, and written charms are composed of them or of passages from the Qur’ân, as well as of mysterious combinations of numbers, diagrams, and figures. Satanic magic is condemned by all good Muslims. It depends on Satan’s aid and that of the evil jīn, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (al-sīr) is a branch of this magic; but, as it has been studied with good intent and with the aid of good jīn, there is a science of enchantment which may be taught by lawful means. If enchantment results in death, paralysis, afflication with irresistible passion, possession, or metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is effected by spells or invocations to the jīn accompanied by sprinkling of perfume, or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other evils a talisman (tīlīm), i.e., magical characters, astrological or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

Divination (al-khānā), which is also practised by the aid of Shaitān, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes.

Forms are: darb al-mandāl, inscribed into the enchanter’s circle, darb al-rāmāl, the moving of sand, al-najāt, astrology, and al-sīr, or angry from beast and bird.

The Imām Zaflān rupee is said to be dedicated to that imān, and is worn by Muhammadans on the right arm when starting on a journey.

The names of All and the imānā are used in magic formulas according to the aljāb, or letter-value system of computation. Notices of the custom are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Maghāl court of India.

Islamic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Bani-Iṣrā‘īl, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, and olive-coloured with small white lines, and is used only for sprinkling over wounds and stings by Muslims. Hindus are said to worship it as a god, and to the Persians it is known as the sanq-i-Tahk, or ‘stone of Jahveh,’ or the ḥaṣar al-Husain, or ‘stone of the Hindus,’ in Arabia. Jasper (in Pers. yasam, Arab. ḥaṣar al-bushaf, or ‘hard stone,’ when olive, green-yellow, or opaque green, is used in charms; and, when white, in medicine.

The hair of the child will never lose its lustre, with a respect of it to be tied on his neck at birth. If a piece is tied on the right wrist, he will be immune to witchcraft and the evil eye. Tied to a woman’s thigh, it ensures valiant labour, and, if by the light of a crescent ʿal-qaḥair (the night when Muhammad spake with God) a man be sketched over it and the picture worn over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds by the weapons of the age.

III. MAGIC AND RELIGION.—It has been held by many scholars that in ancient India the confusion of magic and religion was rife, just as it survived among other peoples that had risen to higher levels of culture. H. Oldenberg regards the sacrificial ritual of the earliest known period as pervaded with primitive magic, and he tells us that the rites celebrated at marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king are complete models of magic of every kind, and that the forms employed are of the highest antiquity. Sylvain Lévi observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the Brâhmaṇas that they have all the characteristics of a magical operation, effective by its own energy, independent of the divinities, and capable of producing evil as well as good; it is only distinguishable from the results of enchantment by the fact that both matters are treated in the same works. Thus the Śatavātikatva Brâhmaṇa is a hand-book of incantations and sores, as is the Abhuta Veda and the Brâhmaṇa, ascribed to the writing of M. Bloomfield also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad current of popular superstitions having penetrated into the higher religion of the Brahman priests who were unable and possibly unwilling to cleanse it from the mass of folk-belief which surrounded it. W. Culand, in his introduction to the Kautilya Sūtras, enlarges on the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamansim of the so-called savage. Indeed, some authorities would derive Brâhmaṇa from brahman, ‘a magic spell,’ so that, if they are right, the Brâhmaṇ would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.

On the other hand, J. G. Frazer points out that he was a tree, or as it is called in English, a sacred tree, and that the sacrifice of the goat, which is always to be given at the sacrifice, is a magic sacrifice, e.g., spirits have to be appeased, and the very stake to which a willing victim is tethered for the sacrifice must be cut, shaped, and erected

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1 *Nihāya* § 211.

2 With the yellow to the Gr. ράθανος, and not connected with Skt. rathap, a circuit or group of villages. The ṁndān was a kind of drum used to conjure up deities; hence an enchantment.

3 It was taught by the two fallen angels Hārāt and Mārīt, who, having lusted in the songs of the songsperson, were ascended to the sky and snubbed her splendid with the star Žuhar (Venus).

4 H. Williboros Clarke, *Divinum-Hariya*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 610, citing the Māsīkh-i-Masāikh, ii. 264, 266, 268, and Mārīt-i-māznān, l. 1. For a charm to divine which of two rivals should win the contest of Rāma and Arjuna, see Mārīt-i-māznān, l. 1. Mārīt-i-māznān, l. 1. For a charm to divine which of two rivals should win the contest of Rāma and Arjuna, see Mārīt-i-māznān, l. 1.

5 This consists in writing the two names, and laying them in a bush or nanāt. Then, if both quotients be odd or even, the lesser in number will conquer; if both be odd, the lesser in age, sex, or be odd, the other, the greater in number will prevail.

6 *Nihāya* § 211.


with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is symbolical, but the guiding principle in it is not magic, but religion. 2 Each person of the sacrifice, which is dug in the sacrificer gains the lower world of the fathers, by its middle part that of men, and by its top the world of the gods. But this is a result conditional on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (šīpā), as prescribed by the Sutapatha Brāhmanāya, there is no trace of magic or of magical practices.

A question of minor interest is whether Indian magic was derived from or has influenced that of Arabia and the Neearer East. The Skr. word šīpā, 'black magic,' may be the original form of sīf or, conversely, the Arab word sīf may have been Sanskritized as šīpā. A typical rite in šīpā illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as cheł, or ghât, in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron nails, knives, etc., and sent by certain incant-ances of the steady until it descends on the victim's hands and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called ghâtbad (lit. 'ferryman'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made to induce him to let the vessel cross. By the way, these rites are perhaps connected with the Zoroastrian creation of evil spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

Literature.—I. The Hindu literature is vast, but mostly unpublished. It comprises many treatises on special topics—e.g., the Kaṭapāt (1) and Sutapatha, that is, a treatise on the sacrifice, contains only magical squares for all kinds of alements. It commences with the Ṭhānavaraṇa, upon which and other texts is based Alfred Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber (1876). Strassburg, 1897.

2. The Sinhalese, who are prone to asceticism, have six books on magic: the 1 Jaferan, 2 Sufat al-niljat, 3 Tuhfat al-qawm, 4 Maṣḥat al-deq, 5 Makhrūn al-dalq, and Ama’am-i-Na’m. The Sinhalese also have books on magic: such as the Mrjvarābšt-i-Dirābšt and the Neqššt-Sulzhšt. 5 A. Rose, MAGIC (Iranian).—1. Religion and magic.—Although religion and magic are two essentially different things, the interpenetration of the two is fairly common, but nowhere are they so intricately commingled as in Zoroastrianism.

First of all, a clear line of demarcation has to be traced between the real doctrine of Zoroaster, as it is expounded in the Gāthas, and the Later Avesta. In the Gāthic hymns we find a religion of a highly moral character. It admits of no deity besides Ahura Mazda except personified moral entities, and is expressly undertaken against the lower beings and the magical practices of the people of the time. The cult of the daēvas in general and the nocturnal orgiastic sacrifices in which haoma (q.v.) was drunk by the worshippers were specially condemned.

The Later Avesta also anathematizes the sorcerers (yāstu) and witches (pairīka), but many of the beliefs and practices which Zoroaster had associated with them have found their way back into religion. The whole subject is rendered all the more intricate by the fact that a coherent system has been formed from a combination of the superior elements of the Zoroastrian creed (sophisticated to a great extent by adaptation to a lower standard of religious thought) and the popular and inferior beliefs of the Iranian people, including much that is in origin magical. As is well known, this is the system called dualism (q.v.). It is based on the assumption that there are two cosmic elements, the one created by Ahura Mazda, the real god, and the other by his adversary, Angra Mainyu. Every creature of the wise lord is good, but all that has been created by his adversary is evil. Each has all the power communicated to his creatures his own specific nature and power. His creatures both share in their lord's natural and supernatural power and must assist him in the contest which is going on between the good and the evil spirit—a contest which will not be settled before the end of this world.

It follows that good creatures have a power over evil ones and evil over good. Of course, we may imagine that a good being, when he neutralizes the evil deeds of his opponent, acts after all, as a depository of his creator's power; but in practice it is as though he had a real and effective power of his own against demons.

A good work is an act of war, capable of helping effectively towards the triumph of good over evil and having, therefore, an efficacy of its own to conjure and oppose the noxious activity of evil creatures such as evil spirits; and this is very much like the efficacy ascribed to magical rites. The only difference is that an activity and magic is that, with the latter, material interests are generally at stake, whereas, in the majority of Zoroastrian religious acts, the concern is mostly supra-temporal, being the religious purity of the faithful (adâν) as a preparation for the sublimate happiness of the best. The contrary state, the impurity of the imps of the druğ (dreguants), has to be destroyed.

2. Purification.—For the Zoroastrian the normal means of getting rid of an impurity acquired by sin is to outweigh it by merit—a process which, of course, is far from being magical. Sin, however, being in Iranian thought only a breach of order which has to be repaired by repentance and good works, but a positive product of the evil spirits, of the evil creation, produces a substantial, though invisible, pollution—a moral disease like a bodily illness—and death like results from some mysterious contrivance of the originators of all evil. A material means of removing that pollution is therefore requisitioned, just as a remedy by its beneficial properties, as a piece of good creation, cures an ordinary disease. The power of purifying man from impurity belongs in the highest degree to water—an eminently good element of Mazdean creation. Besides water, other substances—e.g., gaumāta (urine of cattle)—are supposed to have great power to purify. The rites of purification by means of these substances are strictly fixed, as in a magical proceeding: the priest has to sprinkle every part of the body in a definite order, beginning with the head, till the druğ is expelled from the left toes, which are the last refuge of the evil spirit. Dogs have a specially powerful wholesome influence. More intricate ceremonies tending to the same result existed besides this relatively simple one—e.g., the great purification of the nine nights (Pahl. barsem in dâğ) expended in Vend., ix.; the ground is prepared, holes are dug, and furrows are drawn, according to a strict ritual; gaumāta is put into the holes, the patient rubs the ground, and is sprinkled with water and perfumes by means of a spoon and a stick of a fixed size, etc. The proceeding cannot, however, be completely identified with magic, because, however material the concept of purity may have been in the thought of the Iranian people, at that time, its materiality not confined to human interests in this world, because the activity of the purifying substances and acts derives from an essentially beneficent power, whereas the counter-spells, although tending to
neutralize noxious influences, are regarded as possessing a power of the same kind as the one which they oppose, and, lastly, because the rites, in spite of their magical tendencies, are devoid of all mystery. They are methods and receptacles of a procedure, assumed—wrongly, of course—to date back to the Prophet's teaching, and forming part of the sacred struggle of good against evil. Man is supposed to make use of the weapons against which Mazda has put into his hands for a contest in which he is serving the lord's interests. Nevertheless, it is clear that a real degeneration towards magic has taken place in these ceremonies, and also that many an ancient magical prescription for averting evils may have been introduced. This process is analogous to that which we observe in Mazdaism from Zoroaster to the Later Avesta period.

Moral beings, like the amesha spenta (q.v.) justice, good spirit, piety, etc., have been turned into rovers, rather, identified with—the gent of fire, cattle, earth, etc., and Sraoeha, obloquy, has become a good spirit protecting men during the night against demons and sorcerers, having the cock and the dog as his assistants in this task (cf. above).

3. Sacrifice.—Of sacrifice we may say much the same as of purifications. Neither to the Iranians nor to the Iranians was the sacrifice properly a mystery. Oldenberg (I) is quite right when he says that sacrifice is in Vedic times a gift to the god, which, in the mind of the sacrificer, is to influence the intentions of the deity, not by way of compulsion, but by securing his powerful goodwill. This conception, however, was likely to degenerate, and did. Indra and Agni are sometimes described as being mastered by the sacrificer.攻关, the sun, is regarded as a miniature of the sun, the great fire, and, by kindling fire, one gets the sun to rise. Indeed, the Sataypatha Brhatana (2) says that the sun would not rise if the fire-sacrifice did not take place. A similar process can be traced in Iran, where the sacrifice is given its place in the general cosmic conflict, so that it is more than an act of worship; it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need food and drink to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer. When they sacrifice, they fly helpers before their foes. (3)

Sacrifice is thus a value of its own independently of the will of the gods. It is an act of war, helping God in his struggle against the evil creation, so much so that gods also have to practise evil.

Abraham performed the spiritual Yazi ceremony with the archangels (amesha spents) in the Gathas, and in the Yazna be supplied every means for overcoming the adversary. (4)

The value of sacrifice in itself is also to be discerned in the fact that it produces merits independently of the piety and attention of the sacrificer. If he does not obtain them for himself, they are not lost, but are collected in a store (ganj) of merits. The sacrifice of the haoma (= Ind. soma), although itself not really magical in principle, was specially prone to develop in that direction. The haoma = soma, in the thought of the proto-

Aryans, was a plant wherein resided an extraordinary strength of life capable of giving immortality to the gods, who were supposed to live on it like the Homeric gods on ambrosia, and of giving a superexaltation of life to man, in whom it caused intoxication. As was said above, the haoma orgiastic sacrifice had been banished from Gathic religion in company with the magical procedure of the dosha-worshippers. In the post-Gathic period we see it appear, but it has been deprived of its savage character and turned into a mystical drink. (5)

Not only was it supposed to confer a greater intensity of human life, but it was regarded as a spiritually beneficial form of worship. It is, therefore, and gift of spiritual life and a title to the suprar-terrestrial reward. (6) It led to a division into two haomas. (7) The one, the actual plant, was the yellow haoma, the other, supra-terrestrial, called the white haoma (Pahl. gokār), 'stands in the middle of the sea' (Pars. Rast ... that is called the 'All-healer' and on which rest the seeds of all plants. (8)

It is by drinking the gokār that men on the day of the resurrection will become immortal. For that reason it was customary to put a drop of haoma, the lips of a dying Zoroastrian. Haoma, having been made the principle of all life and fecundity, was supposed to receive its healing power from Vohu Manah, and to be the son of Ahura Mazda. This mysterious power of the drink of haoma is an approach to reality: it is extended to domains to which healing and vivifying power cannot normally attain—e.g., the gift of swiftness to horses, races of healthy children to birds, etc. It is, therefore, not only a gift to gods. Moreover, it is, in the traditions of the Indo-Iranians, closely connected with a mystical bird which took the soma=haoma from the place where it was consumed by the god, to give it to women and men. (9) The Avesta speaks of the bird Sēna, which is the Simurgh of the Persians, who make him play the same part as the bird Vâregnâna in Yt. xiv. 354—a part which is completely magical.

Get thee a feather of the white-feathered bird Vâregnâna, oh Spîthane Zârashînâ. With that feather thou shalt rub thy body, with that feather thou shalt cure back thine enemy. He who hath a bone of the mighty bird or a feather of the mighty bird galēth (divine) favour. No one, (however) magnificent, stilleth him or turneth him to flight; he first gaineth homage, he first (galaeth) glory; the feather of the bird of birds becometh help.

Thus we have here to do with a real amulet.

4. Spells.—If the sacrifice is apt to degenerate into a magical rite, prayer may become a spell. The message of Zoroaster to man is a mantra, a noble word which properly means "utterance", "word," "ordination," but has in the later Avesta the meaning of 'spell' and, indeed, the sermons of the Prophet, instead of being a subject for meditation, are converted into a dialect only in a few cases, and have degenerated into mere spells, the exact pronunciation of their words achieving what their author sought by pure life and diligence in a noble calling. (10) The finest Mazdaean prayers, such as the Akhva Vairya (q.v.) Pârsî, however—a kind of profession of faith—have stiffened into a mechanical repetition of formulae, and have acquired an infinite power of their own, so much so that they become a weapon for the Creator Himself. Ob de Bundahîn (1, 21) narrates how Ausharmazd, having recited the Ahunvar and uttered its twenty-one words, confounded the evil spirit and secured the victory over him, in the thirty days of creation. The power of the same prayer and of some others is also expanded in Vend. xix. (cf. also Yt. xvii. 20). Recited as many times as is prescribed on every occasion, they help as a spell the purification of man, which is 3 Monlout, 174.

Cf. C. Tiele, Goddelâst in de Oudheid, Amsterdam, 1895—
1901, ii. 332. 3 Monlout, § 173.

4 Yt. xii. 17.

§ 8 Odin as an eagle carries away the mind. The victor Krâma was supposed to have shot a feather of the eagle (Oldenberg, p. 247).

8 Art. CHAMAN AND AMULETS (Iranian), vol. iii. p. 448.

7 Monlout, p. 153.
primarily attained by the marvellous power of the substances and ceremonies mentioned above.


No wonder, therefore, if the manthra is mentioned as a "sacred word" in Vend. xxvi — a matter which is taken from the ancient historians who were originally priests of fire. The Iranian myth of Atar's victory over the serpent Azi Dahaka (Yt. xix. 45 ff.) belongs to the same order of thought. Indeed, the conception that the Persian athishvaran, keeps closer to the original part, inasmuch as it does not become, as in India, the agent which conveys to the gods the substances of sacrifice. It remains the great averter of everything impure and must on no account come in contact with anything that is not pure, least of all with corpses or with anything coming from the body. It has become an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godlike light, the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation, the weapon of Ahura (Ys. li. 9). It is the principle of all life, in men as well as in plants, the son of Ahura Mazda. We can distinguish several forms of it, among which the behrdom fire is the most sacred. It is supposed to be an emanation on earth from the fire above and the most powerful protective element of all the demons. It took its name from Verotraghna (Skr. vratram), in Indian myth the genius of victory and the slayer of the demon Vytra.

6. Influence of stars. — Astrology, as is well known, was the chief concern of the Magi, as the ancients describe them to us; but there is abundant evidence that this element of activity was not of Iranian origin. The proto-Aryan element of astrology was extremely small, in contrast with the Babylonian religion. We have, however, the cult of Tistrya, the star (Sircus) which was regarded as a good genius that brought rain after having slain the demon Amasa (Yt. vii. 20 ff.). It is a very good genius which, at the dawn of creation and before man was created, destroyed the noxious creatures by an effusion of beneficent waters. It would be an exaggeration to treat as real magic such beliefs concerning the part of Tistrya as we find in the Avesta. There is reason to believe, however, that in some parts of Persia rain spells were in use. The Great Bundahish says:

'My plague created against Zalistan is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practice astrology; those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusta.'

On the other hand, it was a current belief among Iranians that certain stars had a malevolent influence; but this does not oblige us to admit that they had any belief in the influences of stars upon men's fate (cf. art. Farz [Iranian]).

7. Recent superstitions. — Among the superstitions prevalent among the Persians and the Muslim Persian customs many customs, no doubt, go back to old Mazdaean practices or, more probably, to popular beliefs which persisted beside the official creed.

The great power assigned, among the old Mazdaeans, to plants in general, and in particular to some specially marvellous ones, as well as the extensive practice, among the Babylonian Magi, of natural or magical treatment of diseases by herbs, probably explains the important part played by plants in the superstitious customs attached to the ancient Persian festivals as described by Persian writers 2 — e.g., rubbing with olive oil on the day of Mahrz as a riddance from sorrows during the new year, eating a pomegranate on the feast of Mahr (Miltha) to avert dangers, hitting

17 V., Henry, Maed, Erlangen, 1904, pp. 4, 150, 239.
20 Darmesteter, p. liv.
22 Monouk, p. 209.
24 Desclouza, R.T.P xxii. 390.
an eating animal with an orange on the day of Adar in November as a way of securing happiness, giving garlic to one's friends on the Gôô rûz (14th Dec.), and boiling herbs on the same day, in order to get rid of sorceries, and stimulating the spirits of garlic on the day of Di-mih-rûz in order to avoid starvation or misfortune, eating apples and daffodils on the same day in order to secure success in one's enterprise, placing a watch on a pregnant woman's bosom, to make her fertile, etc.

The power of fire against evil beings is illustrated by the lighting of a fire on the night of the Brahman (Vohu Manah) festival (10th Jan.). This fire, on which perfumes were thrown, was lit under the image of the genius in order to repel wild beasts. During the whole night it was guarded by standing Persians. Anquetil du Perron reports that on 15 Spendarmast the Parisis used to hold a spell, written on a sheet of paper, in the smoke of a fire, in which they had put pieces of horn from an animal killed on the festival of Mihr, cumin seed, resin, and garlic, in order to remove the dêvê (daïces) from their houses. The magic for rain has survived in the custom of pouring out water on 30th Jan. in order to obtain rain during the year.

In the last days of the Persian year the souls of the departed are said to come and pay a visit to their relatives, who prepare a sumptuous meal for them—or, rather, they record the favas (p.m.)—are supposed to gaze at the food and smell it. This also, no doubt, is a survival of the beliefs concerning the fravashis.

The use of the Gâthâ hymns and of the chief Zoroastrian prayers as spells against diseases or against the evil eye is current to this day among the representatives of the Mazdaean faith.

1 In order to avert the influence of the evil eye or to cure a child of some disease, a parent will occasionally hire the medokhôr . . . to read from the Yasna, the Yashîn, or the Khordâh Avesta; and when women are childless, they will sometimes pay to have the Vendidad Safah recited by the priests, in order that the curse of sterility may be removed. 2 J. J. Modi knows of charms for diseases of the eye 3 or for avoiding pollution from contact with all that comes from the human body—e.g., hair or nails. 4 Amulets are also used for the same purpose.

Avesta.-There is no special book on Iranian magic.


MAGIC (Japanese).—Japanese magic is such a vast subject that, if we were to treat it systematically, with all its logical divisions and subdivisions, it would be almost impossible to give even a bare index to the volume that would have to be written to describe it. We shall, therefore, dismiss everything that springs from foreign influences, and even in Japanese magic proper we shall ignore the general classifications under which the innumerable details supplied by the rich literature of the country might be arranged. We shall confine our attention to emphasizing the essential possession of magic in the very heart of the national religion, in the most authentic documents of pure Shinto.

For this purpose we must apply chiefly to the ancient rites (norito) collected in the Kongôshiki in the 10th cent., although several of these—and precisely those that contain most of the magical element—were certainly composed at a much earlier date, even before the most remote zoological or historical works, such as the Kojiki and the Nihonshô, which were written in the 8th century. By glancing over the most typical of these norito, and explaining them with the help of certain related passages in the Kojiki and the Nihonshô in other equally ancient sources, rather than by abstract classifications, we shall gain a vivid idea of what Japanese magic was in its most ancient and most original form.

The old rituals seem to have been not so much prayers as magical formulae, solemn incantations, and we shall see that at the same time they were developed in powerful rites by which the magician priests of primitive Japan conquered their gods.

This magical spirit appears at the very beginning of the collection, in the 1st ritual, Toshôgû no Matsuri, which was said every year at set-times to obtain a good harvest. The chief priest (nakatsunomi) who recited it in the name of the emperor, addressed the gods in these words:

'1 believe in the presence of the sovereign gods of the Harvest. If the sovereign gods were to send out the evil, then those who are the most distinguished and in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of dew from the arms and by drawing the most together between the opposing thigas, then I will build their palaces by setting up the friaments in a thousand ears and many hundred ears, raising high the sake-jars, filling and raising in rows the barrows of sake-jars, in July and in ear.'

Other offerings are then enumerated, among which we note a white horse, a white pig, and a white cock. Now, a 9th cent. document, the Kogosha, gives the legendary origin of this detail; Mi-toshi no Kari, 'the god of the august harvest,' had cast his curse on the rice fields; but the diviners obtained from him, by the gift of these same white animals, the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the imperilled crop. The ritual is, therefore, based on a history of magic. The main point to remember from this first text, however, is the conditional character of the offerings which are to obtain the desired result. The same precaution is found and repeated in other rituals, and it is quite clear that the 'gods' are not so much a prayer as a contract, a matter-of-fact agreement, by which the gods receive in advance the remuneration promised in exchange for the services expected from them, and thus find themselves morally compelled to render them. We accordingly see at the very beginning the familiar nature of the relations between these very human gods and the priestly magicians who exploit their power.

In the 2nd ritual, Kasuga Matsuri, we again find this idea of the bond which must unite the offerings with the services rendered; for it is 'in consequence of these offerings that the gods are able to protect the sovereign, and his court. We may also observe that, of the four gods worshipped in the temple of Kasuga, the first two, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi, were represented by norito (norito means 'sacred words') (eds. Kiyono, Japanese Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1906, p. 36), and that the other two, Koyan and his wife, are connected with the famous eclipse in which that god, by his powerful ritual words, helped to bring back the sun (Kôjiki, 22, 3; Toshôgû no Matsuri, 1, 2).

There is the same spirit in the 3rd ritual, Hirose Oho-imi no Matsuri, devoted to the goddess of food.
Her worshippers make a bargain with her; while
bringing her various offerings, they promise her
others if the harvest is very abundant.

The 4th ritual, Tatara no Kaze no Kumi no Matsu, is in some degree similar; moreover, it
recalls Satow, we the Festival of the Pillar's augustness and
recollects. That, the Phoenix, is, moreover, the 'god's
of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They
require certain sacrifices, the rebuilding of a temple at
Tatara, and a liturgy, by means of which they will bless and
ramp the trees produced by the great
of the people of the region under heaven, firstly
five sorts of grain, down to the least leaf of
the herbs.' Here it is the gods who state their conditions.
The people hasten to fulfill them without omission, 'but evidently the recollection of past calamities has left some mistrust, for, when mak-
ing the present offerings, they announce future gifts for the autumn: if, between now and then, the gods have deigned not to send 'bad winds and
rough waters, they will bless them and grant them the firstfruits of this. It will be their small commission.

We shall pass over the 5th, 6th, and 7th rituals, which are not so interesting, and come to the 8th, Otsu-nakatomi-goto, the great magical protective words. It is a formula the recitation of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an
amulet would do; this is shown by the importance accorded to the recitation of the words pronounced; for, in another passage, certain corrector 'gods (mato) are begged to rectify all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rites or the words of the ceremony. This ceremony itself throws abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the Go-shiki of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in TASJ, vol. ix. pt. ii. [1881] pp. 192 f.). In the priestly continuity in which is
enforced chiefly the nakatomi, the imibe ('abstaining priests'), and the vestals, goes through the palace in every direction; and in different places, from the throne-room to the bath-room, even to the emperor's privy, the vestals sprinkle rice and sake, while the imibe hang precious stones on the four corners of the rooms visited by them. We observe here an application of the custom, called
samumi, which consisted in scattering rice to ward off evil spirits. Whatever is the reason of this custom — whether it is simply a bait thrown to the demons or perhaps a symbolical use of grains whose shape represents one of the aspects of the generative power, of the vital force which combats illness and death — the rite in question was very frequently practiced in Japanese magic. Rice was scattered inside the hut in which a woman was about to be confined; in the divination at cross-roads (tsungi-ura; see art. DIVINATION [Japanese]), a boundary was sometimes marked on the road, where rice was thrown, in order to consult the oracle of the words spoken by the first passer-by who crossed this bewitched line; and an old legend tells how, when the son of the gods descended from heaven to Mount Takachiho, grains of rice were thrown to obtain the knowledge of the darkness from the sky. Just the same is the magical use of jewels to combat evil influences. Through
the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, some of which are talismans —

jewels which, at the time of an eclipse, the gods suspended to the highest branches of the sacred
eviera, and whose brilliance recalled the sun (Kojiki, 64); jewels which, in another famous story, enabled Elet to stand the magnetic influence, which, paraded in the imperial apartments, caused the dark threats of the invisible everywhere to retire before their brightness. Still another point to be remarked is that, according to the description cited, the imibe recite the ritual 'in a low voice.' Polynesian sorcerers also said their prayers in a low singing, perhaps even hissing, tune, similar to the hissing, whispering voice which they attributed to their gods; and even in Japan, in the divination by the harp (koto-ura), one of the practices of the officiant was a complicated whistle. All this
magical atmosphere which surrounds the ritual suits its text very well. It points out, first of all, the
propitiatory rites which the imibe have accomplished in hewing down the trees intended for the construction of the palace. Then it recalls the mythical relation which underlay the
ellicy of the formula recited. Then the protector-gods of the palace are entreated to ward off certain calamities, several of which — e.g., serpent-bites, or the droppings of birds falling through the sacred trees of the Great Palace.' This title itself indicates the magical character of the document, and, in fact, we find the ritual defined in its own text in the words, ama
ari kuwami shihiki-goto, 'the celestial magical protective words.' It is a formula the recitation of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an
amulet would do; this is shown by the importance accorded to the recitation of the words pronounced; for, in another passage, certain corrector 'gods (mato) are begged to rectify all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rites or the words of the ceremony. This ceremony itself throws abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the Go-shiki of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in TASJ, vol. ix. pt. ii. [1881] pp. 192 f.). In the priestly continuity in which is
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the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, some of which are talismans —
The one is the 'planting of wands' (kisshō-washi) in rice-fields, probably with incantations—a process which an ancient native interpretation explains as the erecting of magic boundaries on the field of one whom one wishes to make propitious, though perhaps it is an example of painted wands secretly stuck into the mud to hurt the bare feet of a neighbour, just as, among the Malays, a person in flight retaliated the parasite by driving his feet into the mud. This meaning of the other offence (mai-mono seru tsuru) is the 'performing of witchcraft,' either in a general way (cf. Kojiki, 320 L) or in particular against a neighbour's animals (Nihongi, i. 106), a heaven in heaven in heaven the sake of which is taken by the priest (kemono-ta-fuski, 'to kill animals,' which precedes it). In any case the Chinese character employed shows that it is a question of black magic; and that is why the nortō, although it is itself a magical text, does not hesitate to condemn it.

The ritual afterwards shows that, when these faults are committed, the great nakatōni has to prepare some twigs in a certain way, doubtless intended to form a sort of purificatory broom, then to recite the 'powerful ritual words of the celestial ritual' (ama ten norito no futo nortō-gō). The character is derived from the necessity of finding for a long time to find out to what mysterious incantation this passage could possibly allude, without seeing that it simply referred to the nortō itself. This is the 'celestial' ritual which the gods referred to in high regard to the ancestor of the emperors, and whose 'powerful words' his descendant ceases to be repeated—an expression intended to recall the intrinsic virtue of this formula. When the high paraphrase of this, according to the text of the ritual itself, the gods of heaven and earth will approach to listen, and all offences will disappear, being swept off, carried away to the ocean by the god of the currents, driven to the nether regions by the god whose breath stirs before it all impurities, and there they will be seized at last by a spirit of the sea, who will banish them for ever. Clearly these deities are only the four wheels of the machine which the emperor sets in motion by the hand of the great nakatōni, the magician who knows the sacred words which even the gods obey. As for the rest, to make more certain, they bring a horse whose erect ears will incite these gods to listen attentively, just as the crowing cocks, the lightning fire—all these magical processes of the myth of the gods (Kojiki, n. 55, 56, 60) to recall the same, or as, in another account of the old Shinto annals (Nihongi, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 106), one had only to whistle to raise the wind. Then an order is given to the wade (diviners) to throw into the river the expiatory offerings, to which a mysterious sympathy unites the sins themselves, which will disappear along with the objects to which they have been attached. The ritual finishes, therefore, with a last example of the magic which has inspired the whole of it.

We may mention the 11th ritual also with this oracle, an invocation which the hereditary scholars of Yotó-kō have sometimes offered at the ceremony of the Great Purification, and in which they presented the emperor with a silver-gilt human effigy, which would play the part of scapegoat by removing calamities from him, and a gilded sword on which he breathed before it was taken from him, with the same intention of driving away, after this magical transfer, both the sins removed and the god's protection.

Another ritual which is plainly magical is the 12th, the title of which, Ho-shidzume, 'Appearing of the Fire,' shows that its purpose was not to worship the god of fire, but to banish him from the palace. As in the 10th ritual, the text first recalls the celestial revelation which has confided to the emperor the 'powerful words' by means of which he is superior to this god. Then it recounts the atrocity of the crime of this 'child with the wicked heart,' who had attempted to give birth to her son in the temple. This is the other offence (mai-mono seru tsuru) of which the text is a version; and tells how Izanami herself, cursing this son who had caused her death, came up from the nether regions to give birth to him in the gourd, the river-plant, and the princess of the clay mountains, four divine things whose magical use against fire she immediately taught. Then, in order that this wicked god 'may desist not to be terribly given up in service of the august sovereign,' he is loaded with offerings, which have the effect of captivating and subduing him. This ritual was accompanied by rites which consisted mainly in the lighting of a fire by the wade in the four outside corners of the precints of the palace, with the primitive apparatus (hi-kiri-uzu) of which a specimen may be seen in the University Museum, Oxford.

The 13th ritual, Michi-une, also aimed at employing certain gods to combat others. Those who were invoked on this occasion were three gods of roads and mountains who, because of their fault, were entered upon as 'preventive gods' (tsuko no kami) against the epidemics sent by the demons. The ritual begins by reminding these protective gods, without further ado, that their duties were inaugurated in heaven itself, where they already served the son of the gods. It then dictates to them what they must do: when the new rice of the year appears, the ancient Japanese performed a ceremony called Nikki-name, 'new tasting,' which had a propitiatory purpose towards the spirit of the rice (Uga no Mi-tama). The Oho-uni was a more solemn Nikki-name, celebrated some time after the accession of the emperors, and constituting a sort of religious coronation for them. This ceremony is described in Kojiki. In the first place, there is nothing very curious in itself; but it is interesting to find that the very complicated ceremony with which it was connected included a long series of preparations, in which magic occupied a large place, just as in the essential part of the festival, when the emperor in person, surrounded by ladies of honour who repeated a mysterious formula, shared in the repast which he had just offered to the gods.

The 15th ritual is another document whose magical value appears as soon as it is placed in its psychological surroundings. It is entitled Mi-tama shidzuru, which shows that its purpose was 'to appease the august spirit,' i.e. the spirit of the emperor. It was a case of keeping the imperial soul in his body, of recalling it if it seemed to wish to escape—in a word, of renewing magically the vital force of the sovereign for the coming year and thus prolonging his life. This is the meaning of the ceremony called Chinkonsai, which was celebrated at the end of the plastic character of the priests of the court (see Nihongi, ii. 372). Now, the gloss identifies this festival with an ancient ceremony called Mi-tama furushiki, 'shaking of the august jewels,' which again plunges us into deep magic. The Kojiki (ii 2) says, in fact,
that, when the sun-goddess gave the investiture to the ancestor of the emperors, she bestowed upon him ten precious treasures:

- One mirror of the office, one mirror of the shore, one eight- 
  hands-breath sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return 
  from the Under-World, one jewel returning with [things 
  by the road they cause], one serpent-scarf, one horse-scarf, 
  and scarf of various things. She added: 'In case of illness, 
  shake these seven scarves in your hand to repeat the words; [Hi, fu, 
  ni, go, teu, mu, nana, pu, kakekono, tari, and shake them yerma-
  part, to all the gods]. If they do not the dead will certainly return to life.'

The objects enumerated by the sun-goddess are talismans, several of which occur in the most ancient Japanese mythology (see Kojiki, 88, 160, 169, 234, etc.). As for the investiture, it represents simply the series of numbers from one to ten, which demonstrates its intrinsic power, independent of the meaning of the words. We know, besides, that the same investiture was recited at this festival by young ascetical virgins (mi-kanmu-ko), who performed the sacred kagura, in imitation of the dance of Inume in the eclipse myth (Kojiki, 64-65), while a nakatomi knotted threads, which were clearly meant to retain the imperial soul, and which he shut up in a closed vessel.

We shall confine Rituals 16 to 27, which refer exclusively to the offices of the temples of Ise; it will be sufficient to mention in this group the formula of the 23rd ritual, for the installing of a prince as sovereign.

The offering of a sacred princess of the blood imperial to serve as the 'dolls' staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of purification strictly for three years, is to the end that she may cause the Sovereign Grandchild to live peace-

fuiy and firmly as long as Heaven and Earth, and the Son and the Moon may be serene, the Great Nekotomi, holding the thread special by the middle, with deepest awe pronounces this dedication of her by the Mikado to the end that she may serve as an august staff.'

We have here evidently a survival of the ' ab-

stinent' sacrifice of the primitive Japanese, whose asceticism 

was based on the death of the good fortune and 

health of the village, in the same way as here the 

sacrifice of the imperial virgin is to guarantee the 

happiness and long life of the sovereign (cf. art. 

ASCETICISM [Japanese]).

The 25th ritual, of a more general interest, 

is entitled: Tottari-gami no uta-tatsunoumaro, 'Ritual for the Riteful Removal of the Gods who send Plagues.' In the 25th ritual the gods of roads were made to intervene against these wicked gods; now they themselves are directly 

addressed. It is, therefore, a real formula of exorcism. Letting how the supreme council of the celestial gods, wishing to 

'pacify' the country before the descent of the future emperor, sent Futsu-nushi and Take-mikad-, 

nachi, who triumphed over the terrestrial gods and 

'silenced the rocks, trees, and the least leaf of 

herb likewise that had spoken.' After this warn-

ing, undisguised and all the more plain because, 

according to the ritual, the wicked gods know well,

by virtue of their divinity, the things which were 

begun in the Plain of high heaven,' numerous gifts 

are made to them win over—and not only 

the usual offerings of cloths, fish, game, vegetables, 
rice, and sake, but also, in a native fashion; 

as a thing to see plain in, a mirror; as things to play with, 

birds; as things to pull out, a bird, a bow and arrows; as a thing 

to strike and cut with, a sword; as a thing that 

galleys out, a horse.

Lastly, after having thus loaded them with 

numerous toys and abundant dainties, which they 

beg them to accept 'with clear hearts, as peaceful 

offering and sufficient offerings, they earnestly 

ask these 'sovereign gods' to be good enough, 

without deigning to be turbulent, deigning to be fierce, 

and deigning to hurt, to remove evil to the wide and clean places of the mountains and streams, and by virtue of their divinity to be tranquil.'

Passing in silence a less interesting ritual (the 

26th) of the office of the last to the last document 

of the collection, the 27th ritual, which is called

Idzumo no kuni no miyakko no kuni yotogyo, 'The 

Divine Words of Good Fortune of the Chiefs of the 

Country of Idzumo.' These local chiefs, after 

having lost their ability to sway the religious power. It is they who (to this day in this 

old province hand down the primitive fire-kindeh which their legendary ancestor, the god Ame-no-

hohi, had received from the sun-goddess herself, and which one of his priest of Jera hohi bequeathed to his successor by the ceremony called Hi-tsun,

'perpetuation of fire.' In this ritual the miyakko 

first announces that he will recite the formula, 

after many ritual preparations, to bring happiness 

to the reign of the 'visible god,' i.e. the sovereign.

He then relates how Ame-no-hohi and, later, other 

celestial ambassadors were sent to earth to prepare 

for the descent of the son of the gods; how Ochino-

mochi, the divine king of Idzumo, who achieved 

the 'making of the country' with the help of a 

stranger magician, and who was the first to 

found a government in this important region of 

the archipelago, was persuaded by the celestial 

envoys to abandon his temporal rule to the son 

of the gods; how he then divided his souls, by a 

curious application of the Japanese idea which allows the possible separation of the soul from the body, 

attaching his 'gentle spirit' (miy-tenos) to a fetish-

mirror which he caused to be placed in a temple of 

Yamato, while his 'rough spirit' (ara-tenos) went 

to rest in the present temple of Idzumo; how 

a length Ame-no-hohi received from above the 

command to bless the sovereign henceforth, that 

his life might be long, healthy, and happy (cf. Kojiki, 

54, 58, 113-134). It is while carrying out this 

command that the descendant of Ame-no-hohi 

intervenes, as he himself declares. He brings to 

the emperor 'divine treasures,' whose magical rôle 

—fortunately for us—he clearly defines. There are, 

first of all, sixty jewels, white, red, and green.

'These white jewels are the great august white hairs (to your Majesty will reach); the red jewels are the august, 

beautiful, ruddy countenance; and the green ones are the harmonious fitness with which your Majesty will establish 

far and wide, as with a broad sword-blade, his great 

august reign over the Great-eight-island-country which he governs.'

We have here, therefore, a typical case of the 

action of like upon like, which is one of the essen-

tial doctrines of primitive man, and which, in 

the present case, attaches to the different jewels a 

power corresponding to their colour. The formula 

continues by other applications of this principle of 

imitative magic:

'As this white horse plants firmly his fore-hoofs and his hind-

hoofs, so will the horses of the Great Palace step firmly on the 

upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking 

up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears ever 

more erect, rule the Under-Haven,' etc.

It is possible that at some time these rites may 

have become symbols; but it is impossible not to 

recognize in them, even at the beginning, practices inspired by that primitive logic which has always and everywhere constructed magic on 

the same universal principles.

Ancient Shinto, therefore, as it appears to us in 

its most authentic liturgies, is a religion in which 

the magical element still prevails over the religious sentiment. The rituals are essentially magical 

formulæ, addressed to magician gods (as is demon-

strated by all the mythical explanations of the 

priests (the nakatomi, the inume, and the urabo), 

and encircled in magical rites. Magic is, there-

fore, at the base of the national cult of the 

Japanese, and it appears there with all the charac-

teristics familiar to the student of comparative 

religion.

To finish with a vivid illustration, which, after 

the necessarily short descriptions given above, will 

show this magical principle in many cases, let us take an exact case, we shall choose as an example sorecery,
as it was practised in the most ancient times. The following is the curious account of the subject given in the Köjiki (326 f.):

“The Deity of Idzushi [the country of the ‘sacred stones’] had a daughter, who was named Majinahi. So eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden of Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. Hereupon there were two Deities, both of whom the older was called the Youth-of-the-Flowers-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-River-and-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: ‘Though I beg for the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage, will thou do so for me?’ He asked the Deity, saying: ‘I will easily obtain her.’ Then the elder brother said: ‘If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own making, and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the river, in payment of the wager.’ Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wataribi-flakes, was seized in the course of a single night an upper garment and trousers, and also a sword and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trousers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden’s house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wataribi-flakes. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Flowers-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden’s private room. Then, when the Maiden of Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them, he followed behind the maiden into the house, and followed her. So she gave birth to one child. Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: ‘I have obtained these things. If the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have warded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. When the younger brother knew that his parent had been wronged, he sent his father’s younger son to his mother, and his parent replied, saying; ‘During my ancient life the Deities indeed are to be well named, but in the latter part of my years, in the life of a mortal man that he does not pay those things.’ Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a one-jointed bamboo from an island in the River and made a coarse bamboo, and cut stones from the river, and mixing them with brine (shio, in the sense of ‘hard salt’), wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo and caused this curse (tokohi) to be spoken (by her younger son): “Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, do these become green and wither again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine (again the word shio), but here are the withering of ‘sea-water’, the river flowing and ebb, and once more the saking of these stones, do thou sink and be prostrate.” Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed the basket over the smoke (apparently on the hearth of the elder son). Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, and sank, and lay prostrate for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreats his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. Thereupon his body was pacified. This is the origin of the term “a divine wager-payment.”

In this text we have a case of original sorcery, founded on sympathetic magic, in a manner of conceptions so well expressed by the Japanese word for ‘magic,’ majinahi, which conveys the idea of ‘to mix,’ but before the time when the progress of the arts and foreign influences could have given the idea of the making of medicines to charm off an enemy. (For this later development see, e.g., the popular ballad of Shuntoku Marn, in Tasi, vol. xxii. pt. iii. [1894] pp. 294–308.) We are therefore, in literal exactitude speaking, in that early stage only of ancient character is shown by its very obscurity, and which cannot be understood unless it is replaced in the midst of the primitive beliefs from which it came. First of all, the mother provokes herself with the mysterious bamboo on which the life of her elder son is to depend. Purposely she does not gather it in any chance place; she takes it from an island—which already connects that object with the aquatic element. With this bamboo she weaves a basket, in which she takes care to leave eight holes, which will be the eight openings in this basket she places river-pebbles, which, even more than the bamboo, come from the water. But it is from fresh water that they have come; and the nature of the rite determines the way in which mediaeval character. They are, therefore, put among brine by this union the assimilation is made, and the sorcery can be accomplished. The only thing that remains to be done is to care for the formula whose powerful words will act on all these things.

The victim will wither like the leaves of bamboo, in the same way as, in another legend (Kojiki, 231), the magical impression (tokohi) of a chief had made a great oak-tree suddenly decay; or, better still, in the same way as, by the effect of a general malediction, man, formerly immortal, was condemned to die as the flowers of the cherry-tree fade (Kojiki, 140–142). Then, as in the high water bamboo trees are supposed to be abused. Lastly, he will be seen founding as a stone sinks when disappearing under the waves. This curse pronounced, the basket of perdition is placed in the smoke of the hearth; the green leaves become black; the threat is executed, he turns black. In the end the mother’s heart hears the repentance of her son. She reverses the curse, i.e., the terrible magical formula is this time pronounced backwards (cf. Kojiki, 232), and immediately the body of the young man is pacified; he returns to health, to life.

In this sorcery the most curious point is that which is connected with the sea element. The fate of the young man is, in fact, connected with the ebbing of the tide. We have here an interesting illustration, among the insular Japanese, of the belief so wide-spread among primitive races, according to which the greatest difference between the life of man and the flowing and ebbing of the sea. In this belief, it is when the sea is flowing in that one is born, becomes strong, prosperous; it is when the sea is retreating, that one will suffer. As his energy, falls ill, and dies. The Japanese sorceress, the depository of primitive traditions, is well aware of this secret agreement. She knows that, even far from the seashore, the artificial connexion can be formed between these two manifestations of a single force. Consequently she brings into connexion with the salt element these river-pebbles, into which the consecrated words will bring the very existence itself, and which, as the energy, is immediately delivered up to the enchantment of the waters; he becomes like a pebble on the beach, the tide carries him away, drags him towards the brightness of life, then lets him fall back and roll in darkness and death. This story of witchcraft, has, therefore, given us at one and the same time a typical case of Japanese magic and a new proof of the stubbornness of observation in the most curious beliefs of humanity in general.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article. M. REYMOND.

MAGIC (Jewish).—The attitude of Judaism towards everything not sanctioned by its own monotheistic teaching has also affected the practice which may be called ‘magic,’ and it thus becomes necessary, first of all, to obtain as clear a definition as possible of the OT and Jewish tradition allow as to what is to be understood by the term.

It must at once be pointed out that divination and charms (see DIVINATION [Jewish] and CHARM and AMULETS [Jewish]) are not part of Jewish magic, which, properly speaking, corresponds most closely to ‘witchcraft.’ The difference between witchcraft and other forms of magic is that the magician has nothing whatsoever to do with forecasting the future or with preventing any occurrence that is sure to happen in the ordinary course of nature. He has nothing to do with spells or incantations, nor is the writing of any formula an indispensable condition for magic. Magic can only be ‘performed’: no magic is effective unless it is the result of some ‘operation’; the magician thus has a more personal nature and another in order to accomplish his purpose; and herein lies the profound difference between magic and any other form of superstition—preventing and altering the regular operations of nature. The magician is not helping things to fruition; on the contrary, he
seeks to subvert the regular course of events. He is existable, if it is the sun and noon, to bring the dead to life, to change human beings into animal shapes or vice versa; he is to produce fruit in winter, and, in fact, to do everything that is contrary to the regular laws of nature.

The magician will kill, he will create strieth—this activity will always be an evil one. He is not expected to do good; he will be the agent for vengeance, hatred, and everything that makes for strife, death, and destruction. But he cannot carry out his intention without an ‘operation’; he must ‘do’ something in order to bring about the desired result.

Unlike the diviner, who is guided by certain signs and omens, which he is able to understand and combine, so that he can read the future in the events of the present, and unlike the charmer, who can only undo the magician’s evil work by certain spells, songs, formulae, and written amulets, the magician must perform a whole set of ceremonies quite independent of signs, omens, and spells. It is a new definition that is here offered, which, by circumcising much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give to magic its real meaning. The magician’s work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, conditioned by other means, or by other magicians who know the secret of the action and the means by which it has been achieved. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to create new creatures, the magician requires the help of superhuman powers. This is the very root and basis of magical art; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malicious in their disposition and willing to do mischief.

Jewish magic presupposes the existence of such spirits, and occupies the borderline between orthodoxy and heresy, between Judaism and paganism. It is an art that lives in the twilight between truth and falsehood; and the life of demarcation shifts according to the change of theological views in the course of centuries and transitions. It depends also upon the nature of those spirits and upon the theological attitude towards them—whether they are considered as forces opposed to God or as mere negative forces that are also creatures of God and yet exist apart from Him, and against whom one must do good. The conception of a rebellious angel who has been cast down from the heavenly heights because of his arrogance and insubordination does not enter into the sphere of Jewish magic, nor, with rare exceptions, have the gods of other nations become evil spirits subservient to the wish of the magician and willing to do his behest.

The Hebrew term for ‘magic’ is kashafa, which, like all technical expressions connected with superstition, is of obscure origin; though many attempts have been made to elucidate its primitive meaning, not one has yet proved satisfactory. The primitive meaning of kashafa, in the view of the present writer, is apparently ‘hidden’, ‘obscure’, ‘a thing done in a secret manner’, which is the very essence of magic. The performance is a secret one, and even those who are allowed to witness it are slow to understand its meaning. The word kashafa, with its various derivatives, occurs twelve times in the Bible. It is to be noted that all the references in the Prophetic writings some are to Assyria as well as to Palestine itself. In 2 Ch 33:18 Manasses is described as having practised witchcraft, and in 2 K 17:24; 2 K 21:12 and in the Targums Mal 3:8; the wizards of Egypt are mentioned in Ex 7:11, 22; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2:5.

The LXX translates keshaf by γραμματία, which does not mean ‘poison’, but, in later Greek, a ‘spell’, cast by a magician. Keshaf has remained the technical term in Hebrew literature. Witchcraft is called kishaf in the Mishna and Talmud, and no words have been more widely used, and yet with a very slight meaning attached to them, than kishaf and mkhashaf, nor is there anywhere in the whole range of the rabbis’ ideas any real doubt that the real meaning of this ‘magic’ is exactly witchcraft. It is clearly stated (Sanh. vii. 1, 2) that only the Egyptian or Babylonian makes a real act, but not the man who produces an optical illusion, a kind of jugglery.

The fact that witchcraft is mentioned in connection with Egypt (exclusively, in the Pentateuch, and occasionally, in other passages in the Bible) shows the probable source of the magical art known and practised in Bible times. The Egyptian mkhashaf in Ex 7:7, 22 perform precisely the acts defined above as the work of the magicians: they endeavour to change the order of nature. No details are given regarding the operation of the magician in the Bible; but from Is 47:14, Miq 5:27, Mal 2, Nah 3, Jer 27, and Zec 7:12 it is clear that, in the eyes of the prophets, the work of sorcery was tantamount to idolatry and to lawlessness, possibly through the performance of some action by the magician. It is supposed that such acts in a state of absolute nakedness is an attested fact throughout the history of magic, and it is possible that the prophets had this in view when in speaking of an evil spirit (Isa 7:17) would make new nations, and all to keep the same plane as harlots. It is noteworthy that the witch, and not the wizard, is mentioned in Ex 22:15, Dt 18. The sin of the mkhashaf had to must have been so heinous that the law punished it with death. Witchcraft must, therefore, have been connected with idolatry (Miq 5:27); it was characterized as an ‘abomination’ (Dt 18), and was also described as zivvef, ‘lawlessness’ (Nah 3, 2 K 24).

The scanty references in the OT, which show that the practice could not have been widespread in Bible times, become clear in the light of the tradition of Rabbinical literature. We learn to know through various sources the magicians were able to carry on their operations; the spirits become, as it were, more materialized. The existence of demons is not denied; on the contrary, they are universally acknowledged, possibly through the influence of evil spirits, and the Jewish belief of the period endeavours to account for them in a world created by God (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Hebrew] and DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish]).

According to the Pirke Abodah, v. 9 (cf. C. Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Cambridge, 1897, ad loc.) and Gen. Rab. 1, moszafi were created by God Himself at the close of the sixth day; but, as the Sabbath supervened before their creation had been completed, they remained half human, half spirit. They are not fallen angels, nor are they ancient heathen gods, but intermediate between angel and man, and mostly of an evil inclination.

How are they to be used—i.e. the art of witchcraft—has been taught to man by two angels who have forfeited all rights to the bliss of heaven. According to the Book of Enoch (tr. M. Caster, London, 1889), and other Jewish Haggadic collections, the two angels Uzza and Azael, who showed their dis- content at the creation of Adam, and afterwards were sent by God, at their own request, to see whether they could withstand temptation, both fell in love with a woman and were punished by God.

One of them, Uzza, has his head in the sun and the other is chained behind the dark mountains; it was the latter who taught women the arts of witchcraft and cosmetics (Jerabhneil, ch.
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25, and notes, p. lxxxiii). 1 The Kenites, the
descendants of Cain, were the pupils of these angels,
and, according to the Book of Jubilees, were the
descendants of Seth and brought about the Flood.
According to another tradition, the maga-
zhim and shołówim were the children of Adam and
Lilith, the shołów which leads the procession of
shołówim, who are (see below). The demons
are both male and female, and they are also
endeavor to consort with human beings—a con-
ception from which arises the belief in succubus and succubus—and it is through these
demons that the magician is believed to be able
to carry on his work.

In apocalyptic and legendary literature we get
a clearer glimpse of the beliefs prevalent among
the Jews concerning magic and magical operations.

1 For an Egyptian parallel to this legend ascribing the origin
of magical arts to the tombs of couples who had fallen in
love with a woman see M. Berthelot, Collection des anciens
Égyptiens, etc., p. 129, and Guido, ibid., 5, 66.

2 Later the host of shołówim had other rulers and princes
besides Asmodeus (cf. Ex 25, 9), ibid., Gen. Rab. 20, Levit.
25, 5, etc., more or less ahistorical complications.

3 Guido, iii. 56.

magic with idolatrty, noted above), In addition
there was the lighting of candles and the use of a
knife with a black handle, which is mentioned in
Rashi to Sanh. 10a, and which can be understood
only as a symbolical sacrificial knife. Philistia
must be served in glass bowls (Biblia meṣūl, 2a).
Fasting and other ceremonies are all intended to
prophylactically purify the initiated youth, and
that Adam before
magical and magical operations objectionable to
Jews and an ‘abomination’ to Judaism. Yet
Rabbis made allowance for weaknesses of human
nature and, when present on rank, in the absence
of rigorous measures against witchcraft. But when
necessary they did not shrink from them. During
the first centuries of the Christian era, the whole
of what might be termed the civilized world—
Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome—stood under
the absolute sway of belief in evil spirits. It was
partly Babylonian tradition that ascribed every
form of evil and harm to the action of the shołówim
and magazhim and produced a large literature
of invocations and magical formulae for harm and
protection, and partly the Egyptian tradition of
magic operations and ceremonies of a mystical
and magical character. During Talmudic times
it seems to have been believed that some shołówim
were harmless, and, though they were looked upon
as evilly inclined and malignant, a friendly inter-
course with them was considered not contrary to Jewish
law. Thus a Rabbi once assisted in a dispute between two shołówim, in which one who had taken unlawful possession of
a place belonging to the other was slain. A few
drops of blood were found floating on the well
where they dwelt (Levit. Rab. 24); but, on the
other hand, Abaya saw a seven-headed monster
coming out of a well and killed it. The attitude
of the Rabbis was justifiable so long as it did not
lead to real idolatry.

The belief in the power of the Ineffable Name (see
CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish], NAMES [Jewish])
as old as any belief in witchcraft. As soon
as the existence of evil spirits could not be denied,
they also were given mysterious names, and it was
held that, the moment the magician possessed the
secret of their names, he could win their assistance,
provided it was not contrary to the will of God.
Legends say (Pal. Targ. to Gn 25) that among
the first who obtained mastery over these demons
and who did not have to consult with demons of
their own purposes were the children of Abraham
by his wife Keturah, to whom he had imparted
the knowledge of the mystical names of the demons
(the names of the dead). It was through the
names of these evil spirits that ‘the prophet of the
heathen,’ as Balaam is called, was able to perform
his witchcraft and was expected to harm the
Israelites. He was considered to be the greatest
magician of old, and, according to Pal. Targ.
to Nu 25, he taught the daughters of Moab to
practise sorcery and witchcraft and thus enslave
the young men to idolatry and immorality, which
brought the plague upon Israel. It is also said
that Balaam tried to escape by flying in the air,
but Phinehas, through the Holy Name, was able
to fly higher and smite him. The magicians in
Egypt who were inclined to God, i.e., Moshiach in the
sense of Jannes and Jambres (so already in Pal. Targ.
to Ex 1), well known in apocalyptic literature as
the great magicians at the court of Pharaoh (cf.
also 2 T. 30, 1). According to the Samaritan Ap-
ecrypha of Moses, the sorcerer who predicted the
birth of Moses was a certain Palti. The Samari-
tans trace the origin of sorcery and witch-
craft to the period of Sigismund, which is why
he left Paradise; but in Jewish and Christian

1 This is one of the earliest mentions of a seven-headed
dragon, which plays such an important role in apocalyptic
apocryphal literature it is the ‘Book of Adam,' or the ‘Book of Râzéel,' a title afterwards given to a handbook of practical fábôlátá full of such mystical names of angels, rulers, princes, stars, planets, and sublinear worlds.

Still less could the Rabbis of the Middle Ages be able to believe the powers over demons with which they remembered that even the Temple in Jerusalem was said to have been built by Solomon with the assistance of the shâdôthim—a legend which rests on a peculiar interpretation of the word shidâh, occurring in Ec 2. So firm was the later belief in Solomon's power over the shôtîhim—and whatever was allowed to Solomon could not be refused to any other Jew—that Josephus has preserved to us (Ant. viii. 2. 5) the tradition of Eleazar, who came before the Roman emperor Vespasian, and was able to drive away an evil spirit by using the ring of Solomon and certain herbs.

In the Solomonian cycle Assmaeus is mentioned as their king, and Lilith, Mahalath, and Agaron are also described later as leaders of evil spirits, while even a demon Meridianus has been evoked out of Ps 91. Once the grouping of spirits was conceded, names came from various quarters to swell the host. Among these we find references, in the Talmud, to the princes or rulers over evil and spirits. After the fall of the first crown, and over crystal—all shining objects used, no doubt, for crystal-gazing (q.v.). It was a time of syncretism, in which everything that helped either to evil was eagerly sought by the credulous. The work of the magician was wrapped in obscurity; his books were kept secret, and his operations were accessible only to the adept, whence much of the practical operation is almost lost to us. What has survived is, with few exceptions, the accompanying formula by which these various spirits and invisible powers were invoked or subdued either for evil, as in most cases, or for good. In the Greek magical papyri some fragments of the formulae are extant, but very little of the operations. Much more seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew Sword of Moses (ed. and tr. Gaster, J.R.A.S., 1896, pp. 143-149), of extreme antiquity, and in some MSS of practical fábôlátá, or practical occultism, mostly in the possession of the present writer (one of the prescriptions in these is given below). A large number of bowls, magic vessels, and other objects of the first centuries of the Christian era, have been found in Babylonia with Hebrew and Syriac inscriptions, these vessels being used by the ancient magicians for the purpose of fixing the demon ascribed to them, and of forming the magical incantation or conjuration written on them effective. The inscriptions in question contain whole lists of demons and spirits who are in the service of the magician or whose power he is expected to check. A large number of them have been published by J. A. Montgomery (Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, Philadelphia, 1913, and one (no. 32) may here be reproduced as showing the state of mind and the beliefs of the people. The translation is independent and differs somewhat from that given by Montgomery.

*This bowl is prepared for the sealing of the house and the witch-house, for demonology. Brightly burn thy lamps, and let the stars of the sky be in the same. Rabbâ, let him be in the house of Dînâ, son of Ispinardum. Again, let him be against them—a ban against all Demons and Devils and Satans and against all the wicked persons who are in the house of Dînâ, son of Ispinardum. Again, let him be against them a ban which shall annul the righteous and the wicked and the earth and the mountains, and through which no curse on the one who is barren (gifted) shall come, and through which no cursing shall fall upon the magician, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and curses; and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms for hurt and for healing to bring you forth from the house of Dînâ, son of Ispinardum, and from everything that belongs to him. I have power over all the ban, and it is bound and sealed and countersealed, even as ancient lines of writing which do not fall and men of old who were not surmounted (i.e.,... Again, bound and sealed and countersealed in this ban in the name of Yâruvirâr, Yarâr, Yarâr (Ame,'o), Amen, Selah, Lilith and the bowl. Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dînâ, son of Ispinardum, from the Terâlitis (terâlit) and evil dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be this (his wife and son) from the Terâlitis and evil dreams and curses and vows and curses and vows and curses and vows and curses and vows and curses and vows.

This inscription has been selected because it contains the name of the famous Joshua (Jesus) b. Perahyah, who was so important a figure in the time of John Hyrcanus at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. He was the teacher and friend of R. Simeon b. Shetah, whose dealings with the witches of Ashkelon are mentioned below. In the apocryphal stories about Jesus a noteworthy item is assigned to this Joshua b. Perahyah, who had fled to Egypt, where he was believed to have learned the art both of working and of combating magic.

The Jews, Talm. (Sanh. viii. 15, fol. 252) tells a curious legend concerning this same R. Joshua, who is made the contemporary of Eleazar and R. Simeon. It seems that he came to a place where they found a young man whose manhood had been taken away by a witch. R. Joshua sowed flux on his bed, he was never seen at all after that. Out of the midst a woman with dishevelled hair suddenly appeared—the witch. R. Joshua addressed her, desired her to loosen the spell, but she refused, whereupon he threatened to divulge her name. She then answered that she could not undo the spell, because the things had been done by the sea. R. Joshua then ordered the angel of the sea to throw them up, and thus the man was restored to health, and later became the father of R. Judah b. Bettars.

In the light of the Babylonian bowl, it is not improbable that this is a story of Joshua b. Perahyah, but, as no name was known of his magical powers, it was transferred later to another Rabbi also named Joshua.

The Rabbis had no doubt as to the origin of witchcraft: it came from Egypt. According to Kadissâh, 446, ten measures of witchcraft have come down into the world, nine of which have gone to Egypt, while one has spread throughout the rest of the world. The Talmud names one of two witches who are said to have practised in Jerusalem, among them being Yôkhânân, the daughter of Ittîbah (Sotâh, 22a), famous as a witch affecting childbirth.

One day, whilst she was assisting a woman in travail, a neighbour came into her house. Hearing a noise in a vessel, she said to that of a child was born, who, little by little, died, and the woman was easily delivered. Hence it was recognized that Yôkhânân was a witch.

Evidence of the Babylonian origin of witchcraft and of its purely temporary character—as is shown by the fact that, if put to the proper test, it vanishes—is seen in the Talmudic story of Ze'dâl. He bought an ass in Alexandria, but, when he attempted to cross the river on it, it turned into a plant that immediately touched the stream, for no witchcraft can withstand running water. All who saw him laughed at his disappointment, but he recovered the money which he had paid for the ass. Another Rabbâ, Rabbi, being offered a drink of water, poured some of the liquid on the ground, whereupon the rest turned into scorpions. He then compelled the witch to drink and she was transformed into an ass on which she rode into the market. There another witch, recognizing her, broke the spell, and the ass was cured. Rabbâ then said: "Witchcraft is like the egg of a bird—when the sun or moon has been injured, the little will be injured also."

As soon as magical operations came to be regarded as idolatry, stern measures were taken, one of the foremost opponents of magic being R. Simeon b. Shetah (Sanh. 446, and Rashi, ad loc.), who lived in the time of King Janneus and Queen Alexandra (1st cent. B.C.). He went to Ashkelon, where, with the assistance of eighty pupils, he caught eighty witches actually practising their magic arts, and had them executed on the spot.

1 This idea of a witch who holds the soul, or the eyes, or the heart in close imprisonment in certain vessels which, when broken (the controversy is over them) they become free, is the result of Egyptian tradition.
The details are of much interest, for they show a complete continuity of practice from that day onward. The women procured food and drink in a miraculous manner, and in the midst of the feast did not disdain to invite the Rabbis' pupils to share in their banquet. Each of the young men then took one of the witches in his arms and lifted her from the ground, whereupon the latter made a sign with her right hand, and the procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she wore black garments.

It was, however, found necessary to bring some order into the chaos of magic, for the Rabbis could not transgress a clear prescription of the Bible, and a sin which was punished with death could not be passed over lightly. On the other hand, what was a deadly sin for the followers of one creed might be tolerated by those following another; a heathen might be allowed to be a magician and not held under the ban of the Law, while a Jew was strictly forbidden to follow such practices, and, vice versa, a Jew might be considered a magician by the followers of another creed. To a Jew all heathen practices and even religious ceremonies might be magic, and the Rabbis, therefore, divided magic into three categories. First, the death penalty by stoning (Lv 20:27) was inflicted only on those who practised magic, and performed meretricious operations. The second class consisted of those who merely acted as jugglers or produced optical illusions, and who were warned not to indulge in such practices, but who did them. A third type of magic was that by which operations and identical results obtained by the Holy Name were not only tolerated, but actually sanctioned. A difference was thus made between the use of the names of the unclean spirits (magic) and the names of the clean ones (gabbālā). By the former are meant demons and spirits, by the latter angelic powers. At the same time masters of demonology, semi-demonologists being, might be obtained through the mediation of heavenly powers.

Thus, when R. Simeon b. Yohai and other sages went to Rome, they caused a demon, Ben Tuamaiti, to enter the amulets and tokens which, when they were at the city of Tzur, were able to cure her by expelling the spirit (briefly told in M. Git. fol. 17, a-b; enlarged form in A. Jellinek, Beit ha-Midrash, Vienna, 1882-83, vi. 129-130; also Rashi, ad loc.); Gaster, Examples of the Rabbis, London, 1895, no. 19; J. S. Schofield, in J. E. xii. 301.

Thus was established a compromise which was facilitated by the manifold meanings attached to the word rāhā, 'spirit,' used even in the Bible for both a good and an evil spirit coming forth from the Lord, possessing man and departing from him. So strong was the belief in the harm which such evil spirits could produce that, as far back as the time of the Mishnah of light might be extinguished on the Sabbaths if an evil spirit were feared (Mishn. Shab. ii. 5); and in the Bible rāhā is already occasionally applied to evil spirits, demons, and devils (Js 9:6, 1 S 10:14-16, 19b, I K 21:22, Zec 13:1).

Despite the stern attitude taken by the Rabbis, magic flourished among the Jews, for the adaptability of this science often deluded themselves as to the true character of their art. Not only did they continue their forbidden practices and their operations for evoking spirits and subduing demons, but in their formulæ they introduced names of spirits and demons gathered from every form of warlike creed and ancient tradition, and gods and spirits long dead and forgotten were retained in magical practices and invocations. Gnostic, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek, and even such appellations as Scyth, Alpha, Omega, and Evangelion are found side by side with Shabathai and Shaddai. Actual specimens of these conjurations are very rare, for the magician would never disclose his practices. An example of the following type (taken from the present writer's Cod. no. 443, fol. 13b) is characteristic of the peculiar mixture of names and powers used by the magician.

'And they are called the "princes of hell." Take hellulim in his hand and write his name and make him print (literally: put his name in the tooth) into his hand and he shall stěk upon a three-legged stool and put the boy between you, and you shall agree your month and you shall turn your face towards the sun and say in his name "Am'at adjure thee in the name of Truth, God, Keeper of the Hosts, Alpha, Omega, 2 that thou shall send from thee three angels. Then the boy will see (a figure) twice of a woman (the charm) twice more, and he will see two (figures); and the boy shall say unto them: Your country is in peace?? And the owner of them that which you wish. And if they will not answer him, the boy shall adjure them, and say: "Kavev, Kolev, Emaq, Kameq, Kameq, Kameq, Kameq, Kameq, Kameq, Kameq," and with a second adjuration that you tell me that thing or who has committed that theft." And know that he who wishes to do this must do it on a clear, cloudless day, and is winter time at mid-day.

"The most remarkable product of this type of syncretism is the Sefīr Mattah (1864) (Key of Solomon), a complete facsimile of which has been edited by H. Gollancz (Oxford, 1914).

No legal command could eradicate so deep-seated a belief as that in magic and magician; and, though it is true that it was forbidden, almost on pain of death, to become a pupil of a magician (amgīshi) (Shab. 73b), yet his help might be invoked to break a spell, and a case of murder had become seriously ill through witchcraft. The laws were almost to modern times, (T. Y. de Dea, § 179, and the commentary of R. Joseph Karo [see Qaro, Joseph], ad loc.).

Belief in magic received an additional impetus through the mysterious teachings of the Zōbar, which, from the 14th cent., held almost unbroken sway over the mind of the majority of the Jews. In it the Talmudic legends concerning the existence and activity of the sheḥiṭhun are repeated and amplified, and a hierarchy of demons was established corresponding to the heavenly hierarchy. Halis of the other world and the demons are fully described in the Zōbar (Ex. 246b-255a) and exorcism of the sheḥiṭhun or any evil spirit was recognized as within the power of every man fully versed in mystical lore and in the mystical names of God. Many a tale is told of such expulsion of demons by holy and pious men, such as Hildorons in Catania in the 8th cent. (L. Zunz, Zur Gesch. und Lit., Berlin, 1845, p. 486); and others are mentioned by Manasseh in his Nidqat Hayyun (Amsterdam, 1632), bk. iii., which is full of information concerning belief in demons and the power of the pious to master them and use them for their own purposes. But the scholarly and popular notions of the 17th cent. clung to the belief, while in the legendary lore of the Middle Ages such men as Maimonides (p.e.), Ibn Ezra (p.e.), R. Judah the Pious, Rabba, and Nahmanides p. 203, were credited with magical powers, and many a legend is told of their operations. Rabbi Jehiel of Paris has even found a place in Victor Hugo's Notre Dame de Paris as a Wonder-working Rabbi, and no less famous was R. Loeb of Prague (17th cent.), who was regarded as a great magician and was credited with having a clay famulus that was able to perform wonderful deeds, since it had under its tongue a plate on which a mysterious name had been engraven. The Ba'al Shem (1750), who founded the sect of the Hasidim, had many encounters with the sheḥiṭhun, as described in his biography (Shabb. Bein Sheni). In England, 1815, p. 3, a collection of miraculous deeds performed by him and after him by wonder-working Rabbis of the Hasidim as detailed in the Kohl Hasidim (Lemberg, 1864); nor should we forget the legend of the so-called "Gly" at S. Dalches, Dir. Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature, London, 1912. 3 Derya (‡).

(2) Exaγγελίων των θεών (Greek: lit. Proclamation of the Gods). The term signifies the name of a certain section of the Talmudic legends. The copyist, however, who copied the text, may not have understood what he was writing.
scribed in an anonymous chapbook, between a bishop magician and a red Jew, who had come from beyond the waters of the mysterious river Sanhatyon, for upon the life of the Jewish communities in Germany. To this very day the Jews in Syria perform such magical operations as incantations, invocations, and offerings of oil, bread, and lighted candles, which are placed at four corners of an empty house to propitiate the shekelthim before the people venture to enter the dwelling and make the proper dedication. Gradually, however, the belief in the shekelthim is slowly but steadily being discarded. Indeed, much of Jewish magic to-day is, in reality, little more than a concession to ignorance. When a Rabbi was asked why the aid of a magician may be invoked in case of serious illness, he replied, according to Joseph Káro (commentary on Tá'r, Yároch Déch, ch. 179), that, although there was no basis of fact for the procedure, such an appeal might soothe and comfort the patient, and therefore he saw no objection to it. This is practically the answer which is given in modern times when the people are asked why they continue to believe in the harminy demons, and in magical operations intended to propitiate them and to obtain relief and safety. It is merely a temporary comfort to those who are both to give up old beliefs which are not reasonable or even imaginary.

On the vast uplands of the northern steppe man's relations to nature were characteristic. The Greeks, in their country, developed a corresponding mythology, varied and beautiful; the modern Western European, a city-dweller, turns to nature in a romantic manner, semi-religiously idolizing what is to him unworship and fresh. But to the Slav peasant nature was business, his everyday surrounding, beside which nothing else existed. He was rather unimaginative and quite ignorant. Whilst the Northern and Central Slavs, with a more acute outlook on natural phenomena, the Slav, in the drear monotony of his plains, fell into neither the deep religious fatalism of the Scandinavians nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun ripened and the sun scorched; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was enviroved by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be subdued; he addressed prayers and invocations to them in a prosaic, almost rationalist, attitude of mind, without adoration, with merely a recognition of inevitable dependence. His spells and invocations (the bastard descendants of heathen rites) were unsound sciences, but good rationalism. A. N. Rammbau 1 says that the primitive Slavs adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity. The Pomeranian Slav, the only Slav who had access to the sea, had a very elaborate ritual, and worshipped many-headed images in temples, not in groves, like the other Slavs. Their greatest oracles and pilgrimages were in the isle of Rügen; these pagan shrines were destroyed by Valdemar I. of Denmark in 1168.

The recollection of this sacred island has strongly influenced Slav myth and magic. The word Rügen is derived from the same root as the English 'rough,' and is called in Early Russian Rivaz. Now the word may derive from the Teutonic name Rügen; and it is thus a safe and probable theory to identify the fabulous island of Byway with the historic shrine of Rügen—all the more so as the mysterious stone Altây is thought perhaps to mean amber, which was an article of Baltic commerce.

When Christianinity had effaced the old Slavic nature-gods, the need for which they stood still remained—that of dealing with nature, coaxing and dominating her, and mastering her secrets. Fragments of the old ritual, degenerating into incomprehensible pattern, continued to be used at the old sacred haunts, but these incantations were clandestine; though the beings invoked were believed in, they were considered illicit or hellish; heathendom had changed into magic.

Every village had its magician or witch-doctor. These practitioners certainly possessed great knowledge of healing, as herbalists and masons; but, where all nature consists of discontinuous miracles, such cures had to be accompanied with the ritual that was calculated to conciliate the powers and convince the patient.

The Russian freecrier lived alone; he had learnt the magic formulae, and had been instructed by the woodsprites (lódít), the goblin of the hearth (domorev), 2 the fairies of the fields and the water (poleváy, vol Lyons). Such practitioners are known by many names—e.g., znákhár, kóllam, znákhkar, cédín, vorotóy, etc.; the women-witches are called cédinéva; and to them more extraordinary powers are attributed. These magicians hand down their wisdom to their youngest children—a custom signifying that this magical knowledge was derived from non-Aryan peoples, and taken over by the Aryan conquerors.

It is said that the znákhár has physical marks—a troubled eye, a grey complexion—that he mutters, has a hoarse voice, and so on. Unless he communicates once a year, earth will not receive his body, and then he wanders after death as a vampire, sucking others' blood. Witches are credited with the power of flying, and are supposed to have marvellous muscular strength and a spotted skin. They are said to forgather in the groves and woods, and to cavort with the mythical beast that man should cross himself when he comes upon such whirling columns, for in them the witches dance. If a knife be thrust into such a column, it will drop to the ground blood-stained; and it then becomes an implement for sorcery—e.g., a man crossed in love may use its broad blade to wipe out the track of his maiden in the snow.

The wizard is believed to have terrible powers; among the Galician Rusines, e.g., if the znákhár inserts a knife under the threshold of his intended victim's dwelling, the victim is snatched away by a whirlwind, and detained until the knife is removed.

The magical formulae are very curious. They are framed for every occasion of need; and, to be efficacious, they must be spoken in one breath without any departure from the text—only thus can the powers of nature be quelled, and the wizard be the lord of creation. The following is the text of a charm against lead, copper, and iron bullets:

θ In the lofty chamber, at the river mouth, beyond the river Vågan, a fair maiden stands, stands and decks herself, commands herself to valorous folk, glories in deeds of war. In her right hand she has irons bullets of lead, holding her copper, on her feet bullets of iron. Do thou, fair maiden, ward off the guns of the Turks, the Tartars, the Germans, the Circassians, the Russians, the Moravians, of all tribes and seas.

1 La Russe d'époque. Paris, 1876, p. 315.

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MAGIC (Slavic)

Again, in another formula, the Holy Virgin is depicted, like Svantovit, one of the principal gods worshipped at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs, or St. George, as riding across the golden bridge on her horse — an unmistakable reminiscence of the chariot of the sun on the rainbow.

There are charms to hurl a child to sleep, and these somewhat involve mysterious symbols, such as Plaks, and Sockotina — as well as the dawn, coupled with the names of Christian saints.

To save a man from drunkenness a worm is taken out of an empty wine-cask, dried, and then steeped anew in wine, whilst this formula is recited:

Lord of the sea-deaths! Carry the mutilated heart of thy servant out of the shifting sands, the burning stones; breed in him a winged brood.

The following examples illustrate the lyrical quality occasionally found in these strange compositions, especially in some of the spring incantations:

Thou, Heaven, hearest, thou, Heaven, sentest what I wish to accomplish on the body of the servant X. (There follow four words unintelligible. An unintelligible patten is sometimes found, which looks very like a tradition of a lost language.) Thou Moon, turn away the servant of God from wine; then little Sun, bring peace to the servant of God from wine. Ye bright stars, do ye assemble in the window? My cup be there water from the mountain-well! Ye stars, do ye want X, the servant of God, from wine?

Thou bright Moon, come into my net! But in my net there is neither bottom nor cover! Thou generous Sun, approach my deep, my courtyard, but in my courtyard there are neither men nor beasts.

The field of Slav magic is too vast and intricate for adequate treatment in these few words. The varied superstitions have been voluminously compiled by Sakharov and his generation; but it should be particularly noted that there are extant songs of witches in a meaningless gibberish, which some philologist might very possibly interpret and so assign definitely some origin to part of the magic ritual, at any rate, of Russia.

In the 18th century, Russian magic became specifically demonological. An infernal hierarchy was foisted upon it with anti-ecclesiastical ritual. These late charms impress the reader as being identically artificial, like the imitative ballads of the same period; in form they copy the mediaval spells.

Summary.—The history and decline of Russian magic, it would appear, traced the following course. The primitive old magic of the Slav Aryans was profoundly influenced and deflected by the subject races of the Finns, Cuds, and other Turanian races, who became typical magicians and had mystic powers ascribed to them. The elaborate ritual of the Pomeranian Slavs originated in a greater intermixture of race, and, when suppressed, was soon forgotten; but it lingered on in tradition and folk-lore, in the incomprehensible patter of the spells, and especially in the legend of the island of Buyan and the stone Alatyr.

As Christianity spread, the ancient gods of thunder, spring, and prophecy, the sun and moon, etc., were duly canonized, whilst the pagan soul and the pagan adoration of nature remained the same, and the festivals were held, often on the same day in the same place, and with similar ceremonies.

In the second mediaval stage, merged in and with the incantation is village science and medicine, village nature-poetry, and primitive religio loci. The specialization of the medicine-man, the healer, the priest, and the minstrel came with advancing civilization, the herbalist degenerating into the drug-man and enchantan and enchantress, into the mediavally, a formal demonology arose, a positive anti-Christianity, artificial, sporadic, and short-lived.
MAGIC (Teutonic).—In all the Teutonic and in all localities the belief in magic is found to have sprung from the same roots: panvitalism, i.e. the conception of nature as alive in every part; the incapacity of primitive man to distinguish persons or things from their names or representations; the belief in the transferability of the powers of nature and of human souls; and the dread of soul-spirits and demons, as also of such like personages as were believed to be in league with these supernatural existences. We need not wonder, therefore, if the means by which the various peoples of the earth have sought to defend themselves from an evil or to augment their strength, and likewise to show a degree of uniformity. Naturally the most effective mode of securing immunity from the machinations of magic was to counteract them, if possible, by magic. From the earliest times the amulet and the spell have been specially resorted to as protective expedients. While the former, however, was employed exclusively as a prophylactic, the magic formula was used in the practice of other kinds of the occult art, whether its design was beneficent or the reverse.

With reference to the ideas and customs associated with the belief in magic, the Teutons formed no exception to the general rule. Among them, as among other races, are found the belief in the soul and the various forms of superstition developed from and dependent upon it. The souls of the departed were believed to pervade and animate all nature; they could assume at will human or animal forms, and bring good or evil fortune to men. From the soul of the sorceress came the powers of the witch whose devices could work injury upon other human beings. Many of the nature-demons, whose origin was the physical environment, were regarded as beings endowed with magic. Among the Germans, likewise, the practices of soothing and magic were intimately connected with the belief in soul-spirits. The prophetic faculty was attributed to women as well as men. In the north of Europe the \textit{Völken} had a great reputation as prophetesses and sorceresses. The practice of magic was on the whole more fully developed among the Northern Teutons than in Germany, being fostered in the former case by the shamanism of the neighbouring Finns, a people famous over the whole North for their magic. The most powerful and formidable sorceresses mentioned by the Norse sagas belong, for the most part, to the Finnish race, which, again, in its religion, its demonology, and its magic, is very closely allied to the ancient Sumerian peoples. It is possible that many elements in the magic and demonology of the Northern Teutons were borrowed from the Finns. At all events, the practice of resorting to the latter people in order to acquire their magic arts became so prevalent that at a very early time the Christian Church found it necessary to enact laws prohibiting it. But this was not the only channel by which the Teutons became acquainted with the magical ideas and usages of foreign, and especially of the Roman, Greek, and Oriental peoples. The Northern Teutons visited the Mediterranean Sea both as Vikings and as peaceful merchants, while the Southern Teutons were the near neighbours of the Romans, and were sometimes in their pay as mercenaries. In point of fact, the arts and crafts of the northern and southern art and its adorments are found among the Teutons from the outset. Here, just as on Greek and Roman soil, the idea prevailed that it was possible to work changes in the natural objects simply by the magical virtues of the spoken and written word or of the symbol. The magic utterance and the magic rune—the engraved talismanic symbol—were used for the most varied purposes, according to the \\textit{Ynglinga Saga}, runes and spells vowed their origin to Odin, while the rune-master of the \\textit{Havamál} knows the right method of engraving the characters, as well as the songs which effect cures, restrain enemies, render weapons harmless, quench fires, subdue winds and waves, call up the dead, and awaken a maiden's love, though the words of the songs are not given. Other magic songs are referred to in the \\textit{Sigrdrífsáld}. That a similar profession of magic songs was to be found among the Southern Teutons is shown by the \textit{Hombilia de ancilis}, which came into existence in the 10th century under the influence of the Teutonic and Slavic elements in the \\textit{Ordsal}, the \textit{Ynglinga Saga}, and the \textit{Völva}. The Teutonic peoples, however, were regarded as due to demons and malefic magic. Magic alone, in fact, could undo the work of magic.

Now, the articles exclusively employed for the purpose of influencing the magical properties of things were amulets and ligatures. There was no the slightest misgiving as to the efficacy of the appropriate amulet. Discoveries in tombs furnish ample information regarding the objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, for the protection of the dead, belenmites, amber rings, stone arrow-heads, and hook crosses were laid in the grave along with the body. Amulets were also fashioned out of all kinds of objects bearing figures and drawings, while a special vogue was enjoyed by the so-called \textit{bracteates}, which were imitated from Roman coins, and brought to the North in the early centuries of our era. These were mostly of gold. The images of the gods which served as amulets likewise date from the period of Roman influence.

When the missionaries of the Roman Church introduced the Christian religion among the Teutonic tribes, they found ideas and practices quite similar to what had prevailed in pagan Rome and its provinces. Accordingly, they sought to apply the same procedure as had been previously resorted to, i.e., they incorporated the deities of the pagan Teutons into the system of demons whose existence the Church recognized, while they forbade all worship of them, as also the practice of magic in general, and inflicted severe penalties upon the disobedient. From the early centuries of the Church's history, synods and councils had found it necessary to forbid even the priest to pander to the people's craving for amulets, written spells, adjurations, and magic potions; and, as late as the 8th cent., clergy in Thuringia, the missionary district of St. Boniface, were making amulets of small cards inscribed with Biblical verses of supposed protective or remedial powers, and hung from the neck by a cord, just as if they had been pieces of amber or agate. Other forms of incantations were also vigorously denounced from the pulpit, while other ecclesiastical enactments against amulets and spells are found among the rules for penance and in the ecclesiastical or Christian codes. Among the various colonies and settlements of The Northern Teutons visited the Mediterranean Sea which, it is true, prohibit many non-Teutonic
superstitions—a peculiar place is occupied by those of the Anglo-Saxons, as the Frankish regulations are in great measure verbally dependent upon them. They are against 'divisiones,' 'angus Chresti,' 'souini,' 'mathematici,' 'emisseros tempestatum,' and especially against 'incantaciones diabolicas,' 'filastera,' and 'ligateae.' As yet excommunications issued against the practices were not punishable by law, and the laws, most of them introduction and reformation. The Venerable Bede (HE iv. 27) relates that, during a time of pestilence and high mortality, recourse was had to adjurations and spells. The attempts to deal with the disease generated an entire series of the decrees of councils dealing with the subject in his work de Synodalibus Consulis (A.D. 906; PL xxxxi. 157 ff.), and from that work much has been borrowed by Burchard of Worms, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century (PL exxli. 537 ff.).

That similar ideas and usages were still flourishing in England at this period is shown by Elfric's Passio S. Bartholomaei Apostoli, with its injunction that no one shall seek to regain health by using a ligature of medicinal herbs or praising a herb in a magic song. The ecclesiastical ordinances of Eadgar and the Northumbrian priestly laws contain regulations to the same effect. Among the Northern Teutons likewise canon law directed its mandates against superstition and magic.

In dealing with such offences, the national codes of the various Teutonic peoples do not show the same unanimity as the Church. The Teutonic nations that came into existence on Roman territory found it necessary to base their legislation against magic directly upon the ordinances of Roman law. The earliest Teutonic code, the lex Visigothorum, enacted (bk. vi. iii. 2, 4) that those who 'qui bussumam incantationibus' bring hailstorms upon the fields and the vineyards 'decemens flagellis publice verbetur et decedvat deformiter denarios esse posset pecunia cogantur ad invitant.' In 1098, King of the Longobardi, sternly prohibited the belief in cannibal witches. Among the Germans, as among all other races, the feeling prevailed that one who practised malefic magic must at all costs be got rid of, whether by expulsion from the tribe or by death. But, on the other hand, we have a variety of testimony from Northern Europe which seems to show that the practice of magic was not in all circumstances deemed criminal.

In the civil law of the Anglo-Saxons, from the 7th cent. onwards, we find penal enactments against superstition and magic, and in particular against the employment of spells and amulets. The laws of Alfred the Great dealing with magic are founded mainly on the Biblical denunciations of the practice. Of similar character are the legal ordinances dealing with the occurrence of disease among the Northern Teutons. The elder Icrician canon law of the 12th cent. ordains that those who tamper with incantations or witchcraft shall be punished by being turned out of the tribe.

The evil against which the enactments of the Teutonic codes were mainly directed was malefic magic (malacium). Until the 8th cent. we find no similar enactments against other superstitions which eventually gathered round the belief in witchcraft. But the belief in the existence of cannibal witches and in witches' flights was explicitly forbidden by ecclesiastical and civil legislation, though Ivo of Chartres (c. A.D. 1100) thought it possible that witches exerted some influence upon the sexual functions, 'anger Chresti,' however, notwithstanding all its exertions, was by no means successful in ridding the people of their magic beliefs and practices. Both continued to flourish abundantly well into the 13th century, and were still rampant to the recrudescence of the old neo-Platonic—in reality, the Babylonian—doctrine of demons. At an early period medicine had become the monopoly of the clergy, and it was a frequent practice to exorcize the patient by the priest; and to release, to the rosary, and to the 'Agnis Dei' were ascribed the greatest virtues. Those who in sickness and trouble applied to the priests were treated by means of the anulet and the incantation, so that as late as the 16th cent.—at a time, that is, when a medical profession in the proper sense existed—adoptions were still resorted to by doctors.

The attitude of the Church towards the belief in magic was twofold. On the one hand, it accepted magic as an indisputable reality. On the other hand, it ranged itself with the civil legislation in an uncompromising opposition to certain dangerous popular superstitions. But in the 13th cent. came a momentous change in the Church's standpoint. The doctrine of Satan was now made the basis of the legislation against witchcraft, and the journeys of witches, the transformation of human beings into animals, the sexual intercourse of men with female demons, and the operation of sorcery in the sexual functions—all these things were now accepted as facts not to be gainsaid. Then in the 14th cent., the two currents of heresy and sorcery, which had hitherto run side by side, became amalgamated, the latter other, and merged in the belief in witchcraft. While among the Teutonic tribes the practice of magic had hitherto been penalized—to speak strictly—only because of the mischief which it might work, in the 13th cent. the civil legislatures in Germany likewise resolved upon a new policy. The Old Saxon code (Sachsenspiegel) sent those who practised magic of any kind to the stake, and its example was followed by other municipal and territorial codes. In spite of the rigour of the Inquisition, it is true, the earlier penal law (which threatened with excommunication the users of incantations, amulets, or other magic devices) was universal, especially by certain outstanding men among the clergy. The Inquisition at length silenced every stricture against its competence to deal with magic. By the civil legislation of the 16th cent., those who dealt in magic and soothsaying were punished mainly by fines; the death penalty was scarcely ever mooted. On the other hand, the Hamburg criminal code of 1598 enacts that the punishment of malefic magic shall be death by fire, and this clause was taken over by the Imperial legislation—the 'peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karl v.'—while we find that the criminal code of the Electorate of Saxony (1572) sentenced witches to death by fire, and its example was followed by the legislation of the several States. The persecution of witches was gradually introduced into the various territories during the 16th cent. In England the earliest processes of this kind seem to have been trials for real or alleged attacks upon the person of the sovereign, or from the reign of Henry vi. onwards, the laws against witchcraft were in general much more lenient than was commonly the case on the Continent. Witch-persecution in England dates from about the middle of the 16th cent. The Scottish cases are found as early as the beginning of that century. With regard to Sweden, we are not in a position to say whether witches were burned
before or during the Thirty Years' War. These measures, however, were incapable of extirpating the belief in magic—just as the Reformation itself failed to do away with it, though the doctrine certainly received a telling blow from the Reformers. As to the question whether sorcery has a foundation in fact, the Reformers themselves shared the ideas of their Teutonic predecessors. The final deathblow to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was administered by the reconstituted sciences of modern times.

Even in the earliest ages a clear line of demarcation was drawn between lawful and unlawful magic. The latter was treated by all races with the utmost rigor, and not seldom punished with death. Among the Teutons, as elsewhere, incantations and amulets were utilized as a means of securing protection and profit to the individual and his belongings, and also to work injury upon others, and their possessions. The magic spells of the Teutons may therefore be arranged in two main divisions, according to the purposes that they were intended to serve: (1) magic formule supposed to secure protection and advantage; (2) magic formule intended to injure others. But, as the subject of the following, the spells may be further divided according to the effects which the spells were intended to produce. Their object might be either (a) to drive away an existent evil, to "expel it"; or (b) to avert a possible evil by the means of a "blessing." This dichotomy of the first main group, however, will not be found exhaustive, and it is necessary to mark off another subdivision. Magic formule were used not only for the purpose of dislodging present and averting future evils, but also as a means of inducing spirits to throw light upon the future, and upon hidden things generally. In so far as this (c) prophetic magic (as it may be called) had often to do with things which lay in the future, it comes into close touch with the class of magic formule designed to prevent possible evil. But, while the received spells can for the most part be assigned to one or other of these four genera, many particular species may be differentiated within the larger groups. The number of different varieties will in general correspond to that of the various purposes which the formulae were meant to serve.

Magic can be overcome only by counter-magic; such was at one time the universal postulate of the occult art. In primitive times, however, all sorcery consisted in words and symbols, generally conjoined with the sprinkling of holy water. Tacitus (Germ. x) states that, when the deity was consulted by means of the lot, the priests held aloft the magic wand engraved with symbols, muttering incantations the while. Sundry Anglo-Saxon spells specify the appropriate action to be performed. Thus the incantation for bewitched soil gives precise directions regarding the requisite symbolic actions and sacrificial usages. For the formula against the machinations of witches the instruction runs: "wð friscæ fætercufuge and see reade hale, æ þærn in wyxæ, and wegrade: wyll in buteræ; þen at the end, 'nim þonne þæt sæx, æo on wæstæ.' But word and action had already been frequently employed independently of each other, and it is not surprising that the word came to be used apart from all unnecessary or symbolic actions. The Teutonic conviction that magical effects could be directly produced by the spoken word must doubtless have found expression in the particular form of the spell. But the simplest—indeed the most original—type of directive influence is the express command, and, accordingly, such command must have formed the nucleus of the Teutonic incantation. Two examples of Teutonic spells may be given here. The first is a formula intended to make a person who had been bewitched unable to arise: we bore the title "contra vermes" (C. von Müllerhoff and W. Scherer, Denkmaler deutscher Poesie und Prosa, i. [1892] 17):

"Gang oreuce, mid egnun manum
ot þone mearge æ þat bæn,
þæt eþno bine æ þat þæmeg,
ôf þæm þe þep issne þæm bæn,
ôf þæn þerða ftæ þæm strænæ,
ôf þæm þræfinæ, maerthe æd!"

With this may be associated the Anglo-Saxon "blessing of bees," the 'wyð ymbæ,' from a Cambridge MS of the 11th century. After a direction regarding a magical action, and the performance of the same thereof, it continues (C. W. M. Grein and K. F. Wüucker, Bibliothek der angelsächsis. Poesie, i. [1883] 319.)

"Sitte ge, algewil, swæffæ to eorgam! naerfe þæc wiide æ wudu bygægan! Dege æ gewgæamænige æniæ godes, awa bygæamæ gebelæ mete æpelæ."

It is quite conceivable that spells of this kind should exist independently, and unattached to any preliminary narrative. This has been observed also by Schröder in his article 'Über das Spell' (ZDA xxxvii. 293):

"Probably as it is that at a certain stage of civilization the action of the god, the spell in its postulated form, and the formula of its incantation was in the hands of the divine priest—perhaps as early as the 5th century—was produced in connection with the invocation of a particular genius and was the smallest doubt that in other periods the epic narrative and the magic formula were disjoined, and may each maintain a separate existence.

Besides these adjurations strictly so called, which were complete in themselves, and which may be disregarded as the earliest Teutonic spells, there comes down to us from the same age another species—that in which an epic narrative is prefixed to the formula proper.

The classical examples of this type are the two Merseburg incantations, and the Anglo-Saxon spell against the practices of the devil which is constructed on similar lines. The epigraph of the introductory portion—the narrative—is generally borrowed from mythology. The procedure was to relate some incident traditionally associated with an effect identical with or similar to that which the formula was meant to produce. It was not necessary to say in so many words that the spell should now operate with like efficacy; the bare recitation of the story invested the formula with all the potency required. But this dependence of the formula upon narrative certainly indicates a change of view regarding the power of the formula. The performer has lost his earlier reliance on his own capacity, and this must, accordingly, be reinforced from without.

While this epic type of spell is often referred to as the primitive Teutonic form, the facts would seem to imply its secondary character, though its root may indeed lie in paganism, but in any case the recitation of a short narrative before the actual formula is not peculiar to the Teutons—let alone the Western Teutons. The spell has been traceable among other races and in much more remote times. It was certainly known to the Romans and the Hindus. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that it is an indigenously Indogermanic usage, since it is found also among the Babylonians and the Egyptians. An Egyptian papyrus of the XXth dynasty (now in Turin), for instance, contains a spell which in its whole design shows a striking resemblance to the Merseburg incantation for fracture of the leg. In the Babylonian and Egyptian spells, too, precisely as in the Teutonic, the scene of the narrative part is always laid in the mythological sphere. In view of the vast influence exercised by the Oriental, and especially the Babylonian and Egyptian, magical ideas upon the nations of the West, it is a tempting conjecture that Oriental models for the spell have been largely instrumental in propagating the narrative spell among the Indogermanic peoples of Europe—first of all in the Greek and Roman area, and then Reserve (loc. cit.), is beside the purpose. The primordial element was certainly the formulae of incantation being added later; and, as we have seen, each could
be used by itself alone. We find, moreover, that in Christian times quite different introductions were combined with the real nucleus of the spell. What we call magic, therefore, thought of each part as distinct in itself, and in no degree the less so because in the recitation ‘saying and singing’ came alternately. In all probability the spells were simply muttered in an undertone; there is a large mass of evidence—Teutonic sources only—pointing to this mode of recital.

Thus the missionaries who came to evangelize the Teutonic tribes found two types of indigenous incantations, viz., the purely imperative and the narrative. As the Church was unable to put an end to heathen customs and practices, or the use of magic formulae, it adopted the policy of assimilating everything that could in any way be reconciled with its own views, hoping that by the device of clothing the objectionable thing in a Christian garb, it might succeed in eradicating the superstitions of the heathen. It likewise endeavoured to transform the ancient formulæ, and here probably its first, as also its most urgent, task was to eliminate the heathen characters from the narrative spells and put Christian ones in their places. New formulæ were composed, and these were generally composed in verse, and were embellished with rhyme. Their narrative portions exhibited Biblical characters, such as Jesus, Mary, the apostles, and others, in pertinent situations; the fact which in itself conclusively shows that the spells in question originated in ecclesiastical circles. Such imitations of heathen formulæ composed by the clergy are relatively numerous, and date for the most part from the 11th and 12th centuries.

From this narrative species of Christian spell, again, was in part evolved a new type. This took the form of composed allegories, and its origin ran thus: ‘As such and such a result was brought about then, so let it be produced now.’ Very few of the surviving spells of this type are in metrical form; the great majority are in prose.

A further form of blessing, for the use and diffusion of which the clergy must again be regarded as mainly responsible, derives its origin from the special Roman Catholic ceremonies known as the sacramentals. New formulæ were formed on the pattern of the ‘exorcisms,’ ‘benedictions,’ and ‘consecrations,’ or these were simply translated into the vernacular. This species is probably not older than the 10th century.

Mention must also be made of a type of magic formulæ in regard to which the monks played merely an intermediate role. This group consists mainly of formulæ handed down in ancient medical writings. The design of most of these is the cure of disease, but adjurations for use in digging up medicinal plants were also transmitted in this way. These formulæ were, of course, mostly in the Latin language. Their potency lay mainly in phrases and letters—magic words and characters largely of Eastern origin, being derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, and Jewish magic. This group, according to occasion, comprises the most ancient type of spell, which is to be observed, always exhibits an unintelligible jumble of words. From the earliest times, indeed, this very unintelligibility was the indispensable condition of the efficacy of the spell. From the 13th cent., however, we must take account also of another contributor source of the superstition which is concerned with words and letters—and it may be added, numbers also. This was the religious philosophy of the Jews, as set forth in the works of the Kabalah (q.v.).

These leading types will suffice to classify the great majority of magic formulæ, and even the hybrid, complex, and derivative varieties which inevitably made their appearance in the course of centuries. But the prime factor in such secondary formations was doubtless oral tradition, to the action of which a large proportion of the spells would remain subject at some stage of their development. The learned formulæ of the Church are usually of considerable length, and in their full form would have relatively little vogue among the common people. From these larger spells, accordingly, certain typical parts were excerpted, and then used independently. The popular mind laid the main emphasis upon the nucleus of the spell—the formulæ proper—and examples of this type become numerous from the 16th century. In these the strict parallelism of the earlier ecclesiastical blessings is to some extent abandoned. It was now considered sufficient to say: ‘As surely as this act has taken place, so surely may this effect ensue.’ Sometimes, in fact, the place of the parallel is taken by the antithesis. It became the practice, further, to draw upon still more remote quarters for the conclusion of the blessing, and to introduce formule which in themselves had formerly done duty as blessings, so that the formulæ of blessing, being supplemented by invocations of God and multipliéd petitions, more closely resembled the character of prayer itself.

When we consider the mass of Teutonic formulæ—even with the 16th cent. as the ulterior limit—in relation to the purposes which they were meant to serve, we find that an explicit mention is made of God in only a small number of cases. Formule were believed to be due to malignant demons and unfriendly magicians, and were therefore combated by the magic formulæ. But the same formule was employed, however, both by friend and foe, about the origin of which there was no uncertainty. The remedies employed in such cases were supposed to acquire peculiar efficacy by having a spell uttered over them.

Nor was it human beings only who in their distresses were benefited by spells. As had been believed from the earliest times, protection was equally indispensable for the lower creatures most closely associated with human life, viz., the domestic animals. In their case also, therefore, magic formulæ were used to ward off disease and other evils. The dog, and especially the shepherd’s dog, was protected in large degree against the dangers to which it was exposed from wild beasts. People were very specially concerned, however, to guard against the bite of mad dogs. A certain blessing, ‘ad pallos de nido,’ was supposed to help the growth of chickens. The purpose of the somewhat numerous ‘bee-blessings’ was to keep the insects from swarming.

There was, besides, a multitude of adjurations for animals other than the domestic. People tried to rid their houses of flies, mice, and rats by appeal to the power of the formula; wolves were adjured not to hurt the cattle in the fields; serpents, to be easily caught. The bite of the serpent was averted by spells, and by means of adjurations the reptiles were induced to yield up the potent opheite stone, and to be obedient to all commands. The tooth and the hinder tooth of a horse was blessed against all kinds of injury, and with the shoulder of a toad a man could win the love of whomsoever he chose.

In the therapeutic arts of ancient and medieval times an important place was assigned to medical herbs. It was of vital moment, however, that these herbs should still retain their supposed virtues after being plagued, and certain magic formulæ were devised to ensure this. The practice was to adjure either the whole world of herbs.
MAGIC (Vedic).—I. Definition. —The sphere of cult and ritual has two aspects in Vedic literature —religion and magic. The former (see art. VEDIC RELIGION) represents the relation of man to the gods and lesser divine beings. Its object is to cultivate their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifice, and thus to induce them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires. The essential character of Vedic religion, therefore, is proprietary and transactional. Magic on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events, without the intervention of divine beings, by means of spells and ritual. Its human character is, therefore, that both aim at the same result, but in different ways. Religion achieves its purpose indirectly by inclining the will of a powerful ally through prayer and gifts, for instance, to destroy an enemy. Magic does so directly by operating with the impersonal (and imaginary) causal connexion between the means which it employs and the effect to be attained, as burning the effigy of an enemy in order to burn the enemy himself. In practice it was in part auspicious and beneficent, as the ritual for the obtaining of offspring or luck, of rain or victory, but it was largely malevolent in the interest of individuals and not of the community, and, therefore, as being dangerous, was condemned by the priesthood, except in so far as it was applied by them.

2. Literary Sources. —The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are commended. In the Rigveda, therefore, are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 71). Only a dozen of its 1028 hymns are concerned with magic, about one half of them being auspicious, the rest malevolent in character. As to any magical rites connected with the sacrifice, the Rigveda gives us no information. On the other hand, magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the Atharvaveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 11); it is a collection of metrical spells, largely to be accomplished by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Yajurveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 13) occupies an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its part which consists of prose formulae, the gods are only occasionally, though generally by implication, related to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulae are associated, and which they follow in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The great development, in this period, of an intricate ritual and the concentration of sacrificial thought on its perfect performance had led to the new conception that sacrifice was efficacious without gods, but directly to control the natural course of things.

The prose theological works called Brâhmans,
which represent the next stage of Vedic duty of Hotr priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sea above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain (v. v.). Every page of the Brahmanas and of the ritual Sutras shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over gods and, going beyond them, could directly influence the Brahma and reach the supernatural powers afforded by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions.

Thus the final phase of Vedic literature, which comes described in the so-called sacrificial manuals, is, show how the observances of everyday life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices (cf. also art. LITERATURE [Vedic and Classical Sanskrit], §§ 8-12).

3. Importance of the subject.—A knowledge of Vedic magic is obviously important to the investigator of magic in general, for here we have magical material, bearing on every aspect of human life, which began to be recorded well over 3000 years ago, and which can, from that time onwards, be historically studied in continuous successive stages, extending over more than 1000 years. Such faculties are afforded by no other source. The light given by the ancients to the antiquity or the quantity and quality of the evidence afforded. The material in Vedic literature does not require to be laboriously gathered together from scantly and scattered references, as is necessary elsewhere. It is here supplied not only in great abundance, but, for the most part, in an easily accessible collected form. Its aid is, moreover, essential to the student of Indian religion: without it he would arrive at erroneous or exaggerated conclusions as to the purity and advanced character of the beliefs and practices of that religion in its earliest form.

4. Sacrifice and magic.—Considering that in the Rigveda we have a collection of prayers, and in the Atharvaveda one of spells, are we justified in supposing that the spheres of religion and of magic were already separated in the Vedic period? By no means. It is, indeed, certain that the sacrificial invocation had by that time assumed a literary type, and that the hymns of a magical character formed a very small part of the total. It must, however, be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rigveda, being addressed to the great gods, offered few opportunities for references to magical practices, while the ritual which the hymns of the Rigveda were intended to accompany, and which is fully described in other Vedic texts, is, though carried out by the sacrificial priests, from beginning to end saturated with magical observances. Again, where there is a group of ceremonies directed to the accomplishment of a particular purpose and, therefore, favourable to a greater prominence of the magical element, such as the wedding and funeral rites, we meet with quite a network of magical usages bearing the stamp of extreme antiquity. It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, unconnected by traditional practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the Rigveda actually affords evidence that even in that early stage of their development the belief in magical power independent of the gods is to be found. Thus in one hymn (x. xviii.) the sacrificing priest Devāpi begins with the intention of offering a pair of calves (tirātra śaukāna) in the belief in the magical power of the gods of his sacrificial act: ‘the sage Devāpi sat down to the

There can be little doubt that only food eaten by men originally constituted the sacrifice offered to the gods in fire. On the Vedic sacrificial ground there was, by the side of the fire, the litter of grass (kāhā) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the kāhā was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to profane contacts. To the kāhā correspond, in the ancient Persian ritual, the barikā (a bundle of twigs; see art. BASSA) on which the sacrificial offerings were placed, and which was the seat of the gods. This indicates that the obligation in fire was an idea, which has, then, not been entirely lost in the burning of the kāhā not improbably formed the transition to the sacrifices.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrifice receiving a magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-estable substance; as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of cows (pañcāla cauḍārthā); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (Kauśika Sūtra, cxv.). On the other hand, objects suitable for direct magical manipulation could easily be used by the practitioners who had become habituated to the sacrificial idea in order to invest magical acts with the garb of sacrifice.

Thus the
burning of injurious substances would become a sacrifice; for instance, arrow tips might be offered in order to destroy an enemy (ibid. xvi. 44). In this way the sacrifice came to assume the role of driving away demons; of helping a woman to overcome her rivals; of enabling a prince to conquer his enemies; or of producing the longed for results of producing many other magical results. The gradual mixture of the religious and the magical in the direction of the latter led the whole system of sacrifice to assume this character in the later Vedic period.

Vide Krishna Chandra Das, The belief in the divine presence at the sacrifice, and in the mysterious success produced by the sacrifice, encouraged an increasing application of magical practices as the ceremonial system became more elaborate. Secondary observances of the sacrificial ritual might already have belonged to the sphere of magic from the beginning. Efforts to explain accidental features of the ceremonial would lead to the discovery of effects allied to magic. Priests would also foster belief in the magical power of sacrifice in order to secure their own indispensability. The magical tendency wound up. Increased by the mixture of prayers and spells; if in the prayer accompanying the sacrifice the magical effects of such acts would naturally be attributed to the sacrifice also.

5. Predominantly magical ritual.—There are several groups of rites which, though belonging to the Vedic period, are essentially magical in character. They are partly connected with family and partly with public life. The most important of these are:

(a) Initiation.—Of the various religious ceremonies which were performed during boyhood, and which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (ashwamedha-yajna). As already mentioned, the Rigveda goes back to prehistoric times, as is shown by the parallel Avedic ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the attainment of puberty, a boy was received into the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as bringing into a new life, for he who was initiated was made a priest. The ceremony involves a number of observances and involves various tabus in regard to food, some of which will be noticed below (see also Vedic Rituals, § 6A, and cf. Initiation [Hidu]).

(b) Public rites.—The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed in behalf of the clan or tribe of which, but of an individual, who in those cases was the king. The most prominent of these, shining at the attainment of certain definite pur- poses, are magical in their main elements. At the royal consecration (abhisheka) the king sit on a throne made of wood from the utumbara fig-tree, which to the Indian was the embodiment of all nourishment. The seat was covered with a tiger-skin, the emblem of invincible strength. The contents of a cup made of utumbara wood, filled with butter, honey, and rain-water, were poured over the king in order to communicate to him their strength and abundance. The royal inauguration (rajyaasana) is a further series of rites, chiefly of a symbolic character, which were intended to ensure a prosperous reign. A still more imposing ceremony was the Vajapeya, the two main features of which, a conventional race and another symbolic observation, have a magical purpose (as (b)); cf. further, art. Antusana). Finally, the horse sacrifice (asamatha-puja) was the highest expression of royal power, which was undertaken for the fulfillment of all the most ambitious wishes of the king, and in which the victims indicated the desire to transfer the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

6. Priest and magician.—The magician of prehistoric ages, who manipulated only the lower ritual concerned with demons and natural forces, had long been a part of the Vedic religion (at least as early as the Indo-European period) developed into the priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, however, we find the priest to a still greater extent in the role of a magician; for he now constantly appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by the use of spells or other forms of magic. In various lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of prehistoric times. Thus he makes the bride step on a stone to ensure steadfastness; he causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he produces an imitation of the lightning, probably to the effect here he is not a servant of the gods, but a magician. Yet even in the earliest period, that of the Rigveda, the sacrificial priest was a magician as well (though by no means necessarily the only magician, for both here and later references are made to sorcerers whose magic is directed against the sacrificial priest). It cannot be supposed that even the most advanced minds among the priests regarded prayer and sacrifice as the only means of securing welfare, while rejecting magic as an ineffective and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion to apply it, as is apparent from the character of magic in the Rigveda, which, although late, form part of its canonical text. But not the employment of every form of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession, devotion, or worship. Those associated with evil spirits and the use of malevolent magic were liable to injure the community. This is sufficiently clear from the words of the author of a passage of the Rigveda: ‘May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer (gautakhamaha), or if I have harmed any man’s life; then may he lose his ten sons that falsely call me “sorcerer”; he who calls me, that is a sorcerer, a practiser of sorcery, or who, being a demon, says that he is pure, may Indra strike him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature’ (VII. civ. 15). It was because the Atharvaveda contained a body of malevolent spells that it did not attain to canonical recognition till after it had become associated with the sacrificial cult by the addition to its text of numerous hymns borrowed from the Rigvedas. On the other hand, in the Atharvaveda itself (e.g., v. viii., VII. lxx.) magic is expressly approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy; and the ritual texts are full of directions for the sacrifice who is the victim of an enemy, in particular, when he desires to give as such a magical turn for the purpose of inflicting injury.

The post-Vedic Code of Manu even contains the express statement (xi. 35) that the magic spells of the Atharvaveda are the Brahman’s weapon, which he may use without hesitation against his foes. In the Upanisads the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (bramham) to that of knowledge (jñāna); but his mode of thought is still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. Of such a nature are his conceptions of the world-soul (brahman [g.v.]) and of the identity with it of the individual soul (atma [g.v.]), as well as his speculations on the sacred syllable om (analogous in sense to ‘amen’). Such, too, is his doctrine of karma (g.v.) as an impersonal power which, free from any divine influence, rules future existences with inexorable force. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises of Yoga, which is an inextricable blend of philosophy and magic. By the aid of Yoga he believed himself capable of acquiring the ability to make himself minute and invisible, to increase his size infinitely, to multiply his body, to remember his past lives (at least as early as the Indo-European period) ceased to exist.

7. Asceticism and magic. — There is evidence that from the earliest Vedic period ascetic prac-
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Rites (tappas, lit. ‘heat’), primarily exposure to heat, but including other forms of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstention, and silence, were regarded as a means of attaining various supernatural powers, resulting from the ecstatic condition induced by them. Thus the Rigveda says (X. cxxvi. 2) of those who are in such a frenzied condition that ‘the gods have entered into them.’ A thought prevailing in Ax. 6 is, how, in one vision produced by austerity (tappas), he saw the old creations of ancient sages, the first sacrificers, in the remotest past of the human race. There are many other Vedic passages associating similar powers: dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (Atharvaveda, XIX. vi. 5); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (Taittiriya Aranyaka, V. vi. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, X. cliv. 2); after practising austerity Indra won heaven (X. clxv. 1); the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brāhman will bring calumny on the man who injures him (X. cliv. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess Asātā, performing austerity, produced the greatness of Indra (Atharvaveda, III. x. 19); the seers were born of austerity (XI. 1. 20, X. 19, X. 19). In making sacrifices the Brāhmaṇas the creator Prajapati is described as gaining by the practice of austerity the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in the Apātapha (‘the apathetic’; Rigveda, X. iv. 4. 2) Yama appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which are the stars. The Brāhmaṇas also tell how various mythical beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrificial lore. It is for such magical effects that austerity is required as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration (dikṣā) of the sacrificer in which he practises austerity lasting, according to some authorities (ib. XII. 1. 7. 2), till complete physical exhaustion causes.

8. Magical conditions and agencies.—Magical effect is largely, if not altogether, based on contact (very often impalpable), which has to be brought about if the agency is beneficial to oneself, or to be prevented if the agency is injurious to oneself. The result desired is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the execution of magical rites is generally a lonely one. A temple, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. Thus the south is the home of demons and maras; hence performers of rites connected with them face that point of the compass. In auspicious rites walking and other kinds of movement are directed from left to right, following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed. The performers moving from north to south.

(a) Spirits and demons.—Some of the lesser spirits are concerned only with one activity, such as presiding over the fields and helping at harvest; others are connected with the Vedic god Indra at whom they direct their efforts to spread terror and death among enemies on the field of battle (Atharvaveda, xi. ix. 1 ff.). The characteristic of most of the rest is to cause disease and destruction of all kinds, as, for instance, the sickness known as tāpeśvara, spreading among the human, animal, vegetable, and vegetable life. These demons are usually called by the generic name of rakṣas, yātu, or pītākha, though many of them also have individual designations. Their appearance is for the most part human, though often with some kind of deformity; but they not infrequently have an animal or demoniac shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, owl, or vulture. They also appear in assumed figures, human or animal; thus at funeral rites they intrude in the form of the demon Rudra, and at the moment the sacrifice is offered; they approach women in various disguises. The sorcerer himself (as well as the spirits serving him) might assume animal form and thus injure his enemies. Belief in such transformation is already expressed in the Rigveda, where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at night (VII. civ. 18). Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against an enemy. Thus in the Rigveda (X. ciii. 12) the demon of disease Apā ṣa is let loose against a hostile army with the spell: ‘Go forth, Apā, to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs; attack them; burn them with thy heat in their hearts; let the foe fall into deep darkness.’ Such spells might be accompanied by magical acts, such as letting loose a white-footed cow, in which case the supposed to be embodied, against the hostile army.

Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere—in the sea, in the air, and on the land. They are always demons and are never mortal. They particularly injure the human dwelling, usually infect the place where four roads meet. The time of their activity is chiefly evening and night; at night they seek to kill the sorcerer who has undertaken their business; but they are particularly active during the night of new moons. Their usual mode of attack (mentioned in both the Rigveda [XV. xlix. 20] and the Atharvaveda [VII. xxiv. 6-8, X. lxxxv. 6]) is to enter into a man, especially through the mouth: they then eat him up, and suck his marrow, and create disease of every kind; they also cause madness and take away the power of speech. They are chiefly dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—at births, weddings, and funerals. One of the main objects of their attack is the sacrifice; the Rigveda speaks (XV. cliv. 2) of the Vatas that seize the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (VII. xxxi. 4) the spell of a magician desiring to destroy the sacrifice of an enemy through the wiles of a demon. Hence the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formula directed to defence against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity.

(b) Injurious substances.—Closely allied to these demoniac energies are the numerous substances—the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is atman—of which it is claimed that they are Thus the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formula directed to defence against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity.

(c) Injurious substances.—Closely allied to these demoniac energies are the numerous substances—the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is atman—of which it is claimed that they are thereby transformed into the nature of demons to be driven away. Examples of impalpable agencies are the ‘substance’ of disease, of hunger and thirst, of guilt, even of such abstractions as evil, and the intangible influence proceeding from auspicious or harmful stars and from the waxing or waning of the moon. These are supposed to fly about in the air and to affect man by various forms of destructive action. The influence of such agencies is greatly extended by the belief that, if a ‘substance’ or power is embodied in any creature or object—e.g., irresistible strength in a tiger—that power is inherent in all its parts, and is also connected with the whole. Such a power, therefore, resides not only in the flesh of an animal, but in its skin, horn, hair, and so on. Again, the essence of water dwells in aquatic plants, and is said to be embodied in aquatic animals like the frog; the nature of the boar is present in the soil.
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that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been felled; one's native land exists in a clod taken from it; a man is connected with the earth by his footsteps; even an image or a name is conceived as containing a part of the essence of the beings or things which they represent. Powers, real or imaginary, are communica
ted by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performers are to touch, for thus the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. In fact, it is observed, for instance, the skins of various animals communicate the characteristic quality attributed to them; one who seats himself on the hide of a bull acquires fertility; on that of a black antelope, sanctity; on that of a he-goat, plenty; on that of a tiger, invincible power.

9. Magical procedure.—The operations of magic are mainly directed against hostile agencies, either by preventing their contact with the operator or by bringing about their contact with an enemy. Auspicious rites, besides being much less numerous, are often only another aspect of offensive magic, and are, in fact, distinguished from the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).

10. Defensive magic.—This type of magic, though it may employ the same powers as offensive magic, is not always expressed in the form of hostility when demons are concerned; it may then be attended by a certain amount of propitiation. Thus in the Atharvaveda (i. xii. 2) determent homage is paid to a demon of disease: ‘These lurking in each limb with burning, we, paying homage, would worship with oblation;’ lightning is similarly addressed (i. xii. 2): ‘Homage to thee, child of the height, whence thou gathered heat; be merciful to ourselves; do kindness to our offspring;’ also instruments and ministers of death: ‘To those weapons of thine, O Death, be homage; homage to thy benefaction, homage to thy male
diction; homage to thy favour, O Death; this homage to thy disfavour’ (vi. xiii. i. 2). Again, sacrifices to demons are often mentioned (Baudh
dayana Dharma- mana), and in the general sacrificial cult they receive their share, which, how
ever, consists only of inferior offerings, such as blood and offal. Hostile words or actions are often accompanied by spells expressive of homage. Hanuman grating stones is directed to a direction (i. xvi. 204.) that a brand burning at both ends should be thrown at a jackal (regarded as possessed by the evil powers of death), and that the animal should at the same time be worshipped with the Vedic verse, ‘Thou art mighty, thouarest away.’ In a rite concerned with serpents the reptiles are addressed with homage, while the intention to destroy them is also expressed (Sarpasahas., xi.). A ceremonial intended to ward off ants (Kutaki Sûtra, exvii.) begins with propitiatory offerings and spells; but, if these fail, they are followed with a poisoned oblation surrounded by symbols of hostility and accompanied by an invocation of the gods to destroy their eggs and progeny. Propitiation, however, plays but a very subordinate part in this type of magic.

11. Preventive magic.—On the principle that prevention is better than cure the procedure of defensive magic is largely prophylactic, everything being avoided that might attract injurious powers. The precautions taken are of the following kinds.

(1) Avoidance of contact.—The touch of beings in which malevolent spirits or substances were supposed to dwell was eschewed. Thus to touch the mother during the ten days of impurity after childbirth was regarded as dangerous; and the stones used in erecting an altar for Nirrti, the goddess of dissolution, were put in their place without being directly handled. The access of injurious powers through other senses was similarly avoided. Thus owing to impious sounds in valued conscription, by the man about to set up the three
sacrificial fires, and by the Vedic student on various occasions. Holding the breath, which was regarded as an important form of asceticism, appears, for instance, in a rite during the funeral ceremony. It may here be added that incantations of various kinds had to be undergone by one preparing to cure epilepsy, before he was qualified to perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect their purpose.

(5) Concealment.—Another means of guarding against the attacks of hostile powers was concealment of one’s person or of its parts, as inclusion in a shed and covering the head during the observances of the sūkṣma rāja or putting on garments to make oneself unrecognizable; or hiding the hair of the head and beard or nails cut off at sacramental rites, such as the initiation of the Vedic student (cf. § 8 (6)).

(6) Amulets.—Charms worn on the body were frequently employed both for the negative purpose of warding off evil influences from one’s person (amanita) and for the positive purpose of attracting prosperity (talisman). Sometimes the same charm serves both purposes; thus the pearl destroys demons, disease, and poverty, and at the same time serves as an impartment by the gods, as they are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, to have been strengthened by the gods, or to have had their power communicated to them by the gods, whereas the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by amulets Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda, X. ii. 9). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (X. iii. 14, 11): ‘As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do thou consume my rivals; this tree upon my breast, the kindly, divine tree, slay sinners and make my foes, as Indra the demons.’ One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the jāngada tree, which protects invaders. Perhaps the most famous of all is a long hymn of the same Veda (VIII. v.) dwells on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the svarātī tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf. further, art. CHARMs AND AMULETS (Vedic).

ii. REMEDIAL MAGIC.—Magical operations are performed not only to ward off maleficent powers that are threatening, but also to expel them after they have taken possession of their victim in the form of diseases or ailments. The Atharvaveda is full of spells directed against these. Many such incantations make no mention of any concrete remedy which is used in their accomplishment; but the evidence of the Sūtras shows that these incantations, at least very often, formed part of a magical rite in which concrete remedies were an element. Examples of simple spells for the cure of diseases are the following: ‘As the rays of the sun swiftly fly to a distance, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the dold of the sea’ (VI. ev. 5); and ‘The bow now is made in ashes and wastes thy limbs, and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle to the far distance, overcome by my charm’ (V. xxxix. 9). Curative spells are, however, more usually accommodated by the express employment of material objects, chiefly plants. The hymns of the Atharvaveda abound in references to such remedies. These represent the earliest beginnings of medical lore in India. The border-line between magic and primitive science here is not always definite, for in some cases the plant used with the spell may have been an actual cure for a particular disease, while in other cases its application was purely magical, as that of the herbs used to promote the growth of hair on bald heads (these were described as efficacious as the hair-restorers of modern times). The following are two charms from the Atharvaveda intended for this particular cure: ‘That hair of thine which drops off, and that which is broken off and all fallen strings, I sprinkle with all-healing herb’ (VI. cxxxvi. 3); ‘Make firm their roots, draw out their ends, expand their middle, O herb! may thy hairs grow as reeds, may they cluster black about thy head’ (VI. cxxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda contains many spells in which the kuṣātha plant (probably Costus speciosus or arabicus) is invoked to drive out fever; two of its hymns (I. xxii. 1) are meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant; one (VII. lvi) operates with a herb that destroys snake poison, and another (VI. xvi.) with a plant against ophthalmia. Fractures are cured by the plant amṛtaniya (cf. Text xxvii. 5). Amulets were for the most part made of wood, but also of various other substances. Their efficacy is regarded as dependent on the particular power of repulsion inherent in them, and is not infrequently spoken of as imparted by the gods, as they are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, to have been strengthened by the gods, or to have had their power communicated to them by the gods, whereas the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by amulets Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda, X. ii. 9). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (X. iii. 14, 11): ‘As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do thou consume my rivals; this tree upon my breast, the kindly, divine tree, slay sinners and make my foes, as Indra the demons.’ One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the jāngada tree, which protects invaders. Perhaps the most famous of all is a long hymn of the same Veda (VIII. v.) dwells on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the svarātī tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf. further, art. CHARMs AND AMULETS (Vedic).

11. Offensive magic.—Aggressive operations against malevolent powers cannot always be distinguished, especially in regard to demons, from that form of defensive magic which is directed to warding off their attacks. Hence the expediency adopted are to some extent the same for both purposes.

1. MEANS EMPLOYED.—(1) Fire.—Fire was one of the chief direct means of driving away demons and all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the god of fire, is frequently invoked (e. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20) with such verses as: ‘Burn, O Agni, against the sorcerers; always burn down the sorcerers and the allies of the demons.’ This use of fire, probably the earliest in cult, though overlaid with its later and much more extraneous sacrificial associations, still survives in the Vedic ritual. Thus a special fire called the ‘lying-in fire’ (ṣāttrāṃgha) is introduced into the lying-in chamber (āvākha-grha). Of this fire-turm the author of one of the domestic Sūtras remarks (Hiranyawakṣaṇa Gṛhyaṇāśtras, ii. iii. 61):
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'Sacred rites, except purification, are not performed with it; it fertilizes the child with small grains mixed with fire, and in some it produces a number of spells to drive away various demons that prowl through the village at night, that drink out of skulls; Agni is invoked to burn their lungs, hearts, livers, and kidneys. A light is kept burning during the cutting of the child's hair, a fire is kindled while a number of auspicious verses are recited; as nothing is said of its application to sacrificial purposes, it is generally employed for warding off demons. Of similar significance were the fire employed at the investiture of the Brāhman student, behind which both he and his teacher stood, and that kindled when the pupil entered upon his course of Vedic study. That this was the simpler efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (Maiträya Samhitā, vi. i. 4. 6) that Agni is hence appointed 'for the destruction of the demons.' It can hardly be doubted that in the great sacrificial ritual of the three fires the southern fire was understood to have the magical power of dispersing demons, for the south is the direction from which the souls of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them approach. In the funeral ritual a brand was taken from the southern fire and laid pointing to the south, while a formula was pronounced in which Agni was invoked to drive away all demons that, assuming manifold forms, might venture near. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony a fire was used by the survivors for the purpose of warding off the powers that cause death. Fire was also on various occasions carried round what was to be protected against the attacks of evil spirits. Thus a brand lighted at both ends was moved round the funeral offering; and a firebrand was also borne by the priest round the victim, the post, and other accessories of the animal sacrifice.

A second efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (Maiträya Samhitā, iv. viii. 5) that 'the demons do not cross the waters.' We have already noted some examples of the use of water in curing diseases and ailments. Water is further regarded as a chief means of removing possession by evil spirits. At the birth ceremony water is supposed to wash away all injurious powers from the new-born child. A further priest is thus employed entering on various ceremonies, as the Dikṣā, to remove supernatural substances that might be inimical to their success. Thus the bride and bridegroom take a bath or perform ablutions before the wedding ceremony. In rites of expiation especially, bathing and washing play an important part. Various ceremonies also conclude with a bath in order to obviate the risk of taking back into ordinary life the magical influence inherent in the rite. Such is the case at the end of the Dikṣā, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the Brāhman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. There is, further, a rule that after the utterance of spells addressed to uncanny beings, such as the dead, demons, or Indra, one should purify oneself with water from the contact with those beings which has thus been incurred. The urine of cows was specially esteemed as a means of purification, being perhaps at the same time regarded as communicating the abundant nutritive power inherent in the animal. As long as a magical condition is meant to continue, bathing or washing is avoided; hence dirt is the characteristic of one who, by means of asceticism (tapas), along with a mixed meal of mustard seeds; hence grounds a number of spells as being magically efficacious.

(3) Plants.—We have already seen that plants were frequently used along with spells as a magical cure of disease. Cognate to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the effect of promotion or destruction of vitality; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. They are but also resorted to other objects, as they are employed to attract love, to charm and sorcerers, others to counteract curses, and several are associated with battle-charms. Aquatic plants, together with frogs, as representing water, are combined with grains of mustard (māndūcalī), the sticky exudation of a tree, frequently occurs in the ritual as, by its odour, driving away demons of disease or frustrating a curse.

(4) Stones, etc.—In the wedding ceremony, as we have seen, the bride stepped on a stone to ensure steadfastness. A stone, as representing a dividing mountain, was regarded as a means of keeping off evil spirits, and with this intention it was employed in the funeral ritual to separate the living from the dead, where also a clad of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid down while the formula, 'This is put between against calamity,' was pronounced (Kāraṇīka Śītra, lxxxi. 14). A wooden fence was placed round the sacrificial fire, the purpose being 'to strike away the demons' (Taittirīya Samhitā). A stone is also used as an implement.

(5) Lead.—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, e.g., in wiping off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (i. xvi.) in which lead was used against demons and sorcerers, this being one of His spells: 'If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our domestic, we pierce thee with lead, so that thou shalt not slay our heroes.'

(6) Weapons and stones.—Those appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who wos a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little stakes are planted at both ends, and it is said: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire' (Mānavā Grhyasūtra, i. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying, 'We beat evil away from thee' (Kṛtyāgama Śrāvasūtra, xv. vii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the Dikṣā ceremony, its significance here being explained by the Satyapatha Bṛhadāraṇyaka (i. 10. 7. 10): 'This thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The Vedic student, as peculiarly liable to the attacks of evil spirits, is provided with a staff at the rite of investiture. This he must always carry, never allowing any one to pass between it and himself; he parts with it only at the end of his apprenticeship, when he casts it away into water, along with his girdle and other sacred objects. On entering the next stage of religious life the Brāhman receives a new staff made of a different wood, the purpose of which is sufficiently expressed by the spells employed at the accompanying rite: 'Protect me from all powers of destruction on all sides,' and 'Destroy all hostile enemies on every side' (Hiranyaśeśa Grhyasūtra, i. xi. 8). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called ekhya, and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently the significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the ekhya is passed over the altar with the words, 'Smitten away are the devils and demons that sit on the altar' (Śukhāyana Śrāvasūtra, iv. 2).

II. MAGICAL ACTION.—Certain types of actions are regarded as producing a magical effect in various rites. They may be grouped as follows.

(a) Hostile.—(1) To make a noise is believed to be an efficacious type of magical action. At the solstitial festival drums were beaten in order to scare evil spirits, which were deemed to
be especially powerful at the time of the shortest day. A song was sounded at the ritual for exorcising the demon of epilepsy. At the funeral ceremony a din was produced by shattering pots.

A frequent method of removing injurious influences is to *wipe* them off. Thus lead or a black thread of wool was used as an aid in the process. In particular, the *apāmārga* (Aṣṭādhyāyī, a popular interjection to mean 'wiping out') was most variously employed in this sense. The Atharvaveda contains several hymns with which the plant is applied, the following being one of the spells in which this action is expressed (Ⅳ. xvii. 8): 'Having wiped out all sorcerers, and all grudging demons, with thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe all that evil out.' The *Sata-pātha Brāhmana* remarks (Ⅶ. ii. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fiends and demons. Among other magical applications of this action may be noted the requirement that one who has seen an elephant should wash his hair with its urine.

(3) Another method of getting rid of demons or injurious powers is to *shake, cast, or strip* them off. The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out with the words, 'Shaken away is the demon; shaken out is the demon.' (Apāmārga Sāmkhit, i. 14). After feeding the souls of the dead, the officiant shakes the horn of his garment in order to remove the souls that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the *saṃskāra* the bundle of twigs, used to effect the footsteps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substance which it may have derived from those footsteps.

For similar reasons clothes worn at unclean rites, such as funerals, are cast aside. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped off by passing through some aperture the person to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rīgveda (Ⅶ. lxx. 7), where Indra is said to have cured the girl Apālā, who suffered from skin disease, by drawing her through an opening in a car. It is doubtless a survival of this form of purification when, in the wedding ceremony, the aperture of the yoke of a car is placed on the head of the bride.

The removal of injurious substances is not always a mere rite, but is often also a *transference* to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rīgveda and the Atharvaveda contain several formulas or spells to enable evil agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Aṣṭādhyāyī, 318-19); the disease Tanman (a scour of fever) is sent away to far-off peoples, such as the Teli, the Magadhas (Ⅵ. xvi. 14); evil deed and evil dream are banished by hurling them into the ships of Teli Aptya in the remotest distance (Rīgveda, y. xivii. 13-17). Injurious agencies are also transferred to the corpse of the deceased, especially to roads. A garment containing certain impurities is removed to a forest, suspended from a tree, or hung over a post, to which its dangerous influence is conveyed, and thus rendered innocuous (Atharvaveda, xvi. ii. 491). Snake-poison is removed to a fire-brand, which, being then thrown at a snake, returns the danger to its source (Kaunika Sītra, xxix. 6). Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, vai. xxvii. 3); while 'purification is conducted in a homely fashion to a yellow bird (Ⅹ. xvi. 4).

(6) *Auspicious.*—(1) A very prominent part is played by *eating* in the communication of beneficial influences; contact with injurious substances, which would, of course, be equally well effected by eating, is avoided by fasting (cf. § 101: 2). The Vedāic ritual contains innumerable examples of the magical power conveyed by the eating of sacrificial food. The eating of the food is regarded as communicating the blessing embodied in it; and in the most various forms the view appears that the sacrifice is by no means the essential kind of magical power implied in a particular sacrifice. Thus, when the religious teacher initiates his pupil, he gives him the remnant of the offering with the formula: 'This is the place of eating in the body.' On the occasion of the ploughing festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour and dung, bellium, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of male offspring the wife has to eat a barleycorn and two grains of mustard seed of whom has been laid on each side of it (as symbolizing male being). The act of two or more persons eating together establishes a community between them; at the wedding ceremonial the bride and the bridegroom eat together, and at the royal inauguration the king and the priest.

Based on the idea that an animal, when eaten, communicates its special characteristics to the eater (cf. p. 317, the importance of sex, colour, and other qualities between the victim and the god to whom it is offered. To Indra a bull (or less often) a buffalo, to which he is often compared, is sacrificed; to the Asvins, twin gods of the morning, a reddish he-goat, for 'red' colour, as it were, are the Asvins (Sātpatīcī Brāhmaṇa, v. x. 4.1); to the goddess Sarasvatī a ewe of certain qualities; to Agni, with his columns of dark smoke, a he-goat with a black throat; to the Sun and to Yamu (god of death), two he-goats, one white, the other black. A cognate magical correspondence appears in the offering of a black victim in a rite for the obtaining of rain: 'It is black, for this is the nature of rain; with that which is its nature he will rain' (Tadtrīya Sūkṣhā, n. i. 8. 9). When the destruction of enemies is intended, a blest-red victim is offered by priests dressed in red and wearing red turbans.

(2) There are several ceremonies in which *anointing* is applied for the attainment of auspicious ends. In the Dīkṣā the sacriifer is anointed not just with fresh butter to give him unimpair'd vigour and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter for the purpose of bringing blemish from the standing. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients, which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherent in the ceremony. At the coronation the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the horn of a black antelope and refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been moistened by it. At the Sāstrānāmi rite, an expository part of the Soma sacrifice, the priest consecrates the king by sprinkling him with the fat gravy of the sacrificial animals: 'With the essence of cattle, with the highest kind of food, he thus sprinkles him' (Sātpatīcī Brāhmaṇa, x. xlvii. 3. vii).

(3) *Charms*, made for the most part of wood, but also of other materials, were frequently attached to parts of the body for various auspicious purposes. A talisman made of wood from the parpa-tree (*Butea frondos* was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, III. v.); a bridgework, while reciting a hymn of the Atharvaveda, fastened to his little fingers; a vajra (the thunderbolt) when eaten with tea, a talisman made of liquorice wood to secure the love of his bride (Kaunika Sītra, xxv. 8); at the full moon ceremony the sacrificer tied on his person talismans made of lance, food, various branches and leaves, for the attainment of prosperity; while sowing seed, the husbandman puts on a talisman of barley. The Vedē student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken the purifying bath ties a pellet of *buddha* (Uzulzuliga jihud) wood to his left hand and fastens a pellet of gold to his neck; he then attaches two earrings to the skirt of his garment, and finally inserts them in his ears. A talisman of gold secures long life; 'He who wears it dies of old age,' in the words of the Atharvaveda (xxix. xxvi. 1). To ensure conception a woman puts on a bracelet with the spell, 'An acquirer of wealth and wealth this bracelet has become' (vi. lxxx. 1).

(c) Indifferent.—(1) *Burying* was a frequent secret method of conducting magical substances to others, who are not present. The belief that the Atharvaveda is full of spells expressing fear of magic buried in sacrificial straw, or fields, or wells, or cemeteries. Objects belonging to a woman who is to be injured by a sadhuk, hair, a twig for cleaning the teeth—together with other efficacious inferences of misfortune are placed between three stones
in a mortar (a symbol of crushing) and buried. The stone thus being restored might be restored by digging up the objects, while an auspicious spell was uttered. The Sangeetha Brilhama relates (III. v. 4. 2.) a myth how the demons buried charmed in order to overcome the gods; but the later, by digging them up, defeat them operative. The Soma sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to dig up the magical objects buried by rivals or enemies. This is known as the depositional, or sacrificial medicine, consisting, after the removal of the left hand and the l adam up, of deposits on the offering under the grass in the same direction (cf., further, art. CIRCUMAMBULATION).

1. Sacrificial medicine has a double object: one is that which has been called 'sympathetic, being the influence exercised on a remote being or phenomenon by means of a telepathic connexion between it and what is manipulated by the magician. It may be either beneficial or injurious.

(a) Esseys.—An image is frequently made and operated on for the purpose of producing a similar effect on the victim. Thus an enemy is destroyed by piercing the heart of his clay effigy with an arrow, or by transfixing his shadow. His death is also produced by melting a wax figure of him over the fire, or by killing or burning a chamelleon as representing him. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and chariots of a hostile army are imitated in dough, and sacrificed piece by piece so as to bring about its destruction. The magician annihilates worms and vermin, and is aided by the ceremony at the sacrifice of the soma plant, while he pronounces the spell, 'I split with the stone the head of all worms male and female; I burn their faces with fire' (Atharvaveda, vii. xxix. 7). Against the use of the field vermin called taru, a single taru, as representing the whole class, is buried head downwards, its mouth being tied with a hair so as to prevent its effecting harm (Krihakesh Sutra, i. 19). With a view to smashing the limbs of evil spirits pegs are driven into the ground. One who punishes the soma-shoots for sacrifice directs the blows against his enemy by fixing his thoughts on him during the operation. The sympathetic connexion is sometimes very remote, as when implements or materials are used in which a particular power is regarded as inherent. Thus an exiled prince receives food rendered magical by being cooked with the wood that has grown from the stem of a tree, symbolizing the restoration of fallen fortunes. At a ceremony for the renewal of troublesome arts a sacrificial ladle of bithaka wood is employed simply because the name of the tree means 'remover.' At a rite to destroy demons the digging spade is made of wood from the palasa (Dacta Frondosa) tree as representing the magical spell (dhwani) by which the spell is performed. When the sacrifice for the restoration of an exiled prince is performed, earth and other materials from his native country are employed. A sacrifice for the destruction of a robber in battle, for which the head of a other of a horse is taken for the altar (tala), with a view to communicating the fierceness of that animal to the combatants on behalf of whom the offering is made.

(b) Imitative processes.—The higher cult concerned with the three sacrificial fires abounds with rites in which the desired effect is produced by imitation of the event or phenomenon. Thus the kindling of the sacrificial fire in the morning develops into a magical rite to make the sun rise; and the dripping of the soma-juice through the purifying sieve becomes a rain charm. At the ceremony of the royal inauguration, the conventional chariot race in which the king wins is meant to gain for him speed and victories. On various occasions in the ritual a game of dice is played; this has clearly the magical purpose of securing luck and gain for the sacrificer. At the solstitial ceremony an Arany and a Sudra (representing a white and a black man) engage in a struggle for the possession of a circular white skin, the former ultimately wresting it from the latter; the magical aim of this performance is the liberation of the sun from the powers of darkness. In the same ceremony, as well as at the blood sacrifice, there are certain sexual observances the obvious purpose of which is to produce fertility in women. A good example of the imitative method is the procedure
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meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reeds; and, finally, new trees, as a frog and the aquatic plant *vamalā* are deposited on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

(1) This type of magic is very frequently found in the ritual form of rain-making. Such is the purpose when, at the solstitial festival, a cowhide is pierced with arrows—probably an imitation of the myth of Indra’s release of the waters by piercing the forehead of the elephant (cf. xvi. 37). On the same occasion girls dance round a fire with jars full of water which they pour out, while they sing a song calling upon the cows to bathe. At the ceremony of piling the fire-altar jars of water are emptied on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grain is sown on the spot. When an otter is thrown into the water, rain falls in abundance; or, if any one desires rain, he casts herbs into the water, submerges them, and then lets them float away.

(2) A modified form of sympathetic magic is *divination*, the aim of which is to find out what is hidden or future, largely from the result cor-

responde between the representation and the reality. Dreams and sacrificial and funeral rites are the most significant representations; these can be supported by spiritual persons who possessed inner illumination, strengthened by the power of asceticism and other magical means. From the direction taken by a cow at a particular point in the ritual it may be inferred that the sacrificer will attain his purpose. If at a certain sacrifice the fire flames up brightly, the sacrificer will obtain twelve villages; if the smoke rises, he will obtain at least three. The fire kindled in the hilly country between two armies about to fight, prognosticates the result of the battle by the direction of the smoke. The observer who, at a funeral, notes which of the three sacred fires catches the corpse first can tell whether the soul of the deceased is in heaven, in air, or on earth.

The following examples of divination are of a more general type. If one wishes to know whether an unborn child will be a male, the son of a Brahman must touch a member of the mother; supposing the member has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain whether a bridegroom is good or bad, she is bidden to choose between various elods taken partly from auspicious soil (as that of a furrow or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky spot (as a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prognostication is the foretelling of weather by old Brahmins from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the knowledge of the future obtainable from a symbolical process is that derived from gods or spirits, by interpreting the movement, the flight, or the cry of animals or birds specially connected with gods or spirits, such as the wolf and hounds, the owl, crow, pigeon, and vulture. Thus, in one of the two hymns of the Rigveda concerned with angry, the bird crying in the region of the Fathers (the south) is invoked to bring auspicious times.

Again, in one of the Sūtras, the owl ‘that flies to the abode of the gods’ is addressed with the words, ‘Flying round the village from left to right, portend to us luck by thy cry, O owl’ *(Hiranyakśiṇa Grhyasūtra, i. xii. 1).* The direction from which the owl will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the rite for obtaining a husband for a girl. Such omens seem to be a later development, resulting from the symbolical method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

15. Oral magic.—Magical formulæ are usually accompanied by some ritual act; but the spoken word in the form of a spell, a curse, or an oath also has a magical power by itself.

(a) The spell.—The spell has generally a metrical form, being sometimes an old religious verse degraded to magical use. Though the formula is magical in application, it is in form often a mixture of prayer and spell, the gods being invoked or invoked in it; e.g., ‘Between the two rows of Agni Vaisvānara’s teeth do I place him that plans to injure us when we are not planning to injure him’ (Athravaveda, i. 510). The ninety-nine spells, O Night, shall help and protect us’ (XIX. xlvii. 3-5). It is, indeed, characteristic of the hymns of the Atharvaveda to contain the names of numerous deities, while the panegyrics of the Rigveda are addressed to one only; e.g., ‘Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Bhṛṣpati anoint me; may Śarāti anoint me’ (VIII. xxxi. 1). The magician very usually threatens or commands in his own person; e.g., ‘I plague the demons as the tiger the cattle-owners; as dogs that have seen a lion, they find not a refuge’ (IV. xxxvi. 6); ‘As the lightning so ever instantly strikes and wearies, so would I to-day beat the gamesters with my dice’ (VII. i. 1); ‘Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra’s urging go, swift steed, as the infant slays the elephant, shall place fleetness in thy feet’ (VI. xxi. 1). But he also often mentions in his spell a parallel case, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolical process in sympathetic magic; e.g., ‘With the light with which the gods, having cooked porridge for the Brāhmans, ascended to heaven, to the world of the pious, with that would we go to the world of the pious, ascending to the light to the highest firmament’ (XI. i. 57); ‘As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighth, or an entire debt, thus we transfer every evil dream to our enemy’ (VI. xvi. 3); ‘As the rising sun robs the stars of their brilliancy, so I rob of their strength all the men and women hostile to me’ (VII. xiii. 1); ‘The cows have lain down in their resting-place; the bird has flown to its nest; the mountains have stood in their site; I have made the two kidneys stand in their station’ (VII. xvi. 1). A frequent feature of spells, in order to make sure of striking the injurious spirit, the seat of evil, or whatever else is aimed at, is the enumeration of a list of organs: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, heart, brain, neck, back, arms I drive the disease’ (II. xxxiii. 1. 1). If, however the demon is known, this knowledge is emphasized by bestowing magical power over it; e.g., ‘This is thy name; I know thy birth; this thy father, this thy mother.’

On the most varied occasions spells are uttered without any accompanying rite. The application of one that may be pronounced by a man on entering a court of justice is thus described *(Pāṇḍubhūra Grhyasūtra, iii. xiii. 6):* ‘If he should think, “This person will do evil to me,” he addresses him with the words, “I take away the speech in thy mouth, I take away the speech in thy heart; wherever thy speech is, I take it away; what I say is true: fall down inferior to me.”’ Spells are also uttered, e.g., when a man mounts an elephant, a camel, a horse, when he comes to cross-roads, when he swims across a river, and in many other situations.

A formula sometimes consists of two or three words, or even of one word. If a man has spoken what is unworthy of the mouth from his sacrifice, he has only to exclaim ‘Adoration to Vipasa’ as an expiation. The daily repetition of the single sacred syllable *bhūḥ* averteth evil or injury from him who utters it, or to him who is to fear from serious diseases or from sorcery *(Gobhika Grhyasūtra, iv. 3).* Again, the more magnificently a prayer is uttered, the more efficacious, the *prayer* meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated Gayatri verse of the Rigveda (ii. xii. 320)—‘We would attain to the Word of Savitri the god, that he may stimulate our prayer’—if
G. C. Horne, Zauber-Bibliothek, Mainz, 1822, iii. 70.
2 Livy, xiv. 12; Cicero, Phil. vii. 52; Vell. Pati. i. 10.
3 R. C. Thompson, The Elements, Cambridge, 1898, pp. 185, 189.
4 This seems to be one notion in the use of the pentagram or pentacle (see Thompson in SBE xiv. 1898, xxx, ix. 1985; Green, 1897; V. Henry, La Magie dans l'Antiquite, Paris, 1913, p. 182). In a moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Morning and night fire was carried about the house.

The Leicesters had a custom of keeping a fire burning in a circle around the bed of a mother for some weeks after child-birth. In Abyssinia the bed was surrounded by incantations and prayers, while the mother herself was held in the circle by 'stout young fellows.' In moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Morning and night fire was carried about the house.
The circular priest recited over the sick an incantation: 'The man of Es, the messenger of Shazuk am, ... the circle of Es in my hand.'

In more detail, the sick person was safeguarded by an enchanted circle, as the nature of a tapir (a large, herbivorous animal) made of flour or other material, 'as a kind of haras through which no spirit could cross.' The priest first performed a ceremony of aloement, in which a kid was sacrificed. He flung the kid away, and then described the circle. He enclosed the man with knobs (four knobs of lime) round the groot, the right, and left. The ban is loosed.' A mixture of meal and lime seems to have been prepared and was embedded in an incantation (see Nisala) for the protection against vampires and witches. The Babylonians described the mixture as 'the stones of the greatest virtue.'

The Japanese used 'the circle as the act of the corn-god.' In another ceremony, before the god Nergal, the priests described with lime a circle round seven winged graces, and in yet another flour and water were used for drawing the circle. Here Thompson compares the medieval use of the Host as a protection against vampires and witches. The Babylonians burned the body in a circle around a desert-plant, with plucking it up before sunrise, and tying it on the head. When the plant was removed, the head-ache disappeared simultaneously. On the same principle an ailing limb was cured by tying round it a charmed thread, and then casting this away, along with the ends of the threads.

The development of magic, white and black, in Europe, and its remarkable exploitation, lasting till well after the scientific period had begun, were bound up with Semitic animism, or rather demonism, if the word be used. The causes producing a state of culture in which every man of science was a necromancer and conjurer of spirits do not concern us here, but the invariable employment of the magical circle for the protection of spirits is typical of the culture of those ages.

The primitive Babylonian practice was now divorced from medical magic. As applied to the evocation of elemental demons, whose aid was invoked for alchemical research or prophecy or evil magic against individuals, its main purpose was to protect the sorcerer from the dangerous servants whom he called up. At the symmetrical possibilities of the circle appeared to the mathematical instincts of the scholar, and geometry perhaps owes something to magical experiments upon the circle. The circle was also called upon for the exploitation of names and numbers of power, to be inscribed in the circle. Here begins the positive virtue of the circle, which, in connexion with the universal character of the figure, makes it something more than a protective barrier. It became rather a mystic focus of power, and had at least the merit of concentrating the alchemist's or astrologer's thoughts. Lastly, the astrological elements of the zodiac were applied to it, and it thus became an intermediary between chemistry and astronomy, as the focus to which were attracted the infernal and supernal Powers alike.

The Arabic and Hebrew developments of magic in the early centuries of the Middle Ages are obscure. The account given by Psellus of a Heptennas circuitus, 'Heptennas episcopus,' calls for notice, though its meaning is confused. He writes:

1 Thompson, p. xxii.


3 Ib. p. lix.


The circle of Heptennas is a golden sphere, enclosing a sapphire in the centre, turned by a thong of bull's hide, and having characters engraved around it. The characters were written by the priests, and the priest was supposed to recite the names over the sapphire, and the sapphire through the whole of it. They made confessions by turning this; and they were wont to call such things lower, whether they had a round, square or triangular, or any other shape whatsoever. Shaking these, they uttered uninterlinguible or hieroglyphic sounds, lifting and striking the hands, which taught the operation of the rite, or the notion of such a circle, as possessing secret power. And it is called Heptennas because it is dedicated to Heptennas, and adored by the divinity among the Chaldæans. If the magical circle is a golden spherical, enclosing a sapphire in the centre, turned by a thong of bull's hide, and having characters engraved around it. The characters were written by the priests, and the priest was supposed to recite the names over the sapphire, and the sapphire through the whole of it. They made confessions by turning this; and they were wont to call such things lower, whether they had a round, square or triangular, or any other shape whatsoever. Shaking these, they uttered uninterlinguible or hieroglyphic sounds, lifting and striking the hands, which taught the operation of the rite, or the notion of such a circle, as possessing secret power. And it is called Heptennas because it is dedicated to Heptennas, and adored by the divinity among the Chaldæans.

The circular priest recited over the sick an incantation: 'The man of Es, the messenger of Shazuk am, ... the circle of Es in my hand.'
This account may be simply confusing the Babylonian magical circle with the Greek magical wheel (λργεία, torquilla); but, just as the medieval circle was made material and portable in the form of a tent, so this latter idea is an interesting hint in the direction of the pentagrams and other figures with which the magical circles were filled. Psellus notes that the object of the "invocation" was oracular, the idea, no doubt, being to evoke spirits for the purpose of forcing them to predict future events. As for the Greek wheel on which the λργεία, wryneck, was tied, there is considerable doubt as to its nature.

The magical circle of medieval occultism had innumerable varieties, according to the purpose, the time, and the species of spirit to be invoked; and it also varied according to the predilections of the operators. The following may be considered typical examples of the method of description and formula of blessing and of invocation. The magician, after purifying himself, collected his paraphernalia, and then, going into his consecrated place of ground, surrounded himself with a ring of dressed candles and holy water, magical sword and knife, and so forth, and traced the circle, usually 9 ft. in diameter, with his wand or sword. He then blessed the circle, saying:  

"In the name of the holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, proceed we to our work in these mysteries to accomplish that which we have agreed on, in the name of the spirit, consecrate this place of ground for our defence, so that no spirit whatsoever shall be able to break these boundaries, neither be able to cause injury nor detraction to any of us here assembled; but that we may be compelled to stand before this circle, and answer truly our demands."

More elaborate forms include such terms as:  

"Sanctify unto myself the circumference of nine feet about me, from the East, Glorabon, from the West, Garbon, from the North, Cabon, from the South, Berith."

A good spirit seems to have been invoked but rarely; necromancy was also rare, though two forms of this were used, one in which the body and the other in which the 'shadow' of the dead was conjured. Evil spirits of power were the usual object of conjuration, and extraordinary precautions were taken in the process.  

"Now, if any one would call any evil spirit to the circle he must first consider and know his nature and to which of the planets it agrees; it is agreed that offices are dedicated unto him from the planet. This being known, let there be first sought out a place, where the circle is described, according to the invocation, following the exorcism according to the nature of the planet and the quality of the offices of the same spirit as near as it can be done; as if their power may be over rivers or floods, or the sea-shore, and so forth. Then choose a convenient time for the operation, as the air is calm, quiet, clear, and fitting for the spirits to assume bodies. Let the circle be made at the place elected, as well for the defence of the invocant as the confirmation of the spirit. And in the circle write the divine general names and all those things which do yield defence to us; and with them those divine names which do rule his planet, and the offices of the spirit himself; likewise write therein the names of the good spirits which bear rule in the time you do this and are able to kind and constrain that spirit which we intend to call."

We may add characters and pentacles, frame an angular figure with the inscription of such convenient numbers as are congruent amongst themselves to our work. Furthermore, we are to be provided with lights, perfumes, unguents, and medicines, compounded according to the nature of the spirit and planet which agrees with the spiritual reason of their natural and celestial virtues; holy and consecrated things necessary not only for the use of the operator, but for his companions, also, taking care for bonds to bind and constrain the spirits; such as holy papers, lampas, pictures, pentacles, swords, sceptres, garments of convenient colour and matter. Then let the exorcist (sic) and his companions enter the circle."

If, after a prayer to God and an invocation to the other deities to appear, 'reiterate the same three times, from stronger to stronger, using consecrated, powerful, and surpassing words, from his power and office, and the like.' If the spirit make a doubtful assertion, it must be tested by oath; the operator stretches his sword and says: 'Lead the spirit to laying his hand on the sword.' At last, when the operation is beginning to have effect, there will appear infinite visions, apparitions, phantastes, etc., beating of drums, and the sound of all kinds of musical instruments; whatever is done by the spirit, that with the terror they might force some of the companions out of the circle. At this point, 'having the pentacle in his hand let him (the operator) say, Avoid these iniquities. The spirit invoked would now normally appear.

A plain circle was the exception. In some, two diameters were drawn in the form of a cross, but, as a rule, the circle included a pentagram or combination of pentagrams. Two intersecting pentagrams, viz. two equilateral and equal triangles cutting each other so that their segments are equal, constituted Solomon's Seal; this seems to have been often regarded as more efficacious than the circle itself. These triangles were described before the circle, a frequent method being to draw a 9 ft. square, then the diamas, and then the circle round them.  

"A circle was described at a distance of a foot from the outer, and between these were inscribed various names of power, or injunctions to the spirits, Alpha, Omega, On, Alpha, On, Elohim, Jehovah, 'I forbid thee, Lucifer, to enter within this circle,' 'Obey me, Frimost,' being examples of these. The mystic combination Agla was a favourite. Dove's blood, especially that of a white dove, was sometimes used for writing these names and formula. The circle, figures, and names might be described with holy water, charcoal, or consecrated chalk; when the magical knife was used for the drawing, the lines were sprinkled with holy water. This knife, which also served to frighten the spirits, should have a black handle of sheep's horn, and the steel should have been tempered in the blood of a black cat and the juice of hemlock. For more important operations, especially in black magic, as when using the 'great kabbalistic circle,' the tracing should be done with the magical stone Emalit. A curious refinement was a gate in the circumference, by which the operator and his associates might go out and in; on leaving the circle, they closed the gate by inscribing the character of the spirit. More elaborate circles were filled with names and kabalistic figures and characters. Candles and vervain crowns were placed within the circle, and the operator had with him gold or silver coins to fling to the spirit when evoked, the 'seals' to be shown to the spirit, and talismans, generally made of coloured satin embroidered with silver. Incense was burned within the circle, or it was perfumed with musk, and holy water was sprinkled over it. When the preparations were complete, the operator and his associates stood or sat in the centre of the circle, often in small circles marking their places, and the operator began his invocation of the spirit required."

The 'great kabbalistic circle' was made with strips of the skin of a sacrificed kid. These were

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1. Barrett, ii. 99 f.
5. Waite, Occult Science, p. 49.
6. Waite, Ceremonial Magic, p. 589; Horsley, ii. 103; Barrett, ii. 119.
10. Waite, Ceremonial Magic, p. 82.
11. Waite, Ceremonial Magic, p. 82.
12. Ibid., p. 185.
13. Ibid., pp. 244, 250, 126 ff., 321.
fixed in the ground or floor by nails. Five concentric circles, close together, formed a strong protective circumference. A triangle took the place of the pentagram, and three small circles were described for the stations of the operator and assistants.

The elaboration of geometrical design and astrological figures within the circle was connected with its positive efficacy for conjuration and control of the spirit. Thus Giordano Bruno writes: `The circle is time, and is eternized by an angel sensibilis dominum occulta. Con caput Draconis in Sagittario occidenti, discido lateps ponit in aqua, naturatuer spiritus ad daemonius respondit vocum."

Consultation of the stars and seasons was essential.

1. **Oedipus** in **Constitutio circulorum consideranda quatuor tempora anni, quas hora circulum facias, quas spiritus advocavee vis, cui stellae et regioni præsent, et quas functiones habebant.**

2. For summoning chance spirits or seeing visions generally, a circle was made (probably at crossroads) and perfumed, and the operator had to walk round the circumference, east to west, till he was giddy. For necromancy the churchyard was an appropriate site. The operator wore elaborate vestments, and was anointed with holy oil.

3. The circle was invariably obliterated on the conclusion of the operation. A similar practice of destroying the traces of magical rites is regular throughout the history of magic, even in primitive culture.

4. The talismans, pentacles, or seals, used freely by the magician, depended largely upon the magical circle which was described round them. Here, as in the large operating circle, the more concentric circles, the more potent the efficacy. Against the attacks of spirits they were very powerful, *presiding with powerful influence.* They were exhibited to the spirit on its appearance; by their means the operator bound the spirit, and was able to prevent it from departing without a licence. The issue of the licence was an important detail; if it was omitted, the death of the operator might result. The first virtue of a seal was from the star under whose influence it was, and, accordingly, it would be made of gold if the planet were the sun, or of iron, if the planet were Mars. Seals of the names of God were most powerful. Others had the names of angels, such as Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, inscribed between two concentric circles. Those whose names may be distinguished as pentacles proper had a Solomon's Seal surrounded by a circle. The most usual form had enclosed within the circle the 'table' of a planet or a planet and some of its figures. It is interesting to note, there were 'magical squares' in the mathematical sense (see below). Each planet, and each of the other forces, had its own magical squares. The Seal had an obverse and a reverse, and was the size of a large medallion. In connexion with the pentagram, this figure was a synonym for health. It was also developed into a continuous figure, by combining two, resulting in five, not six, points. The 'characters' of spirits were taken by the operator within his circle. These were in a book, which, when completed, was consecrated in a triangle described in another circle. When a spirit appeared, it was asked to place its hands on its 'character' and swear.

5. Medieval amulets for general use were frequently stamped with the magical circle in its numerous varieties, as also were talismans of various make. The latter were effective, as a rule, only in cooperation with the circle.*

6. This was worn on the finger, and the talisman on the arm or body. The magician's wand was sometimes planted and could be made into a circle, the ends being joined by a gold cord. When described on parchment, the magical circle served as a basis for astrological calculations. This use was prevalent wherever Arabic culture penetrated. Thus, in Malaysia a deadly weapon was painted on either hand of the object, employed for all kinds of divination. To select a lucky day for a journey or business, a circle enclosing a heptacle is used, but every alternate day is skipped, the lines of the continuous heptacle running from, e.g., Sunday to Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Sunday, and so on. This heptacle is an ingenious development of the double pentacle. Magic squares of three or five numbers enclosed in a circle are less frequently used. Another form of divinatory circle has only radii from the centre. Colours emphasize the various parts of these circles.

7. As a mathematical curiosity, the so-called magical circle is a development from the magical square, known since the earliest Arabic science. The latter is a square divided into smaller squares in each of which a number is written, so that the sum of the numbers in any row, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal, is always the same. The magical circle, or circle of circles, has numbers in concentric circles with radii to other circles, possessing the same property as the rows in the magical square.*


9. **A. E. CRAWLEY.**

10. **MAGYARS.**—See *Hungarians.*

11. **MAHABAN (Skr. mahā, 'great', evam, Hindi ben, 'forest').**—A sacred town in the Mathurā District of the United Provinces and Oudh, on the left bank of the river Jumna; lat. 27° 27' N., long. 79° 45' E.; famous as the scene of the adventures of Kṛṣṇa as a child.

12. Here and at Gokul (q.v.), as might have been anticipated, the places where the young god was attacked by the witch Pātānā, where he played his pranks in the dairy and was saved from the falling wooden mortar, and where he overcame the demon Tyāpana and Sakajñā are now shown. Mahāban, was, in reality, only the water-side suburb of Gokul, which has now appropriated much of its sanctity, possibly because Mahāban never recovered from its sack by Mahāñu of Gzhāni in A.D. 1017 (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867-77, ii. 458, 460). In the fort are found fragments of Buddhist sculptures, and it is believed that Mahāban was the site of some of the Buddhist monasteries which, in the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, stood on both banks of the river. The existing temples are modern and mean. Only one is of any importance, that dedicated to Mathurā, and Kṛṣṇa is the most interesting building, however, that is known as Asī Khaṁbā, 'the eighty pillars,' which also has the name Chhaṅdi Pātānā, so called because women came here to be purified on the sixth day (chhatā) after child-birth, and here the cradle (pāndu) of the infant god is exhibited. In its original form it seems to have been a Buddhist building, afterwards used for Hindu ceremonial, and finally converted into a Muhammadan mosque.

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1. **De Monasterio, 1494, quoted in Harriet, iii. 70.**

2. **Ib. ii. 95; see also 91.**

3. **Watte, *Oecum. Sacr.*, p. 43.**

4. **Ib. 145, 147.**

5. **Barrett, ii. 199.**

6. **Ib. 115.**

7. **Ib. 148, 174.**

8. **Ib. i. 88, 91, 109.**

9. **Ib. i. 66, 41.**

10. **Ib. ii. 601, 90.**

11. **Watte, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 124 ff.**

12. **Ib. p. 130.**


14. **Ib. pp. 655, 656.**

15. **C. A. M. Fennell, in *Ebr.*, n.s.
The style of the columnar lists closely resembles that of the more famous lists of the same date near the Ghat Minar at Delhi (g.v.), and both buildings have been ascribed to the same age, the close of the 12th cent. A.D. The most remarkable feature in this building is that its southern end consists of the shrine of a Hindu temple almost undisturbed, with the original roof still in position.

Literature.—The history, legends, and architecture of the place have been followed in, Allahabad, Mathura, Allahabad, 1853, p. 272 seq.; and A. Führer, Monumental Architecture in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891, p. 101 f.; IGI. xi. (1888) 427 f.

W. Crooke.

**Mahābhārata**—The Mahābhārata is an epic poem of India in eight books, A. Sati. It consists altogether about 400,000 verses of eight and eleven syllables each, although these verses are united into stanzas (called *ślokas* and *trishtubh*) of four verses each, so that the Hindus call it a poem of a lakh (100,000) of stanzas. The books are of very unequal length, varying from a few hundred to several thousand stanzas, and there is also a supplementary book—the *Harivaṃśa*—of 16,000 stanzas. The matter of the poem is partly narrative and partly didactic. The epic proper contains about 20,000 stanzas embedded in and embellished by moral, poetical, religious, and metaphysical dissertations, the whole forming a heterogeneous mass of tale and teaching, which gradually accumulated around the epic kernel. As a tale the Mahābhārata ("Great Bharata" story) represents in its epic part a story of their ancient tale, in the distinction from the *Kavya*, or studied, elegant poem, of which the other epic, called the *Rāma-yāna* (g.v.), is the representative. It is probably older in its oldest parts than the *Rāma-yāna*, and yet in its entirety much later. It belongs rather to western ("Midland") India, while the *Rāma-yāna* belongs to the east. It celebrates Śrīna as representative of Viṣṇu on earth, while the *Rāma-yāna* celebrates Rāma. Finally, it has not the unity of the *Rāma-yāna*, nor was it written by one poet, as was the *Rāma-yāna*. According to a tradition still extant in the work itself, the Mahābhārata at first contained only 8800 stanzas and was subsequently increased to 24,000, after which it was again enlarged by the addition of numerous episodes till it reached its present size. The chief incidents in the plot of the poem are known in part in ancient literature, but not the popular characters, the heroes of the winning side in the story as now extant. The war waged was between the old and the new; the date of the poster rather than the epic narrative itself, and this mass, being largely didactic, led to the theory that the epic was originally didactic only, the narrative of human events being added later to hang impenetrable sermons. This theory, put forth by Dahmman, was further burdened with the thesis that the encyclopedic epic dated from pre-Buddhist times and was the work of one author; but neither this improbable hypothesis nor the basis theory on which it is merely ancillary to the didactic mass—has held the general recognition. It is merely the exaggeration of a truth not denied by any one, viz. that moral and religious teaching of the southern part of India has less commingled in it. If the hypothesis of Dähmmann could be established, it would, of course, tend to show that Buddhism had been very much over-rated as an influence in the popular teaching. Very simple critical tests show, however, that no such great antiquity can be assigned to the Mahābhārata; the metre alone proves that it belongs to a period much later than that of Buddhist beginnings. The epic first mentioned in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, withal not the earliest (Āśvalā- yana Gṛhya-sūtras, iii. 4), to which there is no cognate reason to assign an antiquity greater than the 3rd cent. B.C., and it is not impossible that even this reference may be interpolated. In the 2nd cent. A.D. the Greeks refer to an Indian Homer (Die Ceryostom, Orat. liii. 6), and this perhaps implies the supposition of authorship or compiler Vyāsa, to whose activity the Hindus give the name of authorship of the epic, as they say that Vyāsa compiled or arranged the Vedas—a story without any historical evidence, which, as the Vyāsa- śāstra, has been the counter-theory of Holtmann, who holds that the epic was much later than the Christian era. He would date the Mahābhārata from the 9th to the 9th cent. A.D., and thinks that the story as we have it is an inversion of an older epic, in which not the Pāṇḍus but the Kurus were the characters originally besog by some earlier poet, and that it is due to the retention of older material that was ascribed to the Pāṇḍus and their ally Kṛṣṇa have been kept in the poem of to-day. This theory also has failed to find recognition, in part because it ignores the weight of inscriptive evidence, which shows that before the Mahābhārata, according to this theory, had been completed, it was already of the size it is now.

The completed Mahābhārata represents an age well acquainted with foreign nations, even Greeks, Scythians, Persians, and Chinese being occasionally referred to in it (e.g., v. 19); it represents also a time of empire, when, however exaggerated, the individual was conquered by the whole state, which was a fest. It shows a superficial knowledge of the extreme south and north and a very intimate knowledge of Middle India. Castes are recognized as orders of society nowhere else in more or less as established (e.g., xii. 72, 297). Heterodox beliefs are freely discussed; outlandish morals are gravely reproved (e.g., viii. 45). Sati is approved, but is not regarded as imperative; the highest standard is high. Buddhist remains and Hindu temples are mentioned (e.g., iii. 190). Different epochs have amalgamated their beliefs in regard to the gods. In one episode the Veṣa gods are paramount; in another the authority of Brahmā is supreme; elsewhere Viṣṇu is the one great god, or Siva alone is God and Viṣṇu is his representative. Only one late passage recognizes the Trimūrti, or triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva, as three forms of one god (iii. 272).

The Mahābhārata begins with an Introduction, or Book of Beginnings, which tells how the childhood of the heroes was passed and gives their origin, and also, incidentally, the origin of gods and men in general. For the story, it may be compressed into the following statements. Two brothers, Dhruva and his twin, come on white horses to hang impenetrable sermons. This theory, put forth by Dähmmann, was further burdened with the thesis that the encyclopedic epic dated from pre-Buddhist times and was the work of one author;
death; the other, Pṛithā or Kuntī, survives Pāṇḍu
and brings up his five children, called the Pāṇḍus, who are really sons of the gods, whom Kuntī and Mādri had invoked. These sons are Yudhishṭhira (son of the god Dharma, or Right), Bhīma (son of the wind-god), Arjuna (the chief hero of the epic, son of Indra), and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva (so-called 'Twins') of Discomposing. After this Introduction, which, like most childhood-recitals, is in general late, comes the 'Sāthi', the title of the second pārva (book), taken from the assembly in the sixth of the twenty-four books of the great drama. This begins. At Hastināpur (about 60 miles north of Delhi) the Kūr very hold an assembly, to which they have invited the Pāṇḍus, who, after various adventures, has taken (Vesāvatī in the north-eastern Delhi; the Kūr intended to cheat the Pāṇḍus out of their kingdom by a game of dice, since they were afraid of the waging power of their cousins. Yudhishṭhira plays away all his wealth and kingdom, and finally his brothers and himself. Then he plays Kṛṣṇa, the daughter of Drupada, polyandrous wife of the five brothers, and loses her. One by one the rest of all that he has lost against a term of exile, and on losing again he and his brothers and wife are driven ignominiously forth to live for twelve years in the forest. The third book is called 'Vana' ('Forest'), and narrates the history of the life of the Kūr in the forest, the monstrous of legend and tales, such as the story of Sāvitrī, and that of Nāla and Damayanti, told to relieve the of exile. The fourth book receives its name from the name of the boy with whom the Pāṇḍus take refuge at the close of the twelfth year. They stay in town collecting allies and assisting Viṣṇa against attacks by the Kūr. They are at first disguised, and incidents of court life form the main part of this book, which is obviously, in its details, a later part of the epic. The fifth book is called 'Udyoga' ('Preparation for War'). It tells of the entrance of the Kūr, disguised, upon the side of the Pāṇḍus, as, with her brother's consent, Arjuna has married his sister after eloping with her. The following four books are named from the leaden in the battle which now takes place, 'Bhīma,' Drona, 'Karna,' and 'Sālyu.' Bhīma and Drona are the uncle and teacher respectively of the cousins now at war. Into the 'Bhīma Parvan,' at the beginning of the battle, is inserted the legend of the god俱 (called by the poet Avasadhita), who descend from Soma, the moon-god, himself the son of the seer Atri. Budha, son of Soma, had as wife Ila, a daughter of Ikṣvāku of the solar line. Their son was Parvana, the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, and his descendant, Sāntana, was the father of Bhīma (above) by the goddess Gangā (the river Ganges). Sāntana's wife, Satyavati, was also the mother of Vyāsa and of Vichitravīrya, who, without children; but Vyāsa raised up children for him, and these were Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍu. If these legends be reconstructed historically with the aid of the Purānic lists of kings, they show that a real historical character, i.e., a living person, is the of the Pāṇḍus. The polyandry of the Pāṇḍus is a trait of certain hill-tribes, and is not unknown on the plains; it is undoubtedly a genuine bit of tradition which serves to mark the Pāṇḍus as a ruder race than the old and long-respected Kūr.

An attempt to group the participants in the great war according to their place of origin has been made by F. E. Pargiter (JRAS, 1908, pp. 280–336, and 1910, pp. 1–56), who seeks in this examination to determine whether the theory of successive invasions leaving inner and outer rings of Aryans in India can be substantiated thereby; but the result seems to leave considerable doubt as to such invasions having left traces in the poem, though the theory of successive invasions may be substantiated on other grounds. The didactic teaching of the epic is not confined to any part of the work, and from a general view of this teaching it is evident that a later pantheistic system has become amalgamated with the dualistic and materialistic doctrines of the Hindu philosophy. In its later theistic tendency as represented by the Yoga. This mixed system is represented not only in the Bhagavad-Gītā, but in the Avasadhita and in the Avasadhita philosophical current of ethnical and mythological books. The outcome of the systematic speculation in accord with the teaching of the Vedanta, but the terminology and basic ideas are those of the
Sākhyā system throughout. The chief interest of the religious doctrine lies in the insistence upon the loving devotion of the worshipper and the saving grace of the supreme spirit (see BIARETTI, MARA). Kṛṣṇa as a form of Viṣṇu is not revered (as later) in his child-form, nor is anything made of his being the lover of milkmaids, though both traditions so familiar, that of planet worship, appears only in a few late passages. As this aspect cannot be in itself a late feature, it must have acquired the seal of respectability only by degrees, beginning probably with the授 priestly caste of Brahmacā. The special sectarian cults or forms of cults as advocated in the Purāṇas are unknown in the epic. The cult of Viṣṇu is that of the theistic All-god; the cult of Siva is that of the only One God. But, with the opposing claims of each sect, each god gradually assumes the distinctive attributes of the other. Viṣṇu is the one theistic god and Siva is the theistic All-god. Each in turn claims to be maker, preserver, and destroyer; and Brahmacā also, though originally creator-god, becomes destroyer as well, till all three, the sectarian Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Siva and the older Brahmacā of Brahmanism, coalesce into the ‘one god with three forms’, or, as the Hindū says, ‘three gods and one form.’ Beside these great gods it is noteworthy that a revival of sun-worship leads to strange exaltation of the sun as supreme god (but only in late passages), probably because of the identification of Viṣṇu with the sun on the one hand and the later Persian sun-worship on the other; for, though the one might probably have revealed in its present size by the 2nd cent. of our era and was virtually complete in all probability as an epic two or three centuries before (by 100 B.C.), yet numerous episodes and laudatory hymns have been added at all times, as may be seen by the manifold additions in the recently published southern text of the epic, which contains thousands of verses in great part of this character (in part, narrative). Of such sort also are the hymns to Durgā and probably also the exaltation of Skanda as the great army-leader of the gods, raised far above his earlier conception. All these later additions are of priestly sectarian origin. The original lay of the Bhāratīya war may also have been of priestly rather than of popular origin, though ‘hero-lauds’ sung by hired minstrels are not unknown in early literature. But it was part of the business of the king’s-chaplain to recite laudatory invocations in his honour, and it is not impossible that some chaplain of the epic kings may have exalted the theme, for not only the king living but ‘dead kings and their glory’ formed the topic of lays and collections. The completed Mahābhārata was intended for recital, but this was in dramatic form, so that even to this day it is acted as well as recited by the purveyors of amusement at country fairs.


MAHĀRĀJ, MAHĀRĀJ.—See GĀYĀ.

MAHĀRĀJ, MAHĀRĀJ.—One of the menial or depressed castes of West India and Deccan, numbering 3,342,680 at the Census of 1911. Their name is very doubtfully connected by R. Oppert (Orig. Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India, London, 1856, p. 28 ff.) with that of the ancient Hindu Mahāra, and, according to Williams (Indian Caste, Bombay, 1877, ii. 48), they gave their name to the country of Mahārastra, from which the Marathas take their title. They are practically all Hindus by religion. Another caste, the Dhod or Dhar, is sometimes included with them, and, if not identical, they are allied, with the Holeyā menials of the Madras Presidency (E. Thurston, Central and Tribes of S. India, Madras, 1909, ii. 220 ff.).

In the Central Provinces the Mahārāj say they are descended from Mahāman, who was a foundling picked up by the Hindu Presbytery, Farvati on the banks of the Ganges. At that time beef had not become a forbidden food; and when the divine cow, Tripāl Gavati, died, the gods determined to cook and eat her body, and Mahāmanī was set to watch the pot boiling. He was as insatiable as Rāma, and a piece of flesh fell out of the pot. Not wishing to return the dirty piece to the pot, Mahāmanī ate it; but the gods discovered the delinquency and doomed him and his descendants to live on the flesh of dead cows (R. V. Russell, Central Provinces Ethnographic Survey, pt. ix., Allahabad, 1911, p. 94; cf. K. J. Kita, Census Report, Bhor, 1884, p. 114 n.).

Their religion is of the primitive animistic type, with a veneration of Hinduism. In the Khandesh District they have the regular practice of performing feasts, and worship the popular gods of that country—Viṣṇu, or Vithoba; Sava as Khandobā; Mahābābā, an evil spirit who abides in an unclean stone smeared red with bat's blood, and Sathī, Sājī, or Sāji, a god in his terrible Bhairava form; and the Mother-goddess in the form of Aī Bhāvāni, whose image they keep in their houses. Besides these they worship snakes and the spirits of their dead ancestors (BG xi. [1880] 118 ff., xvii. [1884] 172 ff.). At a temple in Kāthiāvar the Dhevā worship what is really an image of Viṣṇu reposing on his serpent Śeṣa as Ḡanī, who is said to have been a faithful woman of their race. Women who are unable to nurse their babies and owners of cows which give a scanty supply of milk vow to wash this image in milk if their milk be increased (BG xii. [1884] 415).

In the Central Provinces the great body of the caste worship the ordinary deities Devī, Ḡanī, Dhīli Deo, and others, though, at times, in the temple of Satī Temple. They principally observe the Holī and Dashāra festivals and the days of Taber and full moon, and fast on them. They have a sacred stick, the Nagpachāni; they make a image of a snake with flour and sugar and eat it. The temple of the sacred Amītā is a temple of the Mahārāj. They have a special bathing-place set apart for them, and they may enter the citadel and go as far as the least step leading up to the temple only when they worship there and only then they accept their offerings. They are thus permitted to
traverse the outer enclosures of the citadel, which are also sacred. In Varanasi the Mahârs may not touch the shrines of Mahâravâds, and before entering them wash their hands three times. They may sometimes deposit offerings with their own hands on these shrines, like a devoutly devoted god, and Mata Devi, the goddess of smallpox.

In Berar they worship a curious collection of deities. These deities are included in the archangels Gabriel, Azrael, Michael, and Anâîd, all of whom, they say, come from Pandia-pur. In Berar the worship of these archangels was probably borrowed from the Mahârvâns, but the Mahârvâns themselves say that it was apparently taken from Christianity.

"It seems that the attraction which outside faiths exercise on the Mahâravâns is the hope held out of ameliorating the Hindu theory of caste. Hence they turn to Bhrista or to what is probably a degraded version of the Christian story because these religions do not recognize caste and hold out a promise to the Mahâravâns, who, by their co-religionists, in the case of Christianity of a recompense in the world to come for the sufferings which he has to endure in this one. Similarly the Mahârs are the warmest adherents of the Muhammadan saint Sheikh Firdusi, and flock to the fairs held in his honour at Girâr in Bihar and Prâbhârâksh in Kâshâla, where he is supposed to have slain a giant of giants' (Russell, p. 903).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities quoted in the art. see Census Report, Central Provinces, 1903, p. 132; Bombay, 1911, p. 287; A. Baines, Ethnography (=GLAP ii. 5), Strassburg, 1912, p. 761. W. Crooke.

MAHATMA.—See THEOSOPHY.

MAHAVASTU.—The Mahâvastu, one of the most noteworthy books of Buddhist antiquity, is a huge confused compilation of legends on the origins of Buddhism, on the persons of its founder [up to the gift of the jetavana] and his first disciples—"in a word, on that ensemble which, with infinite varieties of detail, crossed and ramified in every way, is the common property of all Buddhists." Besides all this, it includes a gnomic treasury, is the hope held out of ameliorating the Hindu theory of caste. Hence it is a vast store of legend and folklore, which, when compared with Paul literature, supplies immemorable documents on the nature and primitive state of Buddhist tradition; (3) the Mahâvastu, from the point of view of dogmatic ideas, marks a period or a transition stage between the Hinayâna and the Mahayâna; and (4) its language, too, deserves attention.

1. History and contents.—The Mahâvastu, or, according to the colophon (which is open to suspicion), Mahâvastu-avadâna, claims to be a part of the Vinaya-pitaka, of the "recitation" (i.e. the canon) of the Lokottaravâdins Mahâsâṅghikas of the Madhyâdesa.

(1) The Mahâsâṅghikas are one of the old sects or branches of the Order, the other branch being the Mahâmâyânas (the Prôhà-saṅghikas; the Basket-Vinaya); from the beginning it probably had special rules of vinaya, or discipline. (2) The expression Lokottaravâdins, "believer in the supernatural character of the bodhisattva (see below, § 3, and art. BODHIKATVA), indicates a dogmatic school. It is possible that there were Mahâsâṅghikas who were not Lokottaravâdins. It would not be difficult to eliminate from the Mahâvastu the passages which have habitually been attached to the Mahâyânas, but it is difficult to eliminate from the Mahâvastu, and the manifest contradiction between the title and the contents raises a delicate question. Such a title comprises N. India, Magadha, Kosala, and Videha; but there were Mahâsâṅghikas outside of the Madhyâdesa, notably the Purvâvâsias and the Arapâulis, who were also Lokottaravâdins.

In order to understand the word mahâvastu and to see how the Mahâvastu, in which discipline takes only a very small place, can belong to the section on "discipline," it is necessary to go far back.

The disciplinary literature (Vinayasa) was from the beginning composed of two parts: (1) the formula of ordination (pratimokkha), a list and classification of grave and venial faults, to which an explanatory and historical commentary was soon added: on what occasion such and such a prohibition was made by the Master; in the Sarvâstivâdin school this commentary is called Vihâra, in the school of the Pâli language Vibhavana; and (2) the statutes of the Order, a collection of the texts (formavaipikas, vamaavaipikas) relating to ecclesiastical acts (ordination, fortnightly confession, etc.) and of rules referring to ordination, confession, the cenobitic life during the rainy season, to parishes, medicines, beds, and schisms. These two are treated in the first group: ('point of discipline or doctrine,' 'story'), corresponding to the Chullavagga, and the Vinaya-vagga, which, although it does not bear the title 'Great,' corresponds to the Mahâvagga.

One of the characteristics of the Mahâvagga (and the Vinaya-vagga) is that, especially in its first part, it assumes the form of history. It contains a short epitome of the origin of the Order, which is perfectly justified as an introductory can to the vasta of ordination: it was in a book of discipline that the most ancient writers, for want of a better planned library, deemed it expedient to place some pages from the life of the Buddha, his illumination, his first sermon, etc. The editors of the Vinaya-vagga (which is, as we have said, the Mahâvagga of the Sarvâstivâdins), who came long afterwards, have far more liberally spread the ten chapters their work preserves the character of a historical treatment of monastic discipline; but the last chapter (devoted in principle and in title, like the corresponding chapter of the Mahâvagga, to the internal strife of the Order) contains not only a fresh statement of the biographical elements of the first chapter, but also the history of Sakyamuni from the beginning of time, related in a continuous account down to the schismatic intrigues of Devadatta; a list of the chakrawartin kings, the creation of the universe and life of primitive men, and the history of the Sakyas (ancestors of Sakyamuni); legends of the birth of Sakyamuni, his education, his departure, his mortifications, etc.—a summa of ancient traditions among which are to be found documents which have habitually been attached to the Mahâvagga. It is possible that there were Mahâsâṅghikas who were not Lokottaravâdins. It would not be difficult to eliminate from the Mahâvastu the passages which have habitually been attached to the Mahâyânas, but it is difficult to eliminate from the Mahâvastu, and the manifest contradiction between the title and the contents raises a delicate question. Such a title

implies that the book was, like the Mahāvagga and the Vinaya-pāda, meant to be a history of disciplinary rules. As a matter of fact, of thirteen hundred pages about twenty treat of discipline (excepting the beginning on ordination), and certain parallelisms with the Mahāvagga cannot be mistaken; e.g., there is a series of stories in the Mahāvāstu, in the Pali Mahāvagga, and in the Tibetan Vinaya which hold together, and are minute in subject; and especially the famous eighteen chapters, or the sexaginta octo protopodia' (Barth, loc. cit. p. 464). But, on the whole, the Mahāvāstu is a collection of legends without any connexion with discipline.

One cannot easily understand the literature of a primitive Mahāvāstu, a historical treatment of discipline, would be fed (Barth says novum) by a mass of heterogeneous materials, differing in date and character, which, by their inorganic or chaotic accumulation, would explain all that non-disciplinary literature which forms ninety-nine hundredths of the present Mahāvāstu. This task of enlarging and of "feeding" was carried on in all the Buddhist schools, for a longer or shorter time, with more or less moderation; and what is true of the literary units is still more true of the canonical collections. Although we at present know nothing about the libraries of the Mahāvāstu, we may suppose that it had no shelves in which the jātakas, sūtras, and stanzas would be arranged. The only course was to gather together in the Mahāvāstu all that seemed precious. The decision to make the Mahāvāstu, therefore, if it had remained to any extent a history of discipline, and if some pieces of the framework of the Mahāvagga were perceptible, would seem quite simple. Must it be admitted that the last compilers of the Mahāvāstu systematically cut away the elements of vinaya already sunk in the legendary mass? Or that, in the federal view which the life of the Mahāvāstu was wetting, these elements fell into oblivion? Or that the Mahāvāstu was never in any respect, except its title, a replica of the Mahāvagga? The three hypotheses seem equally inadmissible.

Some light is perhaps afforded by the history of the Divyānāma. R. Hovhe (and after him B. Løvås) has proved that this book is, above all, a collection of anecdotes and legends taken from the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādinś. The extracts have not always been made very consistently, and some fragments of vinaya proper—disciplinary rules—are to be found in the Mahāvāstu in connexion with the history of the Mahāvāstu, and a probable connexion with the Mahāvāstu is pointed out. The colophon gives the name of Mahāvāstu-sūtraṃ: is this to be translated 'the narrative part of the Mahāvāstu' or 'the Mahāvāstu as a whole'? In the Pali Vinaya the various episodes are added to the history of the Vinaya by explicit references or allusions; these, without any evidence down to the Mahāvāstu, show those same episodes in which the Mahāvagga and the Vihāra-vinaya are more or less prolix and discursive chapters of a treatise on discipline, the Mahāvāstu, therefore, if it can be taken as the Mahāvāstu a book of stories.12

However this may be, the materials which have entered into the composition of the Mahāvāstu are of widely different ages; the source of the compilation is certainly ancient, since it forms part of the canon of one of the ancient schools. It must be admitted, therefore, that it took a long time to be formed, for it is certain that it was not compiled until very late. The mention of astrologers under a Western name (kārttikeya) and that of the writings of the Chinese and of the Huns, Pehlevāsa (Felix X), Ujjibe (Zebek X), indicate the 4th or 5th century. At that date, however, the persistence, in the prose, of the ecclesiastical jargon, which still endures (§ 44), is an outstanding fact.13 We must, therefore, accept in full interpolation and carry the date of the compilation a little further back. In order to realize the character of this compilation, it must be noticed that the editors do not allow themselves to invent anything, and do not dare even to correct the most flagrant contradictions.14

2. Comparison with Pāli canon.—There are numerous parallels between the Mahāvāstu and Pāli literature. Minaya, Oldenberg, above all Senart and Barth, and, lastly, Windisch, have called attention to many, but not to all. Differences which seem to marks of sect are rare, and when they stand out are the result of the complexity of Buddhist tradition and the infinite diversity of arrangement and treatment of the same materials. In these examples, the amount of similarity is at all degrees, from simple community of subject and vague resemblance to complete identity. The latter, however, is rarely attained, and is perhaps, for long. The similarity, especially in the verse, is to a large extent an exterior one; it is shown in mode of expression, in general sonority, in words more than in matter, in sounds more than in words; the stanza is the same, when the meaning is sometimes quite different, like an egg of which nothing remains but the shell . . . . They all go back to one original. . . . The probabilities are not always in favour of the Pali edition. But for the ensemble of the fragments as well as for the detail of their rendering, it is the Pali that is the best in the whole and that gives the best representation of the original version.15

It is well known that all the comparisons set up between the Pāli canon and the other canons arrive at the same conclusion. The Pāli writings were fixed and codified, the others were not.

3. Relation to Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.—The Mahāvāstu may be said to form the bridge between the Old Vehicle and the New. As is seen from the Mahāvāstu, the two Vehicles are not incompatible, and the book away from certain characteristics peculiar to the Great Vehicle while remaining unacquainted with the others. (1) The 'Buddhology' of the Mahāvāstu marks a stage between the conception of Buddha as a simple mortal (Little Vehicle) and that of Buddha as a quasi-eternal god sending illustrious images down to this world (Great Vehicle). The Buddha of the Mahāvāstu is a supernatural, an immortal, not hungry nor thirst; he lives in ignorance of carnal desires; his wife remains a virgin. It is from consideration for humanity, in order to conform to the customs of the外境 (lokottaras, 'superior to the world').12

(2) The infinite multiplication of Buddhas in the past and in the present is also a characteristic of Mahāyānist tendency. It must be noticed, however, that the Sarvāstivādinś, who are reputed to be free from Mahāyāna influence, allow that several Buddhas may co-exist, though in different universes, or 'fields of Buddha.'

(3) Much more marked is the tendency of one of the chapters of the Mahāvāstu, entitled Sāngha-bhānīka,16 'the book of the ten bhānīs'—successive steps by which the future Buddhas have to mount up to the state of Buddha. ‘It is to the beings who aspire resolutely to the condition of Buddha that the Sāngha-bhānīka ought to be set forth . . . for they will believe; the others will only env.' (I. 193).

The Mahāvāstu, therefore, has incorporated a book which is addressed, in so many words, to the men who wish to become, not arhats, but Buddhas, i.e. to the men who enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas, the Mahāyāna.17

1 Barth, loc. cit. p. 624.
2 Io. p. 627.
3 The text says that his body is mensonge, 'falsehood.' This expression has been discussed by B. Senart and A. Barth (see art. Boumyavātṛī). According to it means, not 'mental body,' but body created by the mind, without intervention of seed and blood. Such is the body of the objects called "cittasatputram," 'incarnational,' one of whose characteristics is that, on dying, they leave no trace.
4 Several other instances of Mahāyāna tendencies are discussed by Senart and Barth (loc. cit. p. 526). Different interpretations may be suggested from that of these two scholars for
On the other hand, Aṃṭātāya, Abhavakta, Mahāyāna, Udbhava, and the khaṭā (‘spell’), and the bhadra (‘voidness’) —and, we may add, karunā (‘compassion’) —are unknown. Of those who mount it to the same goal, ‘the town of nirvāṇa, the island of nirvāṇa.’

The first metaphor has been adopted by primitive Buddhism; the second one by the new Buddhism. The adherents of this latter Buddhism found fanatics with the earlier Buddhism; and, accordingly, while styling their own creed mahāyāna (‘great vehicle’), true, great, and profound (gandhāra) doctrine of salvation, they characterized the creed of their predecessors as hinayāna (‘little vehicle’), an inferior, imperfect, inefficient doctrine of salvation. Another name for the former Buddhism, a more polite one, is ‘śrīvajrayāna;’ in the old scriptures the discipul of the Buddha who have entered the path are called śrīvakṣa (‘disciples,’ ‘auditors,’ or ‘preachers’ of the Law), or āryavajra-vaṇu (‘noble disciples,’ ‘true disciples’). The term śrīvajrayāṇa conveys the idea that the old doctrine is nevertheless an efficient means of salvation. Moreover, it marks a contrast between the two Buddhist creeds; for the adherents of the new Buddhism style themselves bodhisattva (future Buddhas) and employ the term bodhisattvayāna (‘vehicle that conveys the bodhisattvas’) as a synonym of Mahāyāna.

(4) The Mahāyāna asserts that salvation can be quickly gained; it is a vehicle drawn by deer (bṛṇartha). It professes to lead, by duly practised, to nirvāṇa in this existence (ājñā-Śūrana). It has to become an arhat, i.e., a sāvakamukta (q.v.), a man freed even in this life. In fact, the arhat has already obtained nirvāṇa, the nirvāṇa called sāpadeśa; the liberation from desire and lust, the machinery of life continuing automatically until it runs down. When dying, he says: ‘I have nothing more to do. I shall not be re-born here again,’ and he enters into nirvāṇa. In this connexion, the doctrine of nirvāṇa is the same as the doctrine of sāvatīrtha, as the doctrine of sūtra, as the doctrine of the sūtras. It is my belief that nirvāṇa is an absolutely certain mystical fact.

It involves no elements that are foreign to the end which it has in view, viz. the destruction of desire or thirst, the suppression of all activity (karma) liable to induce a new existence. It consists essentially in contemplation (śānti-dhyāna ‘sight’) and meditation (bhadra-dhyāna) on the four truths: everything is painful, etc. These four truths may be summarized in the following dogma: what we call the ‘soul,’ or the ‘ego,’ is only a complex of incongruous, transitory elements (skandhas), which endures by means of desire (or thirst) alone; and an ethical dogma follows: that action, the consequences of action can be suppressed by meditations which emanate and deliver from existence.

(2) This method of salvation (the method of supramundane meditations) cannot be practised except by a person who observes, and has observed for some time, ‘morality’—i.e. the laws that make an action or a thought good (see art. KĀMA)—and, what is very important, a person who practises continence (or the religious life brāhmaṇa) as a Buddhist monk.

(3) Although the Buddha is neither a god nor a supernaturally being, he is nevertheless acquired from the other saints. The saints, like the Buddha, have attained nirvāṇa in this life, because they have attained bhūti (‘illumination’); but it was the Buddha who annoyed to the same truths of salvation which potentially contain bhūti, and who showed the ‘path’; and he was able to do so because in the course of his innumerable existences, with a body he is never weary of acquiring good works and gained this acquired knowledge.

(4) The cult of the Buddha is not distinguished by what is properly called ‘devotion’ (bhakti)—
this sentiment implies a living god—though the Akhikdharmaoka upholds the term. Veneration of relics, stūpas, etc., is useful and recommended; it is good, it is helpful, as penance (lāpas) is, but it is not divine. (3) The Three Vehicles are defined: (1) the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, (2) the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, (3) the Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. The first two are termed the Little Vehicle; the third the Great Vehicle. We see that by B. E. Bumford, Le Lotus de la bonne loi, Paris, 1902, pp. 55, 315, 399; B. Kern, Studien über das A. V. S. N. E., PP. (1891); 17. Jahn, Mandala-phenomena, ed. F. Max Müller and W. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885, p. 227, of the other two categories. The first two, the Śrāvaka vehicle of the Little Vehicle, the third the Great Vehicle (see E. Bumford, Le Lotus de la bonne loi, Paris, 1902, pp. 55, 315, 399; B. Kern, Studien über das A. V. S. N. E., PP. (1891); 17. Jahn, Mandala-phenomena, ed. F. Max Müller and W. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885, p. 227). It is essential to the little vehicle, but the Śrāvakas preach (prasangika; śrāvaka, translated ‘teacher,’ means rather ‘preacher’ (see SBE, XXII, Saddharmapundarika, I, 255), the Pratyekabuddhas do not convert by precept alone. There are still other differences, but they are of no importance to the Vehicle of salvation (see Abhidharma, I, xxxi). There are also two higher, and, we will note, closely related, sects: Chandrakīrti, Madhyamikavādins (Fr. tr., Cruson, and others, An Introduction to the Madhyamika), etc. The two sects are here not natural, then, for the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas and the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas to be fused in the Little Vehicle (Hinayāna).

2. Great Vehicle.—The new Buddhism adopts the name of mahāyāna (‘great vehicle’). The word yāna (‘vehicle’) is used to express the same idea as that conveyed by the ‘supramundane path’ (bodhicaryā, shrine), the ‘cosmic path’ (bodhipathā, temple), the cosmic vehicle (bodhiputram, temple), etc., (2) the wisdom or knowledge of viyākhyā, (3) the path leading to nirvāṇa. But, as we shall see, there are various kinds of Mahāyāna, and this fact explains the diversity of definitions and the evident difficulty in which early writers entangle themselves. The problem is to explain the difference between the Little and the Great Vehicle.

The Great Vehicle consists of (1) the practice of the virtue (pāramitās) of a bodhisattva or future Buddha (i.e. pāramitāyāna [naya] or bodhisattva-yāna); by it one becomes a Buddha (buddhayāna); (2) the wisdom or knowledge of viyākhyā (pāramitāyāna); (3) the path of devotion (bhaktikarika).

(1) Career of the bodhisattva.—The books which profess to belong to the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna-sūtras) tend to assert that nirvāṇa cannot be attained by the ancient methods. To obtain deliverance from desire, ignorance, and existence it is necessary to practice all the virtues and acquire all the knowledge of the Buddhas, to enter on the career of a future Buddha (bodhisattva-charya) and pursue it for centuries. Instead of ‘Great Vehicle,’ it may therefore be called ‘Vehicle of the future Buddha’ (bodhisattva-yāna), or ‘Method of the perfect virtues, charity, patience, etc.’ (pāramitāyāna).

Now the Buddha Sākyamuni, during his former existences, has always lived in the world. It is possible, therefore, to enter the Vehicle of the future Buddha (bodhisattva) although married. Nothing, however, prevents monks from making the vow to become Buddha; by this vow they mount the ‘Vehicle of the future Buddha,’ but by their monastic observances they belong to the ‘old Buddhism,’ and form part of one of the disciplinary schools of the Śrāvakas. Young laymen often take the vows of monks, and, after acquiring merit in this way, remove them in order to take the vows of a future Buddha.

(2) Vacuity.—The books that treat of philosophy explain that the ancient dogmas, ‘the soul is nothing but a complex of transitory elements (abhandha),’ is perfectly accurate, but unsatisfying; they would add that these elements themselves do not exist in themselves, but are ‘void’ (śūnya). For (the two ways of understanding vacuity, and the two schools of the Great Vehicle, see artt. Madhyamaka and Viśnusāvanā. The doctrine of vacuity (anetavāda) is the second characteristic of the Great Vehicle. But a layman or a monk can perform the vow to become a Buddha’ without thinking out the doctrine of vacuity. Thus, the orthodox themselves declare that, as the beginning of the saintly career is entirely devoted to charity, it is not good to give too much thought to philosophy, i.e. to universal nothingness. On the other hand, an adept of the Little Vehicle who does not believe in the necessity of becoming a Buddha may adhere to the doctrine of vacuity and become imbued with it, in order to attain nirvāṇa as an arhat, i.e. in this present life. As long as he lives, according to the doctrine of vacuity is really indispensable to the attainment of nirvāṇa, it is sufficient, without the career of the future Buddha.

3. Vedic and Tantric Vehicle.—The Mahāyāna, as analysed above, is, from the philosophical point of view, a phenomenalist system, and, from the religious and mythological point of view, polytheism with monarchical and devotional tendencies. From early times phenomenalism and polytheism led to conceptions of immemorial and polytheistic gods, in the days of Asinaga (A.D. 4th cent.) men believed in an Ādibuddha (q.v.) who would play the part of Brahān in his various aspects as Brahān, or Kṣana divine, or Kṣana tharanā. These speculations upon immemorand and emanation, which often mingle with the doctrines of the Mahāyāna proper, 1

1 For the combination of the cult of the Buddhas and companions, or charitable, see the meditation of the Bodhisattva.


A. Barth, ‘Leopoldichulis’s lexicographical contributions,’ Journal of the J.E.S., 1898; c. the remark of Winternitz, Geschicht, ii. 157, on the Buddha in Buddha-ophoga: ‘eine Art Halbgöttin wie den Mahāyānasishtra.

are the basis of the 'Vehicle of formula' ('mantra-yāna'), the 'diamond method' ('vajrayāna'), also called the 'Tántric Vehicle' ('tantrayāna'). This Vehicle is Ī-tsin's 'Diamond Vehicle' ('bodhicharyavatāra'), which was to give rise to a whole new philosophy of the Great Vehicle. The doctrines connected with the 'career of the future Buddha' ('bodhisattvaupākārya') are treated in art. Bodhrattva. Many details might be added on the technique of meditations; but the works on this subject ('Abhisamatālañākādāloka, Bodhisattvabhūmi') have not been published, and present very serious difficulties.

5. Speculative doctrines of the Mahāyāna.—These are examined in the art. Madhavakara and ViśMāra, where the views of the various chief philosophical schools of the Great Vehicle. The doctrines are connected with the 'career of the future Buddha' ('bodhisattvaupākārya') are treated in art. Bodhrattva. Many details might be added on the technique of meditations; but the works on this subject ('Abhisamatālañākādāloka, Bodhisattvabhūmi') have not been published, and present very serious difficulties.

6. Discipline (Vinaya) of the Mahāyāna.—The Indian schools of devotion ('bhakti') are often not strict as regards morality and discipline. There existed, accordingly, lax Mahāyāna, inclining to Tantrism, which preached salvation and the re—mission of sins by the recitation of formulas, etc., independently of rules of conduct.

But there is also a rigid Mahāyānist 'monasticism', sometimes adhering to the ancient Vivaya, sometimes introducing new ones.

(a) The Abhidharma-sūtras says:

'the adept of the Great Vehicle will never give his hearers the vain hope of acquiring purity by simply reading the books of the Great Vehicle, and reciting formulas, while abandoning the rules of conduct.'

One fully realizes Ī-tsin's statement:

"Which of the eighteen schools of [Mahāyāna] should be grouped with the Mahāyāna or with the Hinayāna is not determined. . . . Both [Mahāyāna and Hinayāna] adopt one and the same discipline (vinaya)." Monks and convents practising the strict monastic observance of the ancient Vivaya adopted the dogmas and worship of the Mahāyāna; Ī-tsin accordingly mentions monks who were Mahāyānists of the Śāhavara-school and all perfect in Vivaya observance. It has been supposed that the Vinaya of the ancient Mahāsaṅghika sect was the most popular in Mahāyānist convents; but Ī-tsin qualifies this as a Mahāyānist convent that Ya Hian found the Mahāsaṅghika Vivaya, because the Mahāsaṅghikas seem to have been the forerunners of the Mahāyāna.

(2) The Mahāyāna apparently introduced into the discipline some new rules concerning the use of milk and meat. The Sarvāstivādins (Hinayāna) allowed the use of meat under certain conditions; the Mahāyānists condemned it. Ī-tsin tells a touching story of a young Mahāyānist, Chitta-varman, who was refused ordination in a Mahāyāna convent until he renounced, in tears, his principles of diet. Soon or later, however, the Mahāyāna created a new Vivaya for itself—a Vivaya that was independent of the ancient Vivaya, that had a different purpose in view and that could be, and was often, or through ignorance, of all the Noble Path and meditation on the truths. They say that the little Vivaya, thus understood, leads to re—birth in the very inferior paradises of the world of Kama (see Cosmology and Cosmology [Buddhist]); it is therefore a Vehicle of salvation for those who regard its discipline, and Śaṅkara and Saṅkara as regards its mythological representations and its rites. Its goal is the condition of a Buddha, its doctrine that (1) every being is, in his inner disposition, a Buddha, and (2) every being can, by meditation, spells, (śādhanas), and theurgic practices of all kinds (often erotic), 'realize' this Buddha nature at little expense (see TANTRISM).
expected to be, used together with the ancient Vinayas. The ancient Vinayas were for the use of monks; the Mahāyānī Vinaya is the 'Vinaya of the future Buddhas,' or, more exactly, 'of in-

expected future Buddhas' (ddhakoramā dharmadāna).

(a) It was while making the vow to become a Buddha that Sākyamuni, prostrating himself at the feet of a Buddha, became a 'future Buddha';

this vow is what today will fill our existence, but also for numerous future existences; like the vows of a bīkṣu (see KARMA), it creates 'discipline' (sīvanīrata), the obligation and, to a certain extent, the 'grace' (the moral power) to perform certain duties.

We have no longer a Buddha in our midst to receive such a vow from us; we must be content to take the 'discipline of a son of Buddha' (angutānāṣeṣenābīkṣa) before a qualified person (sīvanīrata), or, in the absence of such, before all the Buddhas of the quarters. (b) The future Buddha must practise the perfect virtues (pāramīs); theologians have therefore to explain how he is to fulfil the virtues of giving, in 

meditation. (c) He commits errors; he must know how to confess them, before whom (i.e. Buddhas of confession), and how to obtain pardon. (d) The Bhikṣu

distinguishes, help, providing and aiding, the saṅgha, the stūpas, etc., are not sufficient for devotees of Avalokita, Amitābha, and Tārā; fixed rules of worship must therefore be made.

This is the human regarding the oldest forms of the Vinaya for bodhisattvas. But documents which give an accurate idea of the rules of life of the Mahāyānist monk will be found in the Vinaya of the future Buddha (code du Mahāyāna en Chine), and in the Daily Manual of the Shāman (S. Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, London, 1871, p. 239). The ritual of the office in honour of Avalokita (Beal, Catena, p. 338) indicates the nature of the cult.

(3) The Mahāyānist monks belonged to one of the Hinayāna schools, and fulfilled the obligations of future Buddhas in addition to those of their own school. Later, there were monks who adhered solely to the monastic code of the Mahāyāna (the type given in de Groot, code du Mahāyāna en Chine), which became a complete code in itself, a conglomeration of different Vinayas. Finally, it is always possible for a monk to renounce his vows and return to the world; the Great Vehicle favours this tendency insensibly as it had a special 'career-like' existence in the Middle Ages.

The relative importance of duties for monks who are at the same time 'future Buddhas' is not always clear. I-ising declares that he is not writing concerning those who claim to follow the prac-
tice of a Bodhisattva rather than the Vinaya rules. 1

Śāntideva cites an extreme case—the story of the monk who had practised continence for a long

time (84,000 years) consenting to satisfy the desires of a woman so that he might fulfil the benevolence and kindness that is the essential law of future Buddhas. 2 For them the sins of their

Sanskrit are very serious, while the sins of desire are venial. The very spirit of the Mahāyāna, therefore, may perhaps be responsible for the singular development of Kashmir monasticism, viz. married monks. 3

II. HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF MAHĀYĀNA DOCTRINES.—As we have seen, the Mahāyāna differed from the ancient Vehicle in three points:

(1) the substitution of the 'career of a future Buddha' for the 'conquest of the quality of arhat';

in other words, the substitution of the bodhisattva, who might be a layman, for the bīkṣu, 'monk';

(2) the creation of a new ontological theory, 'the doctrine of the void' (śānyātā) or of 'the non-

existence in themselves of the constituent elements of things and of the human ego' (ächarmanairāt
taya), superimposed upon the doctrine of the

non-existence in itself of the human ego (pratītya

nairatmya); and (3) the transformation of the Buddhas into great mythological gods, almost eternal; the dedication of 'future Buddhas' as also of the bodhisattvas, to the development, the prac-
tice of devotion (bhakti) towards these 'great beings' (mahāsattvā) instead of the respect and meditation practised by the ancient Bodhisattvas towards the Buddha. What was formerly venerated in the Buddha, what men 'took refuge in' (sāraya
gaman) when taking refuge in the Buddha, was the complex of the moral and intellectual qualities in virtue of which a certain person is Buddha. To admire and meditate on these qualities is an excellent means of gaining morality, tranquility, nirvāṇa. The Mahāyānist addresses himself to living, gracious, paternal gods.

There are, therefore, three formative elements in the Mahāyāna; and its history means the history of the development and inter-relation of these three elements. This comprises three distinct histories; for, though the three elements are sometimes united, they are often separate; and, though their development has been parallel, or almost so, they have no connexion from the logical point of view.

We may safely attempt to give the scheme of the evolutionary curve of these three elements, but it is very difficult to give chronological dates or precise details in the evolution.

1. Career of the bodhisattva.—Ancient Buddhism holds that Buddhas are very rare, but the Mahāyāna invites all who desire salvation to enter on the career of a future Buddha. This is a fundamental change from the dogmatic point of view, and involves a corresponding change in morals; in short, the monk believed that the quickest way to reach nirvāṇa was by meditation; he worked entirely 'for himself' (svārtham); the activity of the future Buddha, on the contrary, is, above all, altruistic (purārtham).

Our literary evidence on the stages of this trans-

formation is unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it is easy to guess the motives behind it. The following factors are of great importance.

(1) The ideal of ancient Buddhism, the arhat useless to others and an utter egoist, to the extent of insensibility and insensibleness, and who could not help the Buddha, the being of compassion and pity. Hence the 'saint for himself,' the 'delivered while

1 See Bodhisattvacharitā, l. 10, fol. 62, and the fragments

of the Bodhisattvatattvikāni (B. Sanjū, Catalogue of the Chinese

Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford, 1888, nos. 3000–

1035), quoted in Jātaka-āvadāna, p. 11. On the vow of the future

Buddha see Śrīkāna, Bodhisattvaṅgadīpikā (JITS, l. 1931)

30, 190; and also K. A. Lévy, Dictionnaire du bouddhisme, p. 745. The Bodhisatt
dhāryabhramaṇ has been published by Watanabe, Strasbourg, 1912. The Vinaya of the Mahāyāna were first placed under the patronage of Upāla (Upālajñāna, etc.) later they were more completely cut off from the tradition of the Hinayāna, in Paris, 1886.

2 De Groot, Codex Mahāyānae in China, p. 8.

4 Ānand, Istāvūra of the Middle Ages, following B. de Groot,

Karmavihara, Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion

of the Buddhist World (London, 1889, p. 34).

1 See Note H.,箔作(ghocă), a Chronicle of the

King of Kaviñj, London, 1889, p. 74: 'In one half of the monastic

sheltered beneath these Shikhyā, monastic conduct conformed to the precepts; and in the other half those who, belonging in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, desired to keep the blame for their life from the householders (G. M. G. and T. Ra., p. 81). Cf. Hodgson, Essays, p. 82, and various predictions of the Mahāyānāstirīs as to the decadence of Buddhist law.

4 Cf. Takakusu's tr., p. 197.
still alive,' so long the dream of India, was no longer held in honour. The creation of the type of the Buddha, the hero of charity, saving the world at the cost of his own existence, was no longer possible. The world, reveals tendencies in ancient Buddhism towards the doctrine of the 'career of the bodhisattva,' open to all.

The position arose, further, whether the arhat actually obtains nirvana. Formerly the arhat was required to show, not only 'morality,' 'harmlessness,' but also 'feelings of benevolence' for the future Buddha. He was to renounce the ego and the animal needs of his body; and the most important of all, he was to declare that he had reached a spiritual condition giving him a high rank among deities. This teaching is almost certainly the oldest in the Mahayana, and psychology has made progress. Many existences are necessary, they may have said, to obtain 'knowledge' sufficient for deliverance; just as, in order to achieve deliverance from love, self, and love of existence, the first necessity is devotion to others.

(3) It is possible, also, that faith in nirvana was shaken, or that, not knowing exactly what nirvana was, a few bodhisattvas were afraid of it, and devoted their attention rather to the acquisition of celestial powers and the bliss of the Buddhas (now transformed into very happy and long-lived persons of the universe). 

The Mahabodhisattva, a very technical work on the 'career of the future Buddha,' was translated into Chinese between A.D. 295 and 418; the Bodhakarana (or 'Buddhasattva') of the Mahayana, however, gives a thorough account of the stages or degrees (bhumi) of this career. According to Chandrakirti (Madhyamakavatara), the Mahayana knows nothing of the 'Vehicle of the Future Buddha,' which is the characteristic trait of the Mahayana.

2. Vacuity.—We have more extensive information on the philosophic doctrine. Here we are concerned with the great Indian theologies constituting the Mahayana, and with their transformation: (1) the principles of analysis and speculative annihilation applied by ancient Buddhism to the ego and the great unities (the body, the heart, the universe), were now applied to the dharmas ('elements of things'); the minute elementary realities constituting the ego and the great unities; this is the Madhyamaka system [see note, Madhyamaka]; and (2) the ancient idealist tendencies were developed which in the end taught the causality of all: 'All that we are the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts' (Dharmapada, 1. [SBE x. (1898) 3]). Hence the conclusion that matter does not exist; thought alone exists.

The two philosophical schools of the Mahayana (Madhyamikas and Vijñānavādins) are both in line with the most ancient tradition. Nāgārjuna, the great master of the former, is placed in the 2nd cent. A.D. ; but there is a great deal of Madhyamika philosophy in the Pali canon, and the sutras of the Prajñāpāramitā, where this philosophy is predominant, are ancient. Chandrakirti establishes the fact that the true doctrine of the void was known to the Hinayana, or, to be more exact, that the Buddha had already taught this doctrine in his first revelation, dedicated to the arhat. But, it will be asked, if this Vehicle, the Vehicle of the Sravakas, teaches the non-existence in themselves of the elements of the ego (dharmabairāmagta), where is the doctrine of the Mahayana, replies Chandrakirti, teaches not only the dharmabairāmagta, but also the stages of the career of the future Buddha, the perfect virtues (pāramitā), the knowledge of the order of the attainments, the application of merit to the acquisition of the quality of Buddha, the great compassion (Madhyamakavatāra, tr. in Nisthon, new ser., viii. 272), whence the Mahayana was necessary.

3. Devotion.—As regards the deification of Buddhas and worship of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, we have a sure date in the Chinese translation (between A.D. 145 and 179) of the Sūtrāvatīvyākhyāna, the book in which the sacred role of Amitābha (see above, I. 2. (3)) is formulated. The Gandhāra monuments, the exact date of which is not known, but which can hardly be later than the 2nd cent. A.D., may be the earliest date of the Chinese translation. They show, or at least may be held to show, the worship of the bodhisattvata associated with that of the Buddhas.

On the other hand, we know that the doctrine of the Hymn of the Buddha that the worship of the Buddha is of great antiquity. In the art, ADIBUDDHA the present writer has mentioned some of these documents, and that a long series of inscriptions which passed the quasi-deification of the Buddha which he saw in 1903 shows that the Buddhists, or at least certain Buddhists, came to the conclusion that Sakyamuni did not descend from the earth, but was content to send his image (cf. DOCTRINE [Buddhist]). This is, in substance, the teaching of the Great Vehicle on Buddha—the Buddha almost eternal and saving beings by means of magical creations. Scholars who admit the authenticity of the Kathāvatthu as a whole are compelled to locate this belief before the time of Asoka. Without believing in the authenticity of this very composite book, the present writer would willingly admit that the deification of the Buddha and his 'almost' eternity belong to a period long before the formal documents.

It is almost certain, too, that this transformation of the Buddha may be explained by the natural evolution of the Buddhist dogma on Hindu soil. The resemblance between the Buddha religion and especially in a pantheon of Sakyamuni, the supreme ruler of himself down to this world, on the one hand, and, on the other, Greek, Gladdenings being in his own world (Goloka) and appearing in a human form, is striking, and contains a valuable lesson.

But it must be noted, that although Sakyamuni plays an important role in the Lotus of the True Law and in the Mahayana literature of which he is the revealer, he does not seem to have such a leading part in the religions of the Great Vehicle. In the first rank are Maitreya, the future Buddha, more living than Sakyamuni, and especially personages of obscure origin, Avalokitesvara (see art. Avalokitesvara), Amida, Vairocana, Vajrapani, and many others, whose Buddhistic character is not very marked.

Several scholars, moreover (and so many men, regard the origin of the devotion to the Buddha as a real 'puzzle' (Max Müller), and believe that it is to be found in the influence of the 'barbarians,' notably the Scythians, or other languages which were exercised especially in Northern India, the Pāli, and Kushan, where religions stagnated reached such high development. The prehistoric mythology of the Great Vehicle is veiled in obscurity, and future researches perhaps may perhaps confirm this hypothesis. The comparisons to which attention has been called up to the present have little value and do not prove that Amida is an Alter Maitreya. In any case it is useless to explain the worship of the Buddhas by the influence of Greek sculptors, who is believed, were the first to create images of Buddhas. The whole 'theology' of the

1 The Charitragītā, not one of the most ancient books, is the first to Pali literature to mention the doctrine of the pāramitā, 'perfect virtues' necessary for making a Buddha, a doctrine that plays no part in the older books (Ravivāra, Buddhītīna, London, 1903, p. 171). The doctrine of the bodhisattvata, the theory of his charity, merit, etc., is relatively highly developed in the Abhidharmakosā and some other early works, and it is supposed that it was developed especially in Northern India, the Pāli, and Kushan, where religions stagnated reached such high development.

2 It but its existence is not para-nārakā, 'absolute'; it is of the same nature as the mātrikā, 'cosistent,' as will be seen in art. VINAYAVADIN.

3 I. Odendhr (Buddhism, Stuttgart, 1914, p. 232) disagrees with the present writer on this point.

4 The Prajñāpāramitā was translated into Chinese between 265 and 266. It is said there are told that the Prajñāpāramitā and the Apanikās possessed a Prajñā in Parāsit (Wasillief, Buddhismus, p. 291), which is quite possible. They were Lokottaravādins, a sect of art. ART, OMOATAVATA, vol. II. p. 719). But what is the date of this Prajñā?

1 See the tr. of Max Müller and Tolkhim in SBE xiv. (1894).

2 See A. Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique, ii., who treats of the difficult identification of the statues of Gandhāra and their date.

3 Incl. de l'Empire, d'Extrême-Orient, p. 200.
religion of Amāvīśa is Indian; the belief in the providence of Amāvīśa and of Avalokiteśvara, the beliefs in their saving grace, has been delivered to us in common with ancient Buddhism, but is in
excellent contradiction. The paradise of the west (Śūkhavāra), and the paradise of the east (Śīlaśūkra), both of which, probably or not, are in reality 'solar,' have not up to the present been sufficiently studied and explained. The idea of multiple universes, however, was a feature of the Buddhist religion, and is very common in the modern Buddhist literature (see, e.g., the Mahāvihāra).

II. HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE MAHAVĀJĀNA. — 1. Controversy on the authenticity of the books and legends concerning them. — We know that the books of the Mahāyāna appeared somewhat late, and are very rich in ecclesiastical history. Whatever may be the value to modern scholars of the tradition referring to the Councils (e.g., K. O. Franke, Digambaraśūtra, Göttingen, 1913, p. xii), the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna and of the Hinayāna admitted the authenticity, in the strict sense, of the ancient canon. But the adherents of the Hinayāna did not recognize the books of the Mahāyāna for the simple reason that these books were unknown in ecclesiastical history: This is the word of the Buddha which is found in the Śūtra, which appears in the Vīna, which is in harmony with religion, with Truth (dharma). This old text of the Dīgha is, according to them, the condemnation of the Mahāyāna, which not only is not authentic, but is even full of heretical novelties.

The most weighty argument of the Mahāyānists is the speculative argument. The Mahāyāna, they say, is the only valid religion; it is the only vehicle of nirvāṇa. The Hinayāna is indeed authentic, but the Buddha taught it only as provisional truth, taking into consideration the weakness of mind of his hearers. Besides, if the doctrine of the Hinayāna is not found in your śūtras, it is found in ours; if you do not admit our śūtras, we admit them. But, the Hinayānists reply, our śūtras are authentic since you admit them; yours are not authentic, and that is why we reject them. To this the Mahāyānists answer that there are far more reasons for admitting the śūtras of the Mahāyāna, since they are the true path to salvation.

The Mahāyānists further maintain that the Mahāyāna is not new, and that the Hinayānists tradition shows that the Mahāyāna is authentic. (1) The Svāhutattvakhāya (II. 17 and ill. 142) proves that even in the Hinayāna the Buddha taught the same tantric and yogic elements of the eon (see above, II. 2; Madhyamakāvatāra, p. 22). (2) The doctrine of the multiple teaching of the Master, of his accommodation to the ideas of the Hinayāna, of his teaching of the Caves of the Pārvattais, a sect of the Hinayāna (Madhyamakāvatāra, Fr. tr., Minto, new ser., xl [1910] 134); which is also (3) said to have possessed the śūtras of the Prayājāpāramitā edited in Pāṇḍava. This sect, however, is strict in the matter of doctrine, since it orders the expulsion of those who do not understand the 'reserved questions' (see art. Anekāntism [Buddhist], vol. i, p. 221; Madhyamakāvatāra, p. 251). (4) The Mahāvihāra (a book of the Hinayāna) teaches the stages in the career of both bhūtakarma and the perfect virtues.

1 For a description and an analysis of the literature of the Great Vehicle see Wisselieff, Buddhismus, pp. 157–207, and Winternitz, Le Bouddhisme, i., ii., iii., iv., and the notes. See also Winternitz on the Ladakhiśūtra and the Mahāyāna—works on the Tiberian and Kanishka Vehicles. Among treatises see the 'Sūtra of the Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii.; the 'Sthānātthaka, etc.,' SBE xii.

2 Dīgha, II. 124; Mañjuśrīmahāsāvajra, Siddhattho, i. 1258; Sāgāraśāstra, i. 1176. Fr., SBE xxiv., i. 297, i. 307. See also Winternitz on the Ladakhiśūtra and the Mahāyāna—works on the Tiberian and Kanishka Vehicles. Among treatises see the 'Sūtra of the Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii.; the 'Sthānātthaka, etc.,' SBE xii.

3 Dīgha, II. 124; Mañjuśrīmahāsāvajra, Siddhattho, i. 1258; Sāgāraśāstra, i. 1176. Fr., SBE xxiv., i. 297, i. 307. See also Winternitz on the Ladakhiśūtra and the Mahāyāna—works on the Tiberian and Kanishka Vehicles. Among treatises see the 'Sūtra of the Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii.; the 'Sthānātthaka, etc.,' SBE xii.

4 Arguments of the Mahāyānists: the Śūdrakāyavāda, the Śūdravāda, the Śūdraśāstra, the śūtras of the Mahāyāna are the highest revelation of the Buddha, because in form they are not śūtras, but mere treatises (kārīvikā, mnemonic verses, with a

If the whole of the Mahāyāna was not known to the ancients, it was because the doctrines were too sublime to be understood by the compilers of the Hinayāna. The ancient Mahāyāna was the Buddha who taught them, and they were revealed by the Tantric Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Guhyasvāra, Vajrapāṇi, and Maitreya. In fact, immediately after receiving illumination, the Buddha preached to the gods (in the heaven of the Thirty-three) and to the bodhisattvas (J. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, London, 1889, p. 18; A. Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, p. 86).

The bodhisattvas, throughout the course of the ages, have revealed the Mahāyāna to men; Mañjuśrī took the form of a bhūka and, it is said, made known the Prayājāpāramitā in 60,000 articles (Tāranāthac., tr. A. Schiefner, Petrecrad, 1869, p. 58). It was Maitreya, the future Buddha, who explained the Prayājāpāramitā to Asanga, and who is the author of the treatises of the Vījñānavādin school (Mūkṣa, vi. [1914] 42). According to a Japanese tradition, interesting as an example although without historical value, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya had published the Mahāyāna in the year 116 of Nirvāṇa: 'If these books had not existed before, whence would they have been obtained?'—a very childish argument. This Mahāyāna is said to have been completed in 230 of Nirvāṇa, notably by the publication of the Avatattvavaksa (Śrāvakaṃśāga). All these revelations took place before Nāgārjuna (R. Fujishima, Le Bouddhisme japnois, Paris, 1888, p. 54).

Nevertheless, it is to Nāgārjuna that our most trustworthy documents give the honour of the revelation of the Mahāyāna. The Laṅkāvatāra and a Mahāmahanāya were put into the mouth of the Buddha, and the words like the following:

'Four centuries after my nirvāṇa this Land will be the bhūka called Nīga; he will teach the Great Vehicle.'

It is said that Nāgārjuna obtained the Prayājāpāramitā of the Avatattvavaksa from the Nāgas (Wassieleff, Buddhismus, p. 118 f.). We cannot give an account of all the legends referring to the revelation of the books of the Mahāyāna (see Tāranāthac., p. 61 f.); what has already been said will give a sufficient idea of the beliefs that arose in the Buddhist world concerning the origin of these books. As a part from a few ancient partitions of the Hinayāna, all Buddhists readily believed all that appeared as the 'word of Buddha.'

2. Criticism of the legends and conjectures. The library of the Mahāyāna appears to be very rich in the measures of the Śūdrakāyavāda, which the Tibetans have carefully distinguished:

First, the śūtras, divine works, uttered by Bhagavat himself, which are arranged in the Kāṇḍā (ekhā Mahāyāna, 'word of the Master'); and, secondly, the commentaries on the śūtras and the treatises (dīrghas) properly so called, human works, the greater number of which were written by the scholars to whom tradition ascribes them; all these literary forms part of the Tanjār (śrāvakagṛha, 'instruction, scholasticism'). This distinction has not always a historical value. Many śūtras are frankly scholastic works, and it is probable that some of them are later than the treated themes whose doctrine they contain and authorize.

We know that Asanga wrote five treatises which he gave as a revelation of Maitreya. Although revealed, these treatises are included as part of the Tanjār, because in form they are not śūtras, but mere treatises (kārīvikā, mnemonic verses, with a

1 Maitreya-Asanga believes (Śrāvakacāra, l. 7) that the two Vehicles are contemporaneous.


3 We must confine ourselves to a few remarks here. This subject will depend for a long time yet upon monographs.
invent, preaching vacancy or the career of a bodhisattva, they make use of old models, reason in the manner of the Abhidharmikas and the Brahmins, and model the career of the bodhisattva on the path of the arhat, and the new meditations on the canonical meditations.


MAHDI.—The title Mahdi was first associated with 'Ali's son Muhammad b. al-Husayniyayah, and, apparently, given him by the adventurer Musa b. Abi 'Ubaid, who, after the death of Usain at Kerbelah, ostensibly championed the claims of this personage to the khilafate. The word is ordinarily interpreted, 'the divinely guided,' from a verb which frequently occurs in the Qur'an in the corresponding sense, though this particular derivative is not found there; yet this explanation did not give universal satisfaction; it is accepted by some, but rejected by others (see Yaqut, Geographical Dictionary, ed. F. Wüsttenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73, iv. 693. 4). Makhtar clearly used it as analogous to a title attached to the name of 'Ali, calling him the Mahdi, son of the 'Abbas b. Zawah, whose name is also used in the same manner (see Ya'qub, Historia Prophetica, ed. E. de Lustbader, Leipzig, 1879-1901, ii. 534), where the latter title means 'the legate,' i.e. he to whom the Prophet had bequeathed the sovereignty; it is, however, often interpreted as representing a word which has been lost. He himself never called himself by this title (see Ya'qub, Geographical Dictionary, ed. F. Wüsttenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73, iv. 693. 4). After the death of 'Ali's two sons by Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, it would seem that some Muslims were ready to recognize the claim of this Muhammad, 'Ali's son by another wife, to the sovereignty, but he himself acted with extreme caution in the matter of asserting it; he was, however, imprisoned for a time by the partisans of Abbas b. Zubah, who wrested the throne from the Umayyads; but, when their supremacy was restored, he accepted a governorship, and appears to have ended peacefully. Some uncertainty existed with regard to both the time and place of his death, and a sect arose called the Kasiainiyah, who declared that he remained alive in his supposed tomb in Mt. Radwa, whence he would one day emerge; and the poet of this sect, the Sayyid Sunnari, fully expected this occurrence, though the Mahdi had disappeared for sixty years (Afdhari, Cairo, 1285, viii. 32). The poet Kusayyir asserts that his reappearance had been foretold by Ka'b al-Ahmar (I 34. A.H.), whose name is often mentioned in connexion with matter drawn from the Jewish Scriptures. This prophecy may well owe its origin to that of the return of Elijah, but it is not altogether clear whether for that prophet is not clear; if the reference to Ka'b be genuine, we should gather that the word had been used before Makhtar's time with a religious import. This further asserts that this Mahdi's book was studied by the Kasiainis in Mecca, but such a work must assuredly have been a forgery.

With this personage the idea of an awaited deliverer in the Near East connected in a peculiar manner with a political hope is expressed by the name Maîté, to which the partipals 'expected' (muntajar) is sometimes attached. The various pretenders from the house...
of Ali received the title—e.g., Zaid (after whom the Zaïdis are called); he was defeated and killed in the year 122 A.H., and his body was afterwards crucified. An Umayyad satirist said that he had never seen a Mahdi hanging on a tree (Mas'udi, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Paul de Courteille, Les Précieux des Or, Paris, 1861-77, v. 471). When the pretender Muhammad b. 'Abdallah first made his appearance, the people of Medina cried out: 'The Mahdi has come forth' (Tabari, iii. 159 [A.H. 141]). It was to be expected that prophecies of the appearance of such a personage should be attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, and such were current, though of questioned authenticity, the best, according to Mutahhar b. Tahir, who wrote about 325 A.H. (Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire, ed. C. Huart Paris, 1899-1903, ii. 161), being:

"The world shall not pass away until my nation be governed by one of my house whose name agrees with mine."

This tradition is also found in the collection of Tirmidhi (†279; ed. Cairo, 1922, ii. 39), where it is followed by another in which the Mahdi is mentioned:

"We were afraid of some trouble occurring after the Prophet's death, so we asked him, and he said: In my nation there is the Mahdi who shall come forth; he shall live five (or seven or nine) years; the Mahdi shall call me!"; and the Mahdi shall pile unto his lap as much as he can carry.

The author of this fiction appears to have interpreted the word as 'the giver,' which should rather be Mahdi. Somewhere more information is to be found in the contemporary collection by Ibn Majah (†273; Cairo, 1313, ii. 299): the tradition just given is repeated with some variations, indicating that under the Mahdi men would enjoy greater benefits; and it is prefixed one to the effect that certain persons with black standards (i.e. the 'Abbasids) would come from the East,

"who shall ask for good and not be given it, and shall fight, and be victorious and be offered what they asked and not accept it until they have done (the sovereignty) to one of my house who shall fill it with justice as they filled it with injustice."

Another tradition states that the Mahdi is to be a descendant of Fatima; another gives as the list of lords of paradise the following members of the family: the Prophet, his uncle 'Umar, his cousins 'Ali and Ja'far, and his grandsons 'Abdallah and Husain and the Mahdi. The last is:

"Men shall come forth from the East, and shall prepare the way for the Mahdi."

It seems clear that the authors of these fictions had somehow heard of an expected Mahdi, and may have been encouraged by the munificence of princes or to win adherents for some political party. Mutahhar adds another, that the only Mahdi to be awaited was 'Isa b. Maryam, i.e. the Christian Saviour; and, since orthodox Islam looks forward to His returning to judge the world—according to the law of Muhammad—it is not quite easy to find room for another Deliverer. One of the etymologies suggested for the name, viz. the man of the mahdi, 'cradle,' favours this view, the reference being to Qur'an, xix. 30ff., where Christ speaks 'in the cradle.'

There is little reason for supposing that the Prophet Muhammad contemplated the appearance of a Mahdi, however interpreted; but the outbreak of the civil wars within a generation after his death gave the seed of Islam which followed, led to the adoption of the idea from Jews or Christians, who look forward respectively to the appearance and reappearance of the Messiah; why the title Mahdi should have been adopted for the blind Deliverer is, as has been seen, an unsolved puzzle. To the etymologies suggested we should be inclined to add one more, viz. from hada in the sense to give, making the word mean 'He to whom has been given,' as in Mt 29:28 the Risen Saviour says, ἐκδόθη με ἡμῖν οὕτως εὐαγγελία ἐν ὅλην καὶ τοῖς γίνεται, and a similar interpretation was current for the name Shlih in Gn 49:6, until Shiloh come, viz. sāhel, 'who comes.' This is, thus the Shi'ite author of the Fathārī (ed. W. Alwardt, Gotaha, 1860, p. 58), speaking of the Mahdi Zaid (executed in 122 A.H.), curses those who deprived him of his 'right.' However this may be, the function of the Mahdi was, in the first place, to fill the world with justice in lieu of injustice, which often meant the abolition of unauthorized practices and the enforcement of orthodox doctrine and conduct; in the second, to achieve the conversion of the world to Islam, and often this was identified with the taking of Constantinople. Some, however, were satisfied with a partial execution of this programme; and many persons, who had been accredited as the Mahdi by various writers up to his time Mutahhar (loc. cit.) mentions Ali himself, the pious Umayyad 'Umar II., and the 'Abbasid al-Mahdi, who reigned A.D. 775-785.

About the signs whereby the Mahdi was to be recognized when he appeared there were differences of opinion; a common theory was that he should have the name of the seventh Mahdi was, according to Abū 'Ali-Qasim, and that he should belong to the Prophet's house; yet not all demanded the fulfilment of these (not very difficult) conditions. To the former—save the few who suppose the Mahdi has come already—he is ḍnpun unwav, 'he that shall come'; and, on the whole, the Sunni view is that his appearance will be that of an ordinary man whose career is that of a reformer and conqueror, while the Shi'ite view is that he is in hiding somewhere, and has been concealing himself for an unlimited period. In our times there were in the Sudán two Mahdis simultaneously, representing these different opinions. The line between the two is not quite easy to draw, except where some definitely historical personalage is expected to reappear; for it has been found possible to adopt the theory that the Mahdi is some one in hiding, without any suggestion of supernatural concealment. In more than one case of a successful revolution the victory has been won by a commander in the name of an obscure individual, who has been brought forward only when success has been assured. Thus the author of the Fokhri (p. 171), describing the rise of the 'Abbasids, remarks that, while the Khuráshites under the brilliant Taimur were master of Asia, the Mu'tazils believed to be near, and, indeed, the head of the 'Abbasids, was himself in retirement somewhere in Syria or Arabia, attending to his devotions and the affairs of his family, the greater number of his adherents being unable to distinguish between his name and his person, i.e. knowing nothing at all about him.

The rise of Mahdi from time to time, then, was due to the disordered state of Islam in normal circumstances, but also to the wide-spread sentiment that the sovereign should be a descendant of either the Prophet or 'Ali, for with some communities the latter was regarded as the more important personage, and indeed the master whom the former betrayed (see Yaqūt, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1915 ff., i. 392). The pretenders of the house of 'Ali were repeatedly supposed by their adherents to have escaped death, notwithstanding their ostensible execution, and the Shi'a sects to a certain extent divided by these legends. Different pretenders were regarded as relatives, by whom they expected. Such pretenders were Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, executed 145 A.H., whose return was awaited by some of the Jarādiyyah sect; Yahyā b. 'Umar, executed
Mahdi doubtless coming dynasty bear, (Mas'ud b. al-Qasim, 920-983), but Muhammadan sector Prairies "Bismillah," then, likely sect al-Qasim (983), the city of Cairo, (232 AD., 848), has been the capital. The sect, Khurasan. prayer cellar, appear in the 1st century. A.H., a character there have, the majority of the inhabitants has begun to believe, there have, been played to the sword; he is likely then to have been influenced by the prophecy of the appearance of such a reformer, which, as we have seen, had already taken its way into an authoritative collection of traditions. The pedagogue which brought him into connexion with 'Ali may well be an invention later than his time, and as such his biographer appears to regard it. Some stories told by Ibn Khaldun are characteristic of contemporaries, though not perhaps true in this case; he got access to the Book of Jafar, in which 'Ali had prophesied all that was to occur till the end of this period (see art. DIVINATION (Muslim), whence he obtained the letters which formed the name of the person destined to be his chief helper and successor, with a description of his appearance. In order to appear with a miracle, he persuaded a learned associate to feign illiteracy and ignorance of correct Arabic; one day this person claimed to have learned the Qur'an by heart in a dream, and this miracle convinced the most stubborn; the confessor then proclaimed the Mahdi, whereas he had previously been called 'Alid. According to Ibn Khaldun (History, Cairo, 1284, vi. 229), the only heresy of which he could be convicted was his agreeing with the Imamiyyah sect that the sovereignty was infallible. In his treatment of opponents he appears to have been as ruthless and intolerant as any religious leader; but a singular feature of his career as a prophet besides asceticism in diet, he observed strict chastity. His creed, which has been published (Masnavi al-arasid, Cairo, 1328, p. 44 ff.), does not appear to differ from the orthodox kalim.

The prophecy of a Mahdi assumed special importance at the commencement of the century preceding the first millennium of Islam, especially in India. According to the details collected by H. Blochmann (Ann. t.-Abharter, i. (Calcutta, 1875) p. iv ff.), the Mahdist movement started in Badakhshan, where one Sayyid Muhammad Nubakhsh gained numerous adherents, defied the Afghan government, was defeated, and fled to Iran, where he maintained himself till the end of his life. In India it assumed a definite form through the action of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who found an adherent in Gajarat in S. and Mahmud. Apparently this personage was, like Ibn Tumart in his early days, a preacher and reformer, whose doctrines gave offence, and who was forced to leave one place after another. Ultimately he declared that the burden of Mahdi-ship was too heavy for him to bear, and that, if he returned home, he would recant; he died in 911 (=1505) at Feroz in Baluchistan, where his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. The Te De Scheffer, Chrestomathie persane, Paris, 1838-38, i. 165, the propaganda of this sect began at least a century before, and proselytes to whom the mysteries had been communicated were forbidden to divulge them until the Mahdi appeared. Probably with this community (in theory at least) the Mahdi, called also, as has been seen, 'the Lord of the Age,' was the legitimate occupant of the Fāṭimid throne; when the sovereign al-Hakim disappeared, the Mahdi, doubtless in vain, sought manifestation of existence and future reappearance became the dogma of a sect.

Another Mahdi whose efforts resulted in the foundation of this dynasty, was H. of Tumart, (Kitab al-Fuzul, Cairo, 1521, i. 1791). The sect called Qaṭiyyah got their name from making sure of the death of this Mahdi, al-Sarraf, without having ascertained, it (Mas'ud b. al-Qasim, 983) in the district of Kafidah, in the mountains of Taberistan and the Dailam, and the districts of Khurasan. The person ordinarily acknowledged to be the 'expected Mahdi' is Muhammad b. hassan al-'Askari, whose father died 306 A.H. There was, however, great doubt as to the age of this Mahmid at the time of his father's death, some denying that he ever came into existence, and all agreeing that he could have been only a few years old at the time. Shahristani locates him in Samarra (ed. W. Cureton, London, 1842-46, p. 128); but at some time or another he appears to have taken up his abode at Hillah. The traveller Ibn Batuta († 780 A.H.; ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and R. B. San- guineti, Paris, 1853-58, ii. 98) gives a weird account of the ceremonies which he heard there, and which seem to be relics of some pagan cult.

There is a mosque with its door covered by a silk screen, called the 'door of the Lord of the Age.' Each afternoon a hundred of the inhabitants come out of their houses armed with drum and trumpet, and go to the governor, they obtain from him a horse with saddle and bridles, or else a mule; bearing drums and playing musical instruments, they then proceed, fifty of them in a column, armed and fifty behind. Others array themselves on either side. Coming to the mosque that has been called, the Mahdi appears. 'Bismillah,' O Lord of the Age, come forth. Michelle is lenient, and wrong abundant; this is the time for thee to come forth, that God may distinguish thee between the true and the false.' This time continue till the prayer of sunset, playing their musical instruments.

Ibn Khalidin, a contemporary of Ibn Batuta, who has no high opinion of his veracity, tells the same story, with some variation. According to him, the people of Hillah hold that their Mahdi entered a cellar in their habitation, and every night they appear with a mount before the entrance to this cellar, and keep eulogy to him coming out, from the prayer of sunset until the stars are all shining (Prolegomena, Beirut, 1900, p. 199). It is surprising that in the Tarikh-i-Guzidah (compiled 730 A.H., ed. E. G. Browne, London, 1910, p. 208) the connexion of this Mahdi with Hillah appears to be unknown.

In his ninth year he disappeared in Samarra, and was never seen since: the people of the Shah, however, believe that he is the Mahdi of the end of the world, is still alive, and will come forth when the time arrives.

Probably even the revised version of Ibn Batuta's story requires further redaction.

The majority of the Mahdists have thus played a larger role in the imagination than in reality; they have, however, been cases wherein the character has been assumed with very considerable and even permanent success. The first capital of the Fāṭimid in Africa was called Mahdiyyah after the Mahdi who founded the dynasty (297 A.H., A.D. 909). The scenes which prepared the way for his sovereignty were all achieved by an agent to whom he had now addressed his aid; and, according to his statements of his enemies, the person produced was an impostor, suddenly called to play the part, the real Mahdi having perished on his way to Africa. According to an author of weight (Niccolò da Conti, 496), the propaganda of this sect began at least a century
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(tr. G. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898, p. 507 ff.) This person was named Shaikh 'Ala'i, and was born in Bāiāna in Hindustan. To the same place there came one Miyaan 'Abdullah, who had come under the influence of Muhammad of boat-builders; and at the age of 22 he was already a shaikh with a good reputation for faith and became a powerful preacher; he denounced the iniquities of the Egyptians, and laid stress on the promised appearance of a Mahdi, with whom he proceeded to identify himself, and, indeed, in the Shi'ite sense; he claimed to be the twelfth imām, the son of Husain 'Askari. His claims were first recognized in 1851 at Abba Island, 130 miles south of Khartoum, where a band of men declared him their appointed leader, and he communicated to them the secret that he was the Mahdi. News of his 'issuing forth' having come to Khartoum, the governor sent to have him arrested, but he declined to obey, and, when troops were sent to enforce the order, he succeeded in annihilating them. He evidently possessed some skill both as an organizer and as a military leader, for he soon enrolled among his followers tribes after tribe of Sudíanne, and proceeded from victory to victory until, at his death on June 22, 1856, shortly after the historic fall of Khartoum, his empire extended from int. 5 to 21 S., and from Jonga to 17°13' E. of Greenwich. He suggests as an epitome of Mahdian the sentence 'Your money or your life'; in practice it was an enforced communism, maintained by plunder, divided arbitrarily by the Mahdī himself, which also appears to have made of the Mahdi a coarse voluptuary. Like some of his predecessors, it seems to have aimed at reproducing what were supposed to be the conditions of early Islam, and to have insisted on a sort of asceticism; his followers were advised to go on foot, or at any rate to ride asses and not horses, except in war. Further, they were told to reduce expenditure on weddings. These ascetic tendencies were indicated by the name which his followers assumed, Darwish ('poor'), for which at a later period the Mahdi substituted the appellation Anšar ('helpers'), which had been given by the Prophet. Mahdī also entertained in Medina. The Mahdi himself clearly aimed at reproducing the career of the Prophet, since he had a hijrah, or 'migration', viz. from Abba, where he first came forward, to Masat in the Nuba mountains, to enroll some 5000 persons representing the eminent associates of the Prophet who became the first successors. The chair of Abā Bakr, the first khalīf, was filled by 'Abd Allah al-'Abbās, who was subsequently one of the most famous as the Mahdi's successor, or khalīf, and is said to have suggested the title of Mahdi first to Zubair Pasha and then to Muhammad Ahmad (Muqtatif, xxiv. [1900] 5).

The asceticism of the Mahdi, like that of the Wahhābis, included the tabu of tobacco, the smoking of which it regarded as a greater offence than the drinking of wine; in his early days he showed leanings towards Safiism, and would gladly have obtained recognition from the head of the Sunnīs; this being refused, he abolished all 'orders' except his own.

After the fall of Khartoum the Sudān was gradually evacuated by the Anglo-Egyptian government, and the khalīf extended the Mahdi's empire by fire and sword till it reached the bounds of Egypt; in 1886 the reconquest of the country began, and this was achieved at the battle of Omdurman (Sept. 22, 1898). The new State had achieved nothing but devastation and destruction.

The success of this Chinese Mahdi encouraged many others to play the part. It seems that the title 'al-Mahdi' in the case of the head of the Sunnī community was originally a proper name; its holder, however, gave it the familiar applica-
MAIMONIDES

1. LIFE.—Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon), Talmudist, philosopher, and physician, born at Cordova, 30th March 1135, died at Cairo, 18th Dec. 1204, is known in Jewish literature as 'Rambam' (the letters r, m, b, being the initials of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon) and in Arabic literature as Abû 'Imran Mâwûn ben Maimûn ibn 'Abî Allâh. His native city falling into the hands of the Almohads, Maimonides, when yet a lad of thirteen, was compelled either to leave or to emigrate to the Island of Jerusalem. He, together with his father, chose the former course, and settled at Fez. Here they lived for a time the dual life of Muslim and Jew. But, the Muslim authorities growing suspicious of the Jew's Bene Jews, father and son determined to leave Fez. Accordingly, in April 1150, they boarded a vessel bound for Palestine. Acre was reached after a month's stormy voyage, and after a short stay there they went on to Jerusalem; but, as Palestine had just been the scene of the Second Crusade, and the Jews there were few in number and poor in goods as well as in culture, Maimonides fixed upon Egypt as his new abode. From a religious point of view, a house was made in Fostat, a suburb of Cairo. Soon after their arrival here, both the father and the brother of Maimonides died, and, becoming financially reduced, he took to the practice of medicine as a means of livelihood.

After several years of obscure practice he became court physician to Saladin, pursuing his Rabbinical and philosophical studies undaunted while following out the duties of his profession. The eminent position which he has ever held in Jewish estimation is expressed in the popular Jewish saying, 'From Moses to Moses' there was none like Moses.'

2. WORKS.—Maimonides' works can be considered under the following heads.

i. PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.—(a) Dalail al-Ha'irat (Guide of the Perplexed) known in Heb. as Dal'at al-Ma'adîk. The Heb. tr. was effected in 1304 by Samuel Ibn Tibbon, and another and less popular Heb. tr. was made by the celebrated Hebrew poet Al-Ha'irat (Isa, 1290) is based on the Heb. of Ibn Tibbon. Maimonides wrote a few tr. of the Arabic original entitled Guie des égarés (Vols., Paris, 1556-60), and there are two Latin tr. of the whole work as it is divided into 72 parts, the rendering of pt. ii. was brought out by J. Towsen (London, 1827) under the Title of The Reasons of the Laws of Moses. The standard Eng. tr. in 8 vols. (with an introduction and notes) is that of M. Friedlander.

(b) Mabâhîth fi-Talâ'î'îd, on the unity of God, known in Heb. as Ma'amar ha-Talâ'îd.

ii. COMMENTARY ON THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH.—(a) Commentary on the Midrash known in Arabic as Sir'aj (Light'). The component parts of this work were translated into the Arabic of the general mediaval scholars. W. Surenhusius rendered the Heb. into Lat., and E. Pococke published parts with a Lat. tr. (Oxford, 1664). The second known as 'The Eighty-Sixth Letter' of Marmar (Suredas) was edited with an excellent Germ. tr. and valuable annotations by H. H. Colenso (Leipzig, 1853). A French tr., by J. H. W. Drut, was published in Paris in 1870. A third, to the younger Haggid, is almost identical with that of Gorkine (Columbia University Press, 1912). Various ed. of entire or part works have been brought out by other scholars; and there is much that still awaits the light.

(b) Kitâb al-Tawâd, rendered into Heb. under the title of Sefer Ham-Megueth by Ibn Tibbon. Moses Bocch brought out a complete ed. with a Fr. tr. (Paris, 1859), entitled 'Livre des provoques.' The book will also be similarly classified under (ii).

iii. HALLAKH ON COMPILEMENT OF HEBREW LAWS.—Mi'nahush Turâh (Repetition of the Law), known also as 'The Strong Tract.' It is divided into 72 tracts, each of which contains a dozen or more elements, and was meant to be an easily intelligible compendium of Jewish ritual law.

iv. LETTERS AND OCCASIONAL ESSAYS.—(a) Iggerat hash-Sh'mâdah (Letter on Conversion), written in Arab, and translated anonymously into Hebrew. It deals with the subject of forced conversions. Maimonides maintains that a Jew who, outwardly through compulsion, professes to embrace Islam, has not really forsaken his fellow's claim to be considered a righteous Jew. But the authenticity of the 'Letter' has been doubted by scholars.

(b) Iggerat ha-I'âmâr (Letter to Xinnah, a converted Jew), written in Arab, and translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbon and others. The Jews of Xinnah were given advice as to how to conduct themselves in times of religious persecution.

(c) Mi'ulam P'h'îyush ha-Ham'îlûn (Essay on the Reproduction of the Dead), written in Arab, translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbon and also by Al-Ha'irat (see Steinshneider, Hebrewische Verhältnisse, p. 49). He maintains a spiritual view of resurrection as opposed to the largely prevalent material view of the resurrection of a united body and soul.

(d) 'Letter to the Jews of Marseilles,' written in Arab, and translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbon, a dissertation on astronomy and astrology, in which Maimonides upholds the truth of the former, but rejects belief in the potency of the stars.

(e) 'Letter to Rabbi Jonathan of Laval,' in which Maimonides, while replying to certain queries on ritual topics, discloses much of his private and personal life. A similar note is struck in a letter to Ibn Tibbon (tr. into Fr. by H. Adler, in the Miscellany of Hebrew Literature, i, 1872).

v. MICHAEL—An Aramaic.—An Aramaic, calendar, called Egerâh Bâbirân (written at the age of twenty-three), composed in Arab, and translated into Heb. by an anonymous tr., and accepted by the rabbis of Babylonia (Sanh. 10b).

(b) 'Jewish history as understood by the people of Jerusalem.'

(c) 'Maimonides' correspondence embraced nearly all the Jewish communities of the Middle Ages. These were translated at an early date into Heb., and comprises the collection known as Kibbûl Tôbakoth ha-Rambam.

3. PLACE IN PHILOSOPHY.—Maimonides holds a place in philosophy as if you were reading it naturally.
significant place both in Jewish and in general philosophy, his importance in these respects resting mainly on his three larger works—the 'Guide of the Perplexed,' the *Sīrāj*, or Commentary on the Mishnaih *Toraḥ*. The most essentially 'Jewish' of the three is the *Mishneh Toraḥ*. It is an elaborate text-book of 'law' as understood by Jewish orthodox tradition, its sources being the Bible, the Talmud, and the whole Jewish ritual and ceremonial.

What prompted the author to write it was the fact that the Talmud and the Rabbinical literature generally are a large, unwieldy, unorganized mass of opinions and rules, laws, censures, prescriptions, permissions, and prohibitions, with no vestige of any attempts at logical classification and arrangement; so that, unless a Jew possesses a complete mastery of these intricacies, he is puzzled to know what is, and what is not, Judaism as laid down by the Rabbis and sanctioned by orthodox tradition. Maimonides felt the necessity of aiding Jews in this cardinal respect. Judaism appeared to him to be in danger of losing itself in masses of its own invention; he therefore planned a work in which both the letter and the spirit of the Talmud should reappear in a simple, orderly, and systematic manner, with doubts, dispositions, and doubtful points in the original are omitted. The faithful Jew who wishes to know the settled Rabbinical view on any subject of ritual or belief longer waits for the information through oceans of unnecessary details. It is given him in definite, clear-cut, and brief language. As can be understood, this good service rendered to Judaism was not without an admixture of evil. Talmudic law, once flexible, became rigid. Maimonides, by aiming at laying down opinions which were to be the norm of all future religious practice and belief, was felt to have exercised a too arbitrary dogmatism. He made development impossible and chained Judaism to the letter, instead of leaving it free to the eternally unfolding life of the spirit. The numerous attacks—very often virulent and abusive—which were hurled against him both in life and after death on account of this dogmatism, and on kindred grounds, constitute a substantial chapter in Jewish medi eval history. On the other hand, the book was well received in many Jewish communities, though the hope of the author that it would one day become the authoritative code for all Israel was never realized.

The object of Maimonides was to enable the layman to understand the Mishnah—the technical phraseology as well as its general drift—without the necessity of working through the involved disquisitions of the Talmud. The Talmud is par excellence the commentary on the Mishnah, but its elaborations and criticisms of the Mishnah, instead of throwing light on the latter, often render the darkness all the greater. Further, Maimonides was of opinion—and critical study shows that he was right—that the Talmudic masters did not always understand the Mishnah, because their extraneous knowledge was faulty. He therefore planned a work in which the student would be able to see the Mishnah as it essentially is and irrespective of the Talmudic glosses. Not that Maimonides ignores these glosses. He incorporates them—and largely too—in the commentary. But he sometimes adopts an independent view; and this is just one of the facts that make his work deserve as a really valuable introduction to the study of the Talmud. It is also very valuable for the many long dissertations which it contains on points in theology, philosophy, history, and exegesis. Thus, commenting on Mishnah xi, in the Treatise *Sanhedrin* on the words 'All Israelites have a portion in the world to come,' he is led to write a treatise on the Jewish creed, in which he draws up the famous 'Thirteen Principles of Faith' (for which see *ERE* iv, 246), being the first 'Rabbinic' (i.e. as opposed to ' Karaite') Jew to ask the Synagogue to accept a set, formulated creed of Judaism. For the adoption of a fixed dogma by a famous 15th cent. Jewish philosopher, Hasdai Crescas, in his *Or Adonai* ('Light of the Lord').

But, as subsequent history proved, there was no necessity for attaching any really serious importance to these 'Thirteen Principles of Faith,' seeing that the Synagogue at no time did, and even at the present time does not, attach any canonical validity to them. In all probability Maimonides promulgated them with no other object than to be useful as a literary monument of the often-forgotten fact that Judaism emphasizes inward belief as well as outward conduct.

Another remarkable excursus is that known as
Maimonides' greatest contribution to metaphysics, however, is his 'Guide to the Perplexed.' It is designed, as he himself says, 'for thinkers whose studies have brought them into collision with religion,' for men who 'have studied philosophy and have acquired sound knowledge, and who, while still preparing a way for them to bear in mind and to apply, are bewildered on account of the ambiguous and figural representations employed in the holy writings.' Thus the book is not meant to convince the unbeliever, but to comfort the believer. Its introductory motto is, 'Ye who have seen astray in the field of the Holy Law, come hither and follow the path which I have prepared. The unclean and the foul shall pass over the bridge.'

The object of the book is to provide a working harmony between reason and faith. But whose conception of reason does Maimonides take as the standard of his book? Aristotle. What is faith to Maimonides? Belief in the Torah, which is for all time the one true embodiment of the divine word. There is no contradiction between divine revelation as entrusted to the Jews and the metaphysical truths given to the world by the brains of the philosophers. For not only is it a fact that both in the last resort emanate from God, but it has also to be borne in mind (so argued Maimonides) that the prophets of the OT received a twofold divine message. Besides the message which is manifest to us in their written prophecies, they received oral revelations of a philosophical kind. Thus the first literary product of the Divine mind were these oral philosophies; and Scripture enshrines, in various and degrees which can be detected only by the student of philosophy, a body of metaphysical truth. As the average Jew, through the distorting effect of the repeated persecution of his race, fails to grasp this metaphysical truth, Maimonides conceived it his duty to devote the major portion of the first book of the 'Guide' to an exhaustive examination of anthropomorphic expressions occurring in the Scriptures in order that the reader should thereby learn the first and fundamental tenet of all metaphysics, viz., that God is incorporeal, and that all the Scriptural passages which talk of 'the eye' or 'the hand' or 'the foot' of God, or which describe divine movements such as 'passing,' 'dwelling,' 'coming,' 'standing,' etc., must be understood symbolically, and with an eye to the transzendental metaphysical truths about the deity. But there is another leading consideration. What about the Scriptural attributes of God? Is not the belief in them absolutely alien to us, and is this not an infringement of both the incorporeality and the unity of God? Maimonides saw real danger here, and, therefore, after a severe examination of the meanings and inter-relations of the different attributes of God, he proved that all of them lead to and are predicated of God is that He exists. God is indefinable. Even to assert, as Scripture repeatedly does, His unity, power, wisdom, eternity, will, is inadmissible. But hence, then, can we justify Scripture? By assuming, he says, that the writer of the sacred language these terms must be understood as describing not a positive quality but a negative of its opposite. Hence to say that 'God is one' is merely tantamount to saying that there is not a plurality. Hence the deity can be described only by negative attributes; and, since the number of these is infinite, the positive essence of the deity must for ever lie outside human comprehension. But, despite all this, the deity is unquestionably active in the universe; He is the creator of the cosmos, and the traces of divine design are everywhere. How are these divine relations with the universe to be understood? Before grappling seriously with this subject, Maimonides enters into an acute criticism of the views of the Mutakallimun, or philosophers of the kalām (q.v.). As against Aristotle, who maintained the eternity of the universe, these Arabian philosophers defended the creatio ex nihilo. Maimonides, while as a Jew differing on this fundamental point from his teachers, did not perplexed as they were by the kalām, but differed from the latter again on several other fundamental propositions of theirs. Maimonides' originality of mind as well as his fearless liberality in his treatment of religious truths can be clearly gauged in this connection. He rejects, as has just been said, the propositions of the Mutakallimun—but only as propositions, i.e., theories or methods of proof. For he accepts their results. He believed, just as much as they believed, not only in the creatio ex nihilo, but also in the existence, incorporeity, and unity of God. He even opposing Aristotle on the question of the creatio ex nihilo, he practically employs the whole paraphrastic analysis of the Aristotelian cosmology in order to prove the creatio ex nihilo. The latter came about through the work of a Primal Cause, who is identical with the Creator alluded to in the Scriptures. From this Primal Cause there emanate the intellects of the spheres (these 'intellects' are identified with the angels of Holy Writ). All changes on earth are due to the revolutions of the spheres, which have souls and are endowed with intellect. God created the universe by producing the first of these intellects; hence, in the spheres the faculties of existence and motion and are thus the fons et origo of the entire universe. It is of deepest interest to both the theologian and the mystic to note in this connection the quaint Maimonidean exegesis of Gn 1 (Mal'āsh Bit'rahā) and Ezk 1 (Mal'āsh Merkāḇāhāh). His whole theory of emanation (hashav'ā) is a wonderful combination of what are usually regarded as two diametrically opposite frames of mind, viz., rationalism and mysticism.

Aristotle believed in the eternity of matter. Maimonides argues against this at great length in chap. ii. of the 'Guide,' in favour of the creatio ex nihilo—not that he believed that the latter thesis was really provable from Scripture, but because he felt it a necessary peg on which to hang the whole of his essentially Jewish conception of the universe and prophecy. On the latter subject his views are strikingly original but highly debatable. There is a strong element of passive existence in prophecy. The prophet's heart or mind is the passive medium in the divine hand. Imagination is an essential element in all prophecy. Prophecy is an impulse descending from the Active Intellec to man's intellect and imagination. Can any man become a prophet? Not, because while it is in the power of many a man to bring himself to the high pitch
of moral and intellectual perfection which prophecy necessitates, another factor is still required. This factor consists in a special vouchsafing of the divine will. Goodness may be intellectually and morally perfect, but may be unable to prophesy, because prophecy arises, in the last resort, only at the call of a divine fiat; and the fiat is arbitrary.

Can we now recognize the subsequent discussions on the nature and origin of evil, on belief in divine providence and man's free will (in which he strikingly discusses the central problem in the book of Job), on the purpose of the Biblical precepts, on the meanings of the Biblical narratives, on the stages by which man comes to hold real communion with the divine—all these are treated with a fullness of knowledge which makes them a contribution to general as well as to Jewish theology. A vein of unravelling optimism permeates his teachings on sin and evil. Evil has no positive existence, but is merely the absence of good, just in the same sense as sickness denotes the absence of the possession of health, or poverty the absence of sufficiency, or folly the absence of normal wisdom. In support of the argument he quotes Gn 1:1, 'And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good,' the Midrashic comment upon which is, 'No evil thing descends from above' (Bréchith Rabba, xviii, 9). Divine providence extends to include evil. Biblical passages are quoted in refutation of Aristotle's views. Can free will be reconciled with the fact of divine omnipotence, seeing that the latter must imply predestination? Numerous passages from Scripture are quoted in illustration of the difficulty of the problem. Maimonides bases his answer on the words of Is 55,' 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways.' God's knowledge is unique; and the great mistake that men always make is that they persist in thinking and speaking of God's knowledge in the same sense as they think and speak of man's. It is identical with His essence, and is independent of existence or of time—past, present, and future are all the same to God.

The object of the divine precepts is 'to give man true knowledge, to remove wrong knowledge, or to continue a correct order of life, to remove oppression, or to give a training in good morals or to exhort against bad morals.' Man's final consummation of 'knowing' God can come about only after man has perfected himself, not only inwardly, but in all his external relations to society, to the State, to the world. Maimonides discusses every precept of the Torah with the object of showing how their rightful understanding and practice lead to this goal. By an ingenious adaptation of Scripture he shows that the reason why God 'led the people about, by the way of the wilderness by the Red sea,' (Ex 15), instead of leading them straight to the Promised Land, was in order to give them the necessary preliminary training in the endurance of hardship, in the cultivation of courage in face of danger, and in all the social and martial qualities which a self-governing nation needs. Even so, says he, it is with man. Before he can live on the high level of knowing God, he must live on the lower level of obedience to all the divine precepts which give the training-ground for his more exalted role. 'Knowing' God and 'loving' God are identical.

Maimonides influenced all succeeding generations by his doctrine of what we nowadays call the 'scientific spirit' into the study of Judaism. Henceforward an anthropomorphic conception of God became impossible. God is spirit, and the worship of Him—based as this is on the cultus of the OT as interpreted by the Rabbis—is of an intellectual and mechanical performances, but a movement of the human spirit towards its divine source. Man's intellect is his greatest asset. Hence Judaism, rightly understood, can never rely on a rationalized, seeing that the application of the intellect to it cannot but result in a continuous chain of development in consonance with the changing phases of human thought. As a consequence many of the substance of the 'Guide' is now obsolete, its encouragement to a freedom of spirit in the handling of religious problems will always, unlike the Kabbalist, be understood, make its appeal to the thinker and the moralist. Maimonides the liberal philosopher will live on long after Maimonides the dogmatic ritualist is forgotten.

The influence of Maimonides on general European thought has not yet been adequately appraised. The Latin translations of the 'Guide' in the 13th cent. affected the great Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, as well as Aquinas, Thomas, and Albertus Magnus, and the general philosophical view-points of Maimonides. What debt, if any, Spinoza's philosophy owes to him is a moot point, but that the reading of the 'Guide' influenced Spinoza's mode of life is certain.

LITERATURE.—The editor princeps of the Mahzor Tiberias is unknown, and the first publication is unknown. The first known and subsequent eds. are those of Soncino, 1699; Constantinople, 1862; Amsterdam, 1907; and London, 1890-98. The editor princeps of the 'Guide of the Perplexed' appeared first without place or date; then in Heb., Venice, 1551; Berlin, 1793; in Lat., Paris, 1562; Basel, 1629; in Germ., Breslau, 1843; in Arab, Fd, p. M., 1846; in Paris, 1858; in London, 1852, 2nd ed. in 1 vol., do. 1854. The commentary on the Mishnah was first published at Naples, 1842, and is accessible in the Lat. tr. of W. Surenhusius, in his Mishnah, Amsterdam, 1848-1850.

MAJHWAR, MĀNJHI—MAL, MALE, MAL PAHARIA

Majhwar, usually Maimonides', is the name of a tribe numbering Majhwar 14,210, Mānjhi 4353, according to the Census of 1911, and found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bengal, Central Provinces, Berar, and Assam. The name is usually derived from Skr. mañjhay, in the sense of 'headman,' and etymologically they are closely connected with the Gonds and Khārwārs (qq.v.).

In the United Provinces the Majhwar possess a well-marked system of totemic exogamous divisions, some being named from animals, birds, each of which is held sacred and not injured or eaten by the members of the division who take their name from it. The tribal legend describes the rescue of the forest by a tortoise; they therefore worship the tortoise, and will not injure or kill it. Their death rites recognize the survival of the soul after death, and they take measures to prevent the return of the malevolent spirits of the dead, particularly those who have died by accident or in some tragic way. But some of the ancestral spirits are supposed to be re-incarnated in their descendants, or in a calf which is taken care of and not used in ploughing. At marriages a fowl and spirituous liquor are offered to ancestors, and in their honour the potāri, or tribal priest, offers a fire sacrifice (homa). Among the special tribal deities of the Majhwar may be mentioned Dañtha Deo, the spirit of a broodgoose who in the olden days perished in a specially tragic way. As is the case with the cognate tribes, there is, in their belief, no distinction between those who live more or less within the range of Hindu influence and those who are less exposed to it. The former worship, under the title of Mahādeva, 'the great god,' a name of Siva, as does the present cycle of gods, who seems to be, or identical with Bara Deo, 'the great god' of the Gonds, both of whom are believed to use the ox as a 'vehicle' (vahana). This cult has a basis of philiation of their forests clearly seen in the worship of Lingo or Lingā (Skr. ῥिङ्ग, the phallic symbol). The potāri, at his periodic visits to his parishioners, worships Mahādeva by rattling a number of iron rings fixed on a staff. The collection of iron rings is termed Diha (Pāra. dhi, 'the village'), whose name at least is of modern origin, while his female counterpart is known as the Deohārī (Hindi denkhārī, Skr. dvarghāra, 'house of the gods'), so named because she occupies the village-shrine, a mass of rude stones piled under a sacred tree, usually the sal (Shorea robusta). More advanced members of the tribe identify her with the Hindu Devi. The shrine contains a water vessel, over which a red flag is hung, and the seat of the deity is a little mud platform on which offerings are laid and a fire sacrifice is performed. The officiants at these rites is the baiṅgh (q.v.), the village medicine-man, who does not worship the deity but sits facing the east and sacrifices it by cutting off the head and allowing a little blood to drop on the platform. The worshipper, his friends, and the priest then and there cook and eat the flesh. No blood sacrifice is offered to ancestors, but flesh cooked by the wife of the eldest son (perhaps a survivor of another right) is offered in the fire sacrifice. This is followed by kindred offerings, of which the mourned dead are supposed to live. When they eat they throw a little food on the ground for the earth-goddess. Women may be present at the worship of the high god, but not at that of the village-god. They also propitiate a number of demons or evil spirits, such as Turkin, the ghost of a Turk or Muhammadan woman, and her consort Barwata, who rule all the mountain-spirits of the neighbourhood. Other spirits inhabit streams and waterholes, and with these are joined the snake-gods—the Nag and his consort, the Nagin. The tribal rite is the worship of the sacred karuna tree (Nauclea parvifolia), which is ceremonially cut down and brought into the village, where the people dance and drink to its benefit. The rite is probably, like similar rites in other parts of the world described by J. G. Frazer (OP, pt. i., The Magic Art, London, 1911, i. 247 ff.).

The name of these tribes, almost all of them Hinduized, is usually traced to Gonds, Deo, Manji, Manjhi, and those in the Rajmahāl Hills in Bengal are closely allied to the Oriaos (q.v.). The Māl, a cultivating caste in W. and Central Bengal, are mainly Hindus, and few vestiges of primitive beliefs can be traced among them. The snake-goddess, Manasa, is their special guardian, and they also worship the local village-deities. The earliest account of their religion in the Rajmahāl Hills is that by Shaw, which has been supplemented by Risley and Dalton.

LITERATURE.—W. Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 121 ff.

MĀL, MĀLĒ, MĀL PAHARIA—A non-Aryan tribe, containing various groups, numbering Māl 2,185,329, Māl Paharia 54,063, at the Census of 1911, and found in the greatest numbers in Madras, Haidarābād, and Bengal.

The inter-relations of the North and South groups have not been clearly ascertained, but they seem to be, on the large extent, either Purūsū, and those in the Rajmahāl Hills in Bengal are closely allied to the Oriaos (q.v.). The Māl, a cultivating caste in W. and Central Bengal, are mainly Hindus, and few vestiges of primitive beliefs can be traced among them. The snake-goddess, Manasa, is their special guardian, and they also worship the local village-deities. The earliest account of their religion in the Rajmahāl Hills is that by Shaw, which has been supplemented by Risley and Dalton.

'Shaw describes various gods inferior in rank to the sun-god. Whenever a tiger, snake-pox, or any other plague attacks the village, Ruksey or Rākṣa is supposed to desire that a shrine should be raised for him. Accordingly the demāno, or tribal priest, is directed to search for the god. He gets a branch of the zig tree, and gum benzoin is burned, which he smells. He is then enabled to point out a place where he directs the people to dig, and the god, in the shape of a sacred black stone, is discovered. The mānjhī, or headman, then carves a hole in the stone, and into it pours the blood from his head, and little by little the stone is filled and the god is said to be in it. They offer sacrifices to it, and in this way the tribe is cured of the pestilence.' (Shaw, Travels in North Bengal, iv. 46 f.)

This god at the present day is the tutelary deity of strong drink, who is worshipped by the headman before he begins to distil liquor from the fresh crop of the zig tree (Zizyphus jujuba) (Risley, ii. 57). Chal, or Chahād, presides over a group of villages, but he is not worshipped until some
plague attacks the people, when the *domén* dreams that a shrine should be raised, and the god, when found in the shape of a stone, is placed under a muon tree. Near the village, the stone undergoing no change in form from the first (Alc.; *L.L.,* 48 f.). Goats and pigs are usually offered to him, but the triennial sacrifice of a cow, mentioned by Shaw, now seems to have fallen into disuse (Riley, ii. 58).

The first worship performed by young men is offered to Pâu Gosân, god of the road, but it is not undertaken till some accident has induced the worshipper to consult an exorcist, who decides whether a sacrifice will be acceptable.

On the day of thanksgiving at harvest he proceeds to a high road, and clears a space under the shade of a young betel tree (*k切割* or *kudur*), in the centre of which he plants a branch of the toddy palm. Round it he makes marks with red paint and, laying some rice and an egg decorated with three streaks of vermilion near the sacred branch, he invokes the god of the high road to protect him on his journeys. A cock is sacrificed, some of the blood being dropped on the branch, and the offering is cooked and eaten by the worshipper and his friends. The rite concludes with the breaking of the egg, and is never repeated unless the person concerned should meet with an accident in travelling (Los.,*i.* 53). At present the offering prescribed for the god is a white goat, and the sacrifice is very expensive, owing to the large amount of rice-bee which must be provided, and the goat and the conch are shelled by the assembled worshippers (Riley, i. 58).

The tutelary deity of the village, spoken of by Lieutenant Shaw, is called, as we may imagine, *Bāra-Bārā,* the doorways, is now called Bārā-Bārā, as he is supposed to live in a temple with twelve doors. The whole village worship him in the month of Biyâgh (Jan.–Feb.). Colonel Dalton suggests that this god may perhaps be the same as the Oron Bârâ; Kul Guosân, the Center of the mountains; and A'^âl, the god of hunting, appear not to be known at the present day. Guo Gosân, or the god of the pillar, is represented in every house by the wooden post (pâh) which supports the main rafters of the roof. On this the blood of a slain goat is sprinkled to propitiate the god in the house. The blood that this god is common to the Mâles and Mal Pahârsâ, and is worshipped by both in the same way, seems to tell strongly in favour of the common origin of the two tribes. As in Lieutenant Shaw's time Chamnds Gosân still ranks high among the tribes, and demands offerings on a larger scale than any other god" (Riley, ii. 58).

At the present day the priests of the tribe are said to be the *dôméns,* who were originally diviners, but it is declared that generally the *dômâno* does not officiate as priest, but merely directs the village headman, head of the household, or other influential person chosen for the occasion (ibid.).

The religion of the Mal Pahârsâ is of much the same type. Their chief god is the sun, who is addressed as Gosân, "Lord," and to whom an offering of rice and salt is made, a post which is decapitated by a blow from behind. The meat is cooked, and served up at a feast, of which the neighbours partake. The head alone, which is reserved for the god, is cooked, and carefully reserved for the members of the family. Next in honour to the sun are Dharti Màtâ, Mother Earth; her servant or, as some say, her sister, Garâmi; and a third goddess, "who rides on a tiger," who rules tigers, snakes, crocodiles, and all manner of noisome beasts. The tribe also performs the kâra, a rite, dancing round the sacred tree (see MAHR). Chôundi, the "thief demon," is a malevolent spirit, which must be placated by sacrifice and the offering of the firstfruits of the crops, which, as usual, are under tabu (J. G. Frazer, *GP*, p. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, London,* 1876, p. 33). The goat and eggs and the appropriate offering. Guo Gosân, the head pillar, represents the lords of the household, and every village has its own tutelary deity, which lives in a pillar. This is periodically daubed with red, and may on no account be cut down.


**MALABAR JEWS.—**See JEWS IN COCHIN (MALABAR).

**MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.**—The religious beliefs and customs of the natives of the numerous isles of the Malay Archipelago, all of them belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian family, were certainly in the negroid age, but, owing to historical facts and foreign influences, by far the greater part of the population have forsaken their ancestral creed. The native population, with insignificant exceptions, of Java, and Sumatra, except most Battak profess Muhammadanism, as do the Macassars, Buginese, Mandarines, Binames, and some other tribes of the West and North coast of Celebes, and of Borneo; the small islands of Ternate and Tidore are also peopled by Muhammadans. The Balineese in Bali and Lombok are Savites, with a sprinkling of Buddhists, whereas the Batak of Lombok are followers of Islam. Christianity is the prevailing religion in Ambon, the Minahassa, the Sangir, and Talahut Islands, and an increasing number of adherents among the Battak, Torajas, Sawunnes, and Rotones. The Roman Catholic natives are chiefly found in the Eastern part of Flores. Some small communities of converts to Christianity are also found in Java.

1. **Animism.**—The religion of the pagan tribes of the Archipelago is wani, and is generally denoted as animism. In speaking of the beliefs prevailing in the Malay Peninsula, Sleight rightly says: "The root ideas seem to be an all-pervading Animism, involving a certain common vital principle (animatud) in Man and Nature, which, for want of a more suitable word, has been here called the Soul. The application of this general theory of the universe to the requirements of the individual man constitutes the Magic Art, which, as conceived by the Malay, and, certainly as conceived by the Jew, may be said to consist of the methods by which this soul, whether in gods, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, or what not, may be influenced, captured, subducted, or in some way made subject to the will of the magician." All this applies to the pagan Indonesians, and, in many respects, also to the natives who have adopted another religion and, in their own opinion, are sincerely attached to it.

2. **Sumanhart,** with dialectical variations, is the general word for the Melanesians also in Indonesia for 'soul,' 'vital principle,' 'god,' (see PAPUANES). This is the word is used by the natives as it is identical with the same word. The Melanesians use the term *teologi,* *tondi* for exactly the same idea; and the Duyaks have *hambuakam,* *amurue,* *amiroi,* blue, and other dialectic variations of the same word. With the Torajas in Central Celebes the usual word is *tamona,* properly 'another,' another expression is *uwayo,* or *limugyo,* i.e. 'shadow' (Jav. *sangkaya, Mak. banggong*). When the soul temporarily leaves the body, it assumes the form of a homunculus or an animal. A man whose soul thus goes forth in order to feed upon the souls of others appears in the shape of a deer, pig, crocodile, or buffalo. Like many other Indonesians, the Torajas believe that there are witches who can separate their head and entrails from their body in order to suck the blood of other beings, and these beings may be compared with the Mal. *penanggolanes,* 'vampires.'

1 With the doubtful exception of the people of Ternate and Tidore, Halmahera (1796); 2 Malay Magic, London, 1890, p. 579 f.
The word for 'soul' in Nias is *nasa*, which, like Skr. prāṇa and Gr. πνεῦμα, is properly the 'breath of life,' and then 'life,' 'vitality.' The same may be said of Sawa (Groe, Mal., etc.). There are several other Indonesian words for 'soul': — e.g., Tontembau *imukur*, nimmukur, Sangir *himukul*, Bentenan *himukul*, Ponosakan *dimukur*.

The beliefs6 of many men, but also animals, vegetables, and minerals have a soul. The Ngaju Dayaks make a distinction between *hamburan* and *guna*, the former belonging to men, animals, rice, montebun, the latter to slaves, some trees, and things. The *guna*, like the *hamburan*, can leave its abode and appear in the shape of a human being to men in dreams.

The soul leaves the body at death, and returns to the abode of the ancestors indirectly, into another human body, an animal, or a plant. The residuum of the individual, however, continues a shadowy existence as spirit. Such a spirit of the dead is called 'soul' among the Ngaju Dayaks, and *dian*, *anduw*, among the Olo Dusun. It is commonly believed that the *dian* goes forthwith to Lewu han, the spirit land, which is supposed to be in the woods, or haunted burial-place. During that time it is often harmful to the survivors, particularly by causing disease.

The Ngaju word for 'spirit' in Battak is *begêr*, Nias *begâh*, which not only denotes the spirit of the departed, in which case we may translate it by 'ghost,' 'spectre,' but is applied also to superhuman beings, demons, and gods.

The Torajas use the term *anga* for the spirit of the dead, and, in particular, *anitu* for the spirits of chieftains and heroes. This word *anitu*, or *aniu*, so wide-spread throughout the whole area of the Malayo-Polynesian, in Formosa, the Philippines, and the isles of the Pacific, is the common term for the ghosts of ancestors in the Moluccas, Timor, and Totti. The Rottinese use it also for demons; whereas the Hill Torajas apply it to their gods, who, in fact, are deified ancestors. In general it is difficult to distinguish the ghosts of the departed from the spirits of the higher beings or gods.7 The Torajas, who use the term *lamos*, find that a distinction is made between higher and lower *lamos*.

According to R. H. Coddington (The Moluccans, Oxford, 1897, p. 35), it must not be supposed that every ghost becomes an object of worship. A man in danger may call upon his ghost, begging it to guard him and keep his enemies at a distance; but his source of aid is not sufficient for it. The ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had means to him.

The same may be said with reference to the people in the Malay Archipelago, and not the heathen exclusively. The ghosts of different kinds are not equal in power. The Karo Battaks hold the ghosts of stillborn children in particular awe, making little houses for them, and honouring them with offerings. The inhabitants of the Luang Sempu-Isles believe that the ghosts of those who have died a violent death are most powerful and zealous to help their kinsfolk. In Halmahera the ghosts of persons killed in war or by accident are called *dikëco* in Galoalarea, *ditikëi* in Toelorese. They are more powerful than other ghosts, protecting the living, especially in battle, and are worshipped in the village temple. The Torajas also honour the ghosts of those who have fallen in battle.

To another category of ghosts belong the protecting genius of places, regarded as the founder of a village or the common ancestor of the population. In Java every village honours the ghost of its founder, the *tyaksal does*, with frequent offerings. The tutelary deity of a place is called *dahayyang*, i.e. 'the god'; as the name implies, he is not a ghost, but a supernatural being. The worship of the reputed founder of a settlement is very common in the Moluccas. The Galearrese call the genius of a village and the forefather of its people *woong*.

The Indonesian peoples generally live in constant dread of incorruptible ghosts, who are mostly malignant, and therefore must be propitiated by offerings or warded off by other means. Most feared is the *ponionak*, a word which with slight variations recurs in the whole archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. The *ponionak* is the reputed ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth and, out of jealousy, penetrates the bodies of pregnant women to kill the unborn children. Usually she is thought to have the shape of a bird; but to be invisible when she approaches her victim. In the archipelago the customary prophylactic against her insidious attempt is to suspend the thorny branches of a certain lemon-tree, the fruits of which are also employed as a means of repelling ghosts (for older means see Kruijt, Het Antimisme, pp. 245-251).

All sorts of diseases are ascribed to the baleful influence both of ghosts and of other spirits. Especially it is said we find several ghosts who are held responsible for the appearance of different diseases and evils. It is no wonder that the people employ every means in their power to cure sickness or to prevent threatening attacks. In apprehension of the danger which may accrue from the dead, the Malays take care that the dead body is so treated that the ghost may not return. With many tribes one of the symbolic means of doing this is to scatter ashes, as if to blind the ghost.8 The relatives of a deceased person have to undergo a longer or shorter period of mourning, during which they must wear the conventional mourning dress, observe certain prohibitions in the use of food and drink, and refrain from amusements. At the end of this period it is customary for some tribes to offer human sacrifices, the ruling idea responsible for this custom apparently being that the ghost ought to be given a companion by way of propitiation.

It is commonly believed that the ghosts of the dead remain for some time in the neighbourhood of their former houses, and are present at the usual customs of erecting a hut in which to place the necessary offerings. With some Indonesians it is usual to prepare a bed of state for the ghost during the first days after the death. Even the Christians of Ambon and the Sangir Isles believe that the dead man pays a visit to his former home on the third day.

The ghosts continue to wander and meet with all sorts of difficulties before finally reaching the realm of the dead, which is situated somewhere in the West. When they are supposed to have arrived there, a great commemorative feast is arranged, such as the *tioho*9 of the Ngaju Dayaks and the *tengka* and the *mompate* of the Western Bare's Torajas.10 For the ceremonies of the feast among the Dayaks of Sarawak see Ling Roth, The Nature of Sarawak, i. 208-210.

In the primitive belief of the less civilized Indonesians there is a bond of connexion between a dead man and his body, chieflv his bones. It is usually the teeth that is used as a medium for

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6 For further particulars see M. J. van Barinia, Woerdenujt van de Celebes (Groe, Mal., etc.); H. Meiling, Toeloreisch-hollandsch Woordenboek, The Hague, 1908, p. 61.

7 But cf. Skrot, p. 255.

8 See, for other peculiar actions, Kruijt, pp. 251-256, and cf. Skrot, p. 255.

9 Described in Harelnd, De Jasschen-deutsch Fedcrboeker, 606ff.

10 Described in Adrius-Krujt, De Bare's sprechende Torajas, p. 117.
communication. It is preserved with great piety, honoured with offerings, and worshipped. Not seldom a magic power is ascribed to parts of the body, which thus come to be in reality miracle-workers. Another medium of communication is found in idols representing the defiled ancestors; these are held to be inspired after due initiation. Such images are very numerous in the islands, where they are also in Ceram and in some parts of Borneo. The Battak have no idols of particular ancestors, but keep two puppets in their houses, one male, the other female, called Silion (‘the primeval ones’), or Debata ibup (‘deities of life’). They seem to represent the primordial couple from whom mankind is sprung. Among the Ngaju Dayaks these puppets called kompetong represent the ghost (pemot) of the slaves of the deceased at the tiwah, but the term has also the more general meaning of ‘puppet.’ The Toraja tribes, on the other hand, except the To Lage and To Oundé, have no images, but wooden masks (pemot). Stones are also objects of worship, as well as certain earthen pots or urns, which are regarded as sacred and inspired.

2. Shamanism.—The belief that persons, during the so-called sleep of the shaman, enter abnormal states of mind, are possessed by spirits has led to attempts to reproduce the same phenomenal conditions in order to get into contact with spirits to learn from them what medicines to apply or how to effect cures. The person through whom the spirits manifest themselves is the shaman, who is brought into a state of mental abnormality by artificial means, the rites employed for this purpose being multiform among the peoples of Indonesia, but, in general, similar to what we find elsewhere—e.g., among the Burials (g.e.). The Battak distinguish the shaman (siboso) from the priest (data). Though their functions are not seldom analogous, there is this difference between them: the former acts unconsciously, under inspiration, whereas the latter gives his decision, based upon his knowledge of the books of his craft, in full consciousness. With the Dayak tribes it is a priest or priestess who acts as medium. The dayong of the Kayans is a priestess who sends her own soul to bring back the soul (dua) of a sick person, or to conjure up the ghost of the dead. The manang, a word properly meaning ‘one who exercises power,’ is with the Sea Dayaks the man who can also be a shaman. The same characteristic belongs to the wajaton, belatan, biser, or dayang of other Dayaks. Such persons are more properly medicine-men than priests or shamans. Yet it is true that in doing their work they occasionally seem to cause ecstasy caused by their being inspired. A peculiar kind of shamanism, which, however, is of foreign origin, is found in Halmahera.

3. Fetishism.—Various substances are supposed to conceal a powerful soul within themselves. They are therefore held sacred and worshipped in one way or another in the hope that by their power of a desired object may be attained. All over the archipelago we find the use of so-called thunder-stones, chiefly as a means of gaining invulnerability in battle or as a preservative against lightning. Not less common is the belief in the wonderful effects attending the possession of the bezooa. A high sacredness is attached to stones of a certain uncommon shape, especially in the eastern islands of the archipelago. In Timor the finder of a stone in a certain fashion, that is to say, a spirit, puts it on a sacred place (voio) and brings sacrifices to it. It looks as if such a sacred stone is a rude form of idol, for idols also are inhabited by the deity. Various other fetishes are used as amulets, and a prophylactic fetish called mutulas is in common use. It consists of a collection of leaves and sticks, which are hung in fruit trees to repel thieves. With the Torajas and Dayaks the suspended medallions are mostly of a sympathetical character.

4. Mythology.—In general it may be said that the pegan Indonesians recognize the existence of real gods, and that the supreme god is the creator, more or less directly, of the world and the preserver of it, and punishing the transgressors of his laws. In the Moluccas and the South-Eastern Isles the supreme deity is generally known under the name of Upu Lero (with dialectic variations). The word means ‘Lord Sun’—a sufficient proof of his origin. Upu Lero may be identified with Upu Langi, i.e., ‘Lord Heaven.’ The earth is a female deity, and represents the female principle, who, in the West monotheism, is impregnated and fruitified by the male principle, Lord Sun-Heaven. Similarly, the Torajas recognize two supreme powers: Hái, ‘the Man,’ and Indara, ‘the Maiden’; these are the supreme spirits or priests of the Misamasa Hantumuntu is the sun and lawgiver. In the confused mythological lore of Nias we find Lovo Lango represented as the creator of men, though he himself is not primordial, but came forth from the bottom of the sea. His brother, Nia Lature, the chief of the evil spirits, who, curiously enough, is said to have his seat in the sun; he is the master of all that is perishable. The highest spirit of the Toja Battak is Orang bulu jadi na bolan, ‘the Great Lord Origin of the Creation’; and his subordinates are the three gods Debata nato tulu: Batara guru, Soripuda, and Mangala bulan. The use of the so-called corrigendum is sufficient proof of foreign influence, but the name of the highest god is original. Bhatara Guru is a title of Siva among the Saivites in ancient Java. Among the Karo Battak he is the highest god; and likewise among the Macaasars and Buginese in former times. The Sanskrit word bhattachara, in some more or less changed form, is found in many Indonesian languages in the sense of ‘god’ or ‘divine being.’ So the Ngaju Dayaks call the creator Mahatara, but also Hatalla or Mahatalla, borrowed from Arabic Allah ullah; and the same name is used by the Manyan Dayaks. The shape of the god’s head is also to be taken for higher beings. Thronghly original is the word for the supreme being in Halmahera, viz. Galelarese Giki-moi, Tobelorese Gikiri-moi, the ‘First Being.’ The moon plays a considerable part in the myths, but not in the cult; but there are traces that formerly it was otherwise. In the belief of the people of Babar Rawololai, the war-god, has his seat in the moon, with nine female ministers. The host of minor deities or demi-gods is so great that only a few classes can be mentioned here. The sungaiangs of the Ngaju Dayaks are benevolent demi-gods related to men. The most powerful of them is Tempon telon; his principal function is to conduct the ghosts to the land of spirits. The djaus (from Skr. devatā) are water-gods, whose ministers are the crocodiles. The land spirits are called tagahac-muqer in Nias. The hantus and hantuens of the Ngaui Dayaks are malignant spirits, or demons, whereas the antu is considered by the Sarawak Dayaks to be a helpful spirit. The belief that demons take human form in the shape of snakes, dogs, pigs, crocodiles, tortoises, and men is very general. The Kayans have a great number of gods—e.g., a god of war, three gods of life, a god of storms and thunder, of fire,1

1 See van Baardt, e.g., ‘Djilab.’
2 For the ideas of the Malaya in the Peninsula see Skelat, pp. 385—397, 278; see also following articles.
of harvest, of the waters, and of insanity, and the gods who conduct ghosts to the subterranean world. Above all these gods or demons stands Laki Tenagan, whose wife is Liti Tenangan, the patroness of this division. Laki Tenangan is identified with Pa Silong of the Klementans, and Bali Pony-long of the Kenyans.

5. Nature-worship.—Nature-worship in its wide sense is expressed in the sacred character of mountains, volcanoes, seas, and rivers, all of them being inhabited and ruled by superhuman powers.


The Malay Peninsula.—I. Geography.

The Malay Peninsula, a long, thin, narrow-shaped piece of land, stretches from Burma and Siam to Sumatra. In length it is the northernmost extremity to the southern confines of Johor, immediately to the north of the island of Singapore, is rather under 1000 miles; its breadth varies from 35 at the very south to 300 at the northern end.

The result is that the peninsula, though distinctly a part of the mainland, is insular in character rather than continental. At a comparatively late geological period its southern half was indeed actually insular, being at this time joined to the island of Sumatra, and entirely separated from the northern part. To the east, the narrow, cleft division ran, somewhat roughly, from Singora on the one side to Perlis on the other, and it may be observed that at the very point where this line traverses the peninsula a marked difference in flora and distinct ethnographical differences occur. The lower and more properly Malayan portion of the peninsula is separated from that to the north by a low divide. The backbone of the peninsula is formed by ranges, mainly of granite formation, the source of numerous rivers and streams which drain the country. The ranges are steep and precipitous, rising to 7000 or 8000 ft. and containing stunted and sporadic auriferous deposits. The wild aborigines make their homes chiefly on the foot-hills, but they are also found on the main mountain complex to a height of upwards of 6000 feet. The upland valleys are narrow and covered with dense jungle. They offer little attraction to any but the scattered aboriginal population who still find shelter in their fastnesses and, in some districts, to-day, in swapping the trade in spices and other products for rice. In time of drought the coast the valleys become larger and more fertile, and their loamy soils have long been cultivated by the Malays, and in recent years by numerous Chinese, and their presence is indicated from the fact that one finds in the sea on either side the soil tends to become more and more a clayey or sandy alluvium. Often the rivers are tidal for a great many miles inland. On the east coast, for some four months of every year, the steady boat of the Chinese monsoon seals all the river-mouths with a sandy bar, and during the height of this monsoon all trade is effectively prevented. The entrance to the peninsula, as it is, by a colossal breakwater, by the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Here muddy mangrove flats are found, but with magnificent expanses of sandy beach at intervals. The light breezes that prevail have led to the evolution of quite different types of bonts and canoes from those on the China Sea.

The peninsula is rich in tin ore. It produces an amount estimated, roughly, at three-quarters of the entire world's supply. The revenue derived from this industry has been largely ably applied by the governments of the native States to their development. Out of this income a railway has been built from the coast to the interior, called the construction round the main mountain mass on the east coast, and will be continued to meet the Siamese railways from Bangkok, while the railway from Penang is also to be extended to meet the same railway system. Together with a most excellent road system, second to none in the East, these modern means of transport have changed entirely the old conditions of life, and have brought this part of British Malaya, in one generation, into vital contact with our own economic world. Besides the mining industry there are now large agricultural industries dealing with rubber and coco-nuts. In the main these industries are worked by a non-indigenous population from China and the south of India, for whose sustenance large supplies of rice are imported annually.

The Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, and Negri Semban on the Straits of Malacca, and Pahang, on the China Sea, form a compact core dominating the centre of this part of the peninsula.
MALAY PENINSULA

Trengganu on the east coast, all of which have really been taken by British protection, and also the State of Patani, which is under Siamese suzerainty. To the south of the Federated Malay States lies the State of Johor, also now under British protection, which may be considered of the units of the British sphere as British Malaya, a term which formerly included our far greater possessions in Sumatra and the densely populated island of Java, and which is more accurately extended to include the island of Labuan, British N. Borneo, a British possession, and the protectorates of Brunei and Sarawak also represent British interests in Malaya, though the conditions there differ materially from those in the peninsula and ought to be considered with the archipelago.

2. Ethnological affinities and history. — The ethnological affinities of the area of which the Malay Peninsula forms a part, as well as of the adjacent areas, are still obscure in many respects. In so far as they have yet been elucidated by ethnological investigations and an examination of historical records, they bear out observations deducible from the geographical data. The Malay Peninsula itself would appear from very early times to have served as a caucway for migrations from the Asiatic continent, while the protected character of the west coast and the richness of this part of the peninsula in minerals and other products, have favoured its economic development, and made it not only attractive to higher civilizations, as the study of its entire history shows, but also a rendezvous of merchants and workers from many far-separated countries. At the present day not the least important element in the population consists of a congeries of alien races, Chinese from the southern provinces of China, Canton, Fu-kien, and the island of Ho-nan, Tamils from S. India and Ceylon, and, in a lesser degree, Siiks, Panjabis, and Pathians from N. India, and Javanese and Malays from all parts of the Eastern archipelago. In the north of the peninsula isolated outposts of Siamese have pushed for a considerable distance over the Krav Divide, overlapping the ancient ethnological boundary of the peninsula. Old forts can be traced in the Patani valley and for some way down the Perak valley, the defences of which were strengthened with a breastwork, which is not indigenous in this region. On the Upper Perak valley and in a few places further south there are distinct traces of Siamese influence in comparatively recent times.

(a) Malay. — The peculiar importance of the native religions of the region here discussed is due to the fact that they exhibit a clearly-defined series of superimposed ceremonial strata, native (i.e. aboriginal of at least two different types, and Malay) Indian and Islamic. The most recent ethnological investigations confirm the view that the native population consists of the descendants of immigrants of a comparatively recent date, superimposed upon a more ancient stratum consisting, to a great extent, if not entirely, of aboriginal races. The Malays proper belong to the modified Southern Mongoloid group of peoples found in Formosa, Sumatra, Java, and throughout a great part of the Malay Archipelago. When the Palæmbang immigrants first began to arrive from Sumatra, about 900 to 1000 years ago, introducing a Hindutized civilization into the peninsula, it is probable that they found some Indo-Chinese race of superior culture already in possession. This is suggested by certain features of the aboriginal dialects, and by other considerations.

It is of great importance to note that some of the Sumatran settlers, who followed, after some centuries, the earlier Palæmbang colonists, are still in the patriarchal stage as distinct from other Sumatran settlers, by whom customs of a patriarchal type are followed. In the Malayan phrase, the people of the Negri Sembilan follow the 'adat perpatih,' or Peranakan type, as 'Peranakan' or Peranakan, whereas the other Malays of the peninsula follow the 'adat Temenggong' ("custom of the Temenggong"), these two contrasted bodies of custom being based on mother right and father right, respectively.

These Sumatran settlers, who were agriculturists, amalgamated with the aborigines, at any rate in some districts,—e.g., in the State called Negri Sembilan,—but the conversion of the Malays from tolerant Hinduism to Muhammadanism from the late 14th to the 16th cent. began to drive the aborigines into the jungles and hill fastnesses of the interior. Since that time Sunni Muhammadanism of the Shafi'ite school has remained (as in Java) the official religion of the peninsula, although among the less educated of the Malays it is the merest veneer covering a vast body of traditional practices and beliefs which can be traced either to the influences of Hinduism or to primitive shamanistic beliefs, such as are still held by the aborigines. Malay Islamism is nevertheless still fervent.

It may be remarked that the Malay Peninsula belongs, geographically and ethnographically, to Indo-China, a name which well expresses the fact that, with hardly any exception, the congeries of races inhabiting the peninsula from time immemorial represent strata of races belonging to one or other of the two chief families of nations in various parts of Asia, viz., a Mongoloid and a non-Mongoloid, both types being used broadly. Belonging to the latter family we have (1) Indonesians (defined by A. H. Keane as the pre-Malay 'Caucasian' element, of which the Veddas and Kermans, and one at least of the Australian aboriginal races, are typical), often called 'Dravidian' (though, like 'Malayo-Polynesian,' this term should strictly be confined to linguistic affinities); on the other hand, we find, as representatives of the same great family, (2) a more highly developed or specialized type, possibly the tall brown-skinned Polynesian. These two main Indonesian types are said to be represented in the peninsula, the pre-Malay 'Caucasian' element of the late Sembilan, the Vedda type, by the aboriginal Sakai, centred in S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang (cf. one of the basic elements in the Malay language,9 while to the pre-Malay Oceanic ('Caucasians') (of the Polynesian or Miurai type) belong the latter east coast 'Malays' of Kelantan and part of Patani. The latter may be described as very tall, somewhat lanky, large-limbed men, with light brown or cinnamon-coloured skins, straight or wavy black, sometimes nearly curly, hair, and regular, sometimes almost European, features.

Again, the great Mongoloid family of nations is represented both by the Siamese (or Thai) in the northern portion of the peninsula and by the Malays themselves in the southern part, the Malays proper being perhaps best regarded as a highly specialized offshoot of the southern or 'Oceanic' Mongoloid race, immediately immigrant from central and southern Sumatra. They have long, lank, bluish-black, straight hair, of circular section, and are almost beardless, with skin of a dark yellow-brown or olive hue (or the 'colony of newly-fallen leaves'); they are round-headed (brachycephalic), and often have more or less wide

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1 Men Past and Present, Cambridge, 1889, p. 231.
2 R. W. Wallace, Malay Grammar, 1893, p. 12. This connection was first definitely asserted by Prof. Schmidt of Mödling, Austria, and is now generally accepted; it establishes an ultimate prehistoric relation between the Malay and the languages of the aborigines in the Peninsula (167).
and flattened noses, and somewhat thick ears, and on the average are about 1'50 m. in height. The women are usually much shorter than the men. Both sexes have rather short, often almost stumpy, feet, with toes that are to some extent pointed and free thereby willing up at the instep leading to a raised platform or house-floor by gripping it with the hands and at the same time holding it between the great toe and remaining toes of the outer edge. The joints are remarkably fine and small; the dagger-ring of a well-developed old-style rebel chief, which was worn on his forefinger, was too small for an average-sized little finger of a European. A jungle Malay can commonly perform a feat called with his limbs that are impossible to a European unless he has been specially trained as an acrobat.

In Sumatra the race was moulded by Indian influences into a comparatively civilized condition before they crossed to the peninsula. When they arrived, they found the country occupied by the three pagan races (see below, (6)), whom they drove before them into the fastnesses of the mountainous and jungle-clad interior. It is thought that they also found some branch of the Môn-Khmer or Môn 1 races holding the coast-line and other points of the eastern coast, and thus occupying almost the same relative position towards the aboriginal races as the Malays do at the present day, and that they then partly absorbed the Môn, by thinning them of their women, and partly drove them into the jungle. This hypothesis is, however, a lost chapter in the history of the peninsula, although some such theory seems evidently necessary in order to account for all the actually extinct conditions.

The Malay proper are but partially civilized, a graft upon a savage stock, allied not only to the Central and Southern Sumatrans and Indonesians, but also perhaps ultimately to the Chams of Champa and Cambay, or even to the Cambodians.

The hereditary savagery of the Malay nature, for many years after the introduction of the British Residential system (introduced to curb the turbulent Malay Rajas, who were fostering piracy), continually broke out, the commonest form in which it showed itself being perhaps the bálok, the national Malay method of committing suicide, until the gradual strengthening of the right arm of the British rule made it risky to indulge in it, and when by degrees it became unfashionable. Other striking evidence of the high-strung excitability of the Malay temperament is still to be seen in the form of the mystic disease called latah (corresponding to what has been called 'arctic hysteria'), which also has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

(6) Aborigines.—Various theories have been put forward as to the ethnological character of the several wild races which form the substratum of the population. It was held by the older ethnologists that they belonged to a homogeneous group—a Negrito race modified by admixture with the Malay population. This is what has been termed the 'Pan-Negrito' theory of A. de Quatrefages, N. von Miklucho-Maclay, and others. This hypothesis, however, has proved untenable, and the result of later researches has established the fact that at least three 1 types are to be found among these primitive tribes. Of these tribes two, at least (the Semang and Sakai), can be found in a relatively pure state, though only in very limited areas, and the third (the Jakun) is probably nowhere near as pure. Among the aborigines of the peninsula, this fact has taken place in varying degrees throughout the peninsula, and the only satisfactory procedure anthropologically is to compare each tribe with the nearest of the three to which it is most closely related. By no other method can any really useful conclusions be reached, or, indeed, the drawing of the most fallacious inferences avoided.

(1) Semang.—The Semang are a nomad Negrito race—comparable with the Negrito (Pygmies) peoples of Central Africa, and probably most closely connected with the Andamanese, whose group of islands lies off the Burmese coast at its southward end—belonging to a primitive group of peoples found to a greater or less extent as a rule of the aboriginal population as far as New Guinea and the Philippines, although it is remarkable that no traces of any such race have yet been quite proved in Borneo midway between these two Negrito centres. The physical characters of these people are tall and slender, broad-shouldered (male); brachycephaly, skin varying from dark copper or chocolate to shiny black, hair woolly, nose broad, lips everted, beard scanty. They extend from Patani to Kedah, and from Kedah to Mid-Perak. They are called 'Malaya' or 'Malava.'

In view of the fact that the Semang (or, as they are called on the east coast of the peninsula, Pangan) are so frequently described as being of Negro character—like African negroes seen through the reverse end of a field-glass 2—it cannot be too strongly stated that this is a mistake. At the utmost, it may be conjectured, with W. H. Flower, that they are representative, with the true Pygmies, of an original undeveloped stock from which the Papuans, like the Negroes, may have branched off. But even for this theory there are many difficulties, and it cannot be said to have been in any respect established. Hence the Negrito and the Negro must be regarded as totally different races—the former having short or round heads and the latter being long-headed.

(2) Sakai.—The Sakai were at one time regarded as Semang, simply called Malay, but are now clearly differentiated as a separate and independent type 3 most nearly akin to the Dravidian group of peoples. They are taller than the Semang (average height 5 feet 9 inches, 1'437 female), dolichocephalic, skin very variable, light to dark brown, hair wavy, nose fine and small, cheek-bones broad, mouth small, lower lip full and projecting, beard as a rule non-existent. The habitat of the purest Sakai is S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang.

(3) Jakun.—The Jakun are a mixed group inhabiting especially the south of the peninsula, probably everywhere blended, to a varying extent, with Semang and Sakai. This fact is the more remarkable since a relatively important element running throughout all the aboriginal dialects in

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1. Wilkinson has recently suggested that five aboriginal race types should be recognized. When, therefore, the new elements, which would be required in order to form the two proposed new types, have been differentiated, and these elements are all shown not to be possible to either one or both of the other types already identified, the problem will have reached a further stage of development. Certainly, as there are still some unexplained points, it is probable that some further racial element may eventually be isolated (see F.M.S. Govt. Paper on Malay Subjects: Aboriginal Races of S.E. Asia, 1907, 1-437 female).

2. Hugh Clifford, In Court and Kampung, London, 1897, p. 172. But this is a microscopic slip for an author who has done as much as any English publisher to familiarize the English public with the peoples of Malaya.

3. This all-important peculiarity was first clearly established by R. Martin; see his magnum opus, Inlanddame der malaiischen Halbinsel, Leipzig, 1900.
varying degrees consists of some Malayo-Poly-
nesian tongue, the vocabulary of which shows
affinities with the northern language of the Far
Eastern Archipelago, unlike modern (peninsular)
or standard Malay. The reason for this is not
apparent, unless we may conjecture that at some
remote period a race whose national speech was of
this Malayo-Polynesian type prevailed in the
peninsula. The Jakun may be classified as consisting
of at least three related groups, blended as above.
In the south of Malaya, the Jakun Halla should
be to that extent regarded as aboriginal Malays.
In physical character they are a little taller than
the Sakal, the head is brachycephalic, the skin
dark coppery, hair long, straight, and smooth,
nose thick, flat, and short; the eyes show little
tendency to obliquity, and the mouth is large and
broad, with well-formed lips. The Jakun proper
are divided by the Malays into Hill Tribes (Orange
or Jakun Bukit) and Sea Jakun (Orange Laut).

The surest test in regard to these tribes is the
hair-character; hence we may distinguish the
two main racial groups as ulotrichi ("woolly-
haired"), eumontrichi ("wavy-haired"), and lisso-
trichi ("smooth-haired").

There has undoubtedly been a considerable ad-
mixture among all the tribes, but, owing in parti-
cular to the close contact with the Hindus, it is impo-
sible that they have been materially affected by
intermixing with the Malays, since nothing could
be rarer than that a Malay woman should
descend herself by marrying a heathen husband.
The case is rather the other way about, since a
Malay marrying a woman of the wild tribes would
see that his children were brought up as Muslim,
and in many districts, especially in Kedah, it was
considered a religious duty to receive a large part of
the aborigines Semang element has caused them to be reckoned as part of the
recognized Malay population.

3. Culture.—(a) Malaya. — Apart from such ten-
dencies as have already been mentioned, the Malay
character may be regarded as a softened and more
civilized form of the Mongol, since under ordinary
circumstances he may be relied upon to show him-
self a peaceable, quiet, civil, and loyal subject,
though he still retains much of his old proud
sensitiveness, and in inland districts he is still
reserved in his ways of life, and to some extent
suspicious of strangers. In so far as he is not
less trammelled by civilization, the Malay is
frequently of a bold and even savage character
and makes an excellent soldier; there should, there-
fore, be no doubt that with training he would soon
develop first-rate soldierly qualities. His alleged
laziness is due in part to his natural reserve, which
allows more pushing races to outstrip him, and in
part to the simplicity of his life, and to the absence
of any spur to industry in a land where the climate
supplies out of its own superabundance the greater
part of his few simple wants—a land which to him
is a veritable "island of fruits," of howey hollows
waved by summer sea. 1 It must be remem-
bered, too, that before the advent of the British
the employment by his rulers of the broh or oreke
system, as well as the wide prevalence of debt-
slavery, made it difficult for the average Malay to
reap the reward of his labour.

Among the institutions of the Malay race which
it shares more or less with other races in the same
region are the use of so-called prahus, 1 once
associated with piracy), the building of houses
on piles (inland as well as on the border of tidal

1 These prahus, being lowly boats paddled by large numbers of
oars, are capable of great speed, and it is difficult for the average
Malay to escape from pursuit by non-of-war's boats by sailing over
the impenetrable river-bar of the peninsula, and escaping into the
network of swamps and water-courses which is not till the second half of the 19th.
cent. that the prahu was vanquished by the paddle-wheel.

rivers), the use of the blowpipe with poison-tipped
darts (now practically confined to the aborigines),
and the kris, the traditional Malay blade, a skirt-like
garment, closely corresponding to the kilt of our
own Highlanders, though worn somewhat longer on the western seaboard of the pen-
ninsula, the filament, gold-plating, and blackening
of the teeth (now but all but completely obsolete customs), the use of the balei, or council-hall (now confined to Rajahs), and a strong belief in animism. In the southern part of Malaya the Malays are not infrequently more or less bigoted
Muslims, being in this respect at the very
antipodes to the Battak of Sumatra, who have a
literature of their own, and who are still to some
extent inclined to be cannibals.

The Malay traditions and romances contain dis-
tinct references to human sacrifices, which would
appear to have lasted until only a few years before the
British. The men show mechanical skill of a high
order, and would probably respond readily to a
more advanced training especially in engineering.
Many are still adept in manual arts, notably in
those belonging to the jungle and the sea.

The material culture of the Malay is of the in-
visible Malayan (chiefly Sumatran) character. It
has never been influenced by Hindustan to such an
extent as, for instance, the other big tribes, as
the Chinese. The Malays are skilled and artistic
workmen in certain arts, though in others they are
somewhat conspicuously backward. Their textile
work reaches a high standard, and they display
considerable ingenuity in their weaving processes
and in combining their dyed threads to produce
elaborate and original patterns, which the modern
things can be compared. In metal-work, especially
in the working of silver, their taste is, under favourable circumstances, less florid
than the Indian and less coarse than the Chinese.
In ornamenting metal and damascening, in inlay-
ing, and especially in niello-work, their work, both
in design and in technique, is excellent of its kind.

The manufacture of blades for their krisses, and other
weapons, is rare, though not non-existent; a high
degree of skill in the adornment of the hilts of
the weapons and the sheaths in which they are kept
is, however, appreciably common. Attention is paid
also to the manufacture of waved kris-blades, and their
cumbersome work is a technical process of consider-
able elaboration, the more so because the propor-
tions of the blade are determined by an elaborate set
of rules governing the dimensions and intended
properties of the various portions. These rules are
not entirely technical, though compliance with
them requires some degree of technical skill, but
are in part magical, and designed to secure excel-
lence in the blade and success in its employment.
Similar rules are sometimes applied in a lesser
degree to the porang (woodman’s knife). Metal
casting by the cira perdus process is known and
employed not only for copper but also for white
metal also tutenagis (sometimes popularly called
tooth and egg metal). Coins (round cash) were
formerly cast on the east coast in the form of
‘cash-trees,’ from which the cash were snipped off,
and before the British entered the country the
superfluous tin was run into ingots shaped like
elephants, crocodiles, cocks, etc., which were used
as currency. 2 Time was reckoned by water-clock
(as in India and Ceylon and also, it may be men-
tioned, in ancient Egypt), a method of time
keeping in Kedah it was kept by means of a

2 R. C. Temple, The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the
Federated Malay States, Mazagun, 1914 (reprinted from LA).
perforated half coco-nut shell set aloft in a water-bucket, and timed to sink in a definite period. Pottery is made both with and without the wheel, and also by moulding in a split trunk, but in a few places only, and is often crude; on the west, in some cases, Indian influence is traceable, the types being both graceful and artistic. In some cases hemmatite, which turns black on firing, is used as a varnish. The wide-spread use of bamboo and the palm clothing and furniture is, no doubt, responsible for the lack of a more extended de-
velopment of textile ware, in spite of the great abundance of chays suitable for porcelain. On the east coast generally, and less commonly on the west, mat-making is a fine art; at Malacca highly artistic baskets are made of twisted strips of pandanus. The woodwork of the Malays, as shown in the ornamentation of household utensils, as well as on the structural side of house and boat manufacture and furniture, is excellent, though as regards mere ornament it is decidedly scanty—the heart-breaking effect of the superficial Muhammadan veneer which has been imposed on the Malays from without. The further from such influences, the commoner such ornament becomes, and the better its quality. The Malays are especially in-
gredient in their clothing is conformity in confor-
ing to the conditions of their surroundings; their houses are well adapted to the conditions of life of a jungle-dwelling race, whilst the seaworthy qualities of the Malay prahu, or sailing-boat, bear witness to the reputation of the Malay as a sailor.1

(b) Aborigines.—The culture of the wild tribes presents generally many features of similarity. The inland tribes are still nomads to some extent, existing largely by hunting, fishing, and the produce of their search for fruits and roots of the jungle. But most of them practice a primitive agriculture, living in a rude way small patches of rice or millet; their method of cultivating their half-wild orchard-trees, which grow as well in the jungle as elsewhere, is limited to throwing away in certain patches of the jungle the seeds or stones of the fruit they have eaten. The Sea Sakun are especially skilled in all devices for securing a livelihood along the foreshore, while the jungle tribes give evidence of a high degree of ingenuity in snaring and snaring their game by hunting and trapping.

The Semang are the most nomadic of the pagan tribes, though they are now taking to agriculture. Their clothing consists of a girdle of leaves or barkcloth, or, on festive occasions, a belt of shining black strings, made of the rhizomorph of a tonstool. Their typical habits are of a primitive character, consisting of mere loafs or rock-shelters, or of simple round or rectangular leaf-shelters planted on the ground or in trees. Those of a more developed type are large enough to shelter a whole tribe, each individual having a separate fire and bamboo sleeping-place. Frequently the head is more or less shaved and the teeth are filed to form a concave surface, possibly in accordance with a once usual Malay custom. Their diet consists of the jungle and sea-food; they neither chew betel, nor do they taru or scarify the body. They have no boats, but use bamboo rafts on the river-reaches. Their most distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows; in the two tribes of the pagan tribes the bow is, in the present writer's opinion, good prima facie evidence of Semang admixture; the northern Sakal, who also possess it, have most likely taken it from the Semang. Almost all, however, now also employ the bamboo blowpipe, of a different type from that of the Sakal, the idea of which has been copied, in all probability, from their Sakal neighbours.

The Semang have no organized body of chiefs, but each tribe has a single head-man. The tribes are organized in villages, each under a chief, to whom disputes are referred. Quarrels between villages were settled by meetings of these chiefs. Complete equality exists as between individuals, and all property is held in common. Crime is rare, and punishment more rigorous than elsewhere.

The Sakal, a mountain race, are still largely nomadic. Their habits consist of tree huts and temporary shelters; their clothing is a loin-
cloth of tree-bark, though they also decorate themselves on occasion with a girdle of leaves. They cut the face and practise scarification and body-painting, and sometimes wear a porcupine quill or a metal ring through the nasal septum. Their dis-
tinctive weapon is the bamboo blowpipe. Agriculture is of a very primitive type, the principal implement being a digging-stick. They use neither boats nor rafts. The ornamentation of their im-
plements, more especially the blow pipe and quiver, is considerably more artistic than that of the other aboriginal races.

Their social order, like that of the Semang, is of a primitive type. The chief functionary is the penghulu (Mal. 'head-man'), who has every right over his tribe. Except when enforcing his position, however, he is only the equal of his fellow tribes-
men. The head-man of the Semang, as he is called, like the heir, the penghulu may appoint his successor during his lifetime. In their laws the penalty of death is reserved for murder, the relatives of the victim being the executioners. Cases of this kind are rare. For theft, also rare, the punishment is exclusion from the tribe. For other crimes the delinquent makes compensation, or pays a fine. Individual property does not exist, its place being taken by family property. The family as a unit cultivates the land, and the produce is shared between the members. The limits of the family property are designated by the penghulu, and abandoned land may not be taken up without his consent.

A more highly developed social order exists among the Jakun, or aboriginal Malays, as represented, e.g., by the Southern Sakal, who show strong Malay influences.

The Jakun are still to some extent a community of hunters, although among the Land Jakun agriculture is practised, more especially rice-planting. Their clothing consists of a girdle of leaves or barkcloth, or, on festive occasions, a belt of shining black strings, made of the rhizomorph of a tonstool. Their typical habits are of a primitive character, consisting of mere loafs or rock-shelters, or of simple round or rectangular leaf-shelters planted on the ground or in trees. Those of a more developed type are large enough to shelter a whole tribe, each individual having a separate fire and bamboo sleeping-place. Frequently the head is more or less shaved and the teeth are filed to form a concave surface, possibly in accordance with a once usual Malay custom. Their diet consists of the jungle and sea-food; they neither chew betel, nor do they taru or scarify the body. They have no boats, but use bamboo rafts on the river-reaches. Their most distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows; in the two tribes of the pagan tribes the bow is, in the present writer's opinion, good prima facie evidence of Semang admixture; the northern Sakal, who also possess it, have most likely taken it from the Semang. Almost all, however, now also employ the bamboo blowpipe, of a different type from that of the Sakal, the idea

1 See H. Warington Smyth, 'Boats and Boat-building in the Malay Peninsula,' in Journal of the Soc. of Arts, 1902 (reprinted in Ta xxv. [1906] 97 ff.).

1 penghulu—Mal. 'head-man' (from obs. Mal. halu or ubs, 'head'). On the other hand, pelawas or penghulu—Mal. 'band-
man' (from obs. Mal. lama, 'band'), i.e. executive officer.
who represent or act for him upon occasion. Thus, among the Besis of Langat, the batin is the arbiter of all disputes referred to him by the sub-chiefs, besides being the priest at marriages, the magician in case of illness of cattle, and the judge whose duty it is to punish wrong-doing. Its substitute is the *pijang*. Their subordinate, known as the *pahngalu batin*, has charge of the tribal feasts and ceremonies. The *pahngalu pulakr* (proverb-Mal. *jaruk* or *corvée officer*) is the summoner of the tribe; the *pahnglima* is the batin's executive officer. Among the Dames each batin has authority within his own domain, but difficult or unusual cases are referred to a council composed of all the batins. In this division of the Jakun, as indeed among all, crime against personal property is rare, and is expiated by payment of fines in the form of cowries or Chinese money. On half of the fine goes to the batin and one half to the injured person. The office of batin descends, as a rule, from father to son, except among the J侯er Jakun, where the identification points to be accepted by the tribe, and, if his brothers as well as himself are rejected, a stranger to the family is elected. If suitable, the sons of minor officials would be appointed by the batin, oftentimes with their father's consent. The inheritance of property was generally from father to children, but varied from tribe to tribe in the proportion assigned to sons and daughters or to wife and other relatives. Property was held by man before man among the Manns who assigned on his death to his parent's brothers and sisters.

4. Languages.—(a) Malay.—The Malay language belongs to the *Nusian* or *Niasian* family, related to which occur sporadically over an amazingly vast insular area, extending from the northern New Guinea coast, and from Madagasgar in the West to Easter Island in the Eastern Pacific. Malay itself, however, is a very considerable and important language, and seems to have spread over a great part of the same region. In recent years a connexion has been sought between the Malay-Polynesian family of languages and a family of languages *of* 'Austronesian' languages, including S.E. Asia, Malay Peninsula, Micronesia, Polynesia, New Guinea, and the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula; this connexion is now generally accepted.

This connexion actually draws on the Malay language in prehistoric times with the corresponding element in the Sakai and Semang dialects of the peninsula. This theory is entirely the work of Schmid[31] and, on the other hand, is well supported by the various elements in these aboriginal dialects first created this identification.
more interesting element has been proved to show a very close affinity with the Mōn-Rinmēr or Mōn dialects of western Indo-China. The identifications, though casual and numerous, and even striking, are rather disappointing, if considered as a whole. Only a very small number of the words could be identified, about 20 per cent of the entire vocabulary. The question is, what is the remaining 80 per cent?

To reply, we must study attentively both the Semang and Sakai syntax and structure, and a considerable percentage of the vocabulary, and especially, as regards Sakal, the phonology; the modern Jakun dialects are of no less importance. In each group we can find a very small number of unidentifiable words. The Semang embodies a number of words which are confined to the Negritos and which are completely and exclusively. It is clear that the Semang dialects did not originally belong to the Mōn-Annam groups. These words relate to matters of everyday life, and presumably they represent the older original dialects of the Negritos. The relationship with Andamanese has been suggested, but remains completely hypothetical; for hardly a single word of Semanese is recognized in the Andaman dialects, and this fact is one of the many and great puzzles of the Semang problem. For the unidentifiable element in Sakal no suggestion as to origin has been made, though it is possible that many of the uncertain words may yet be traced to a Malayakan not to a Mōn-Annam origin. In the case of the Jakun it is pointed out that some of the words of unknown origin occur in Semang, but not in Sakal, and they are mostly of sufficient number to support the view that Jakun dialects were originally allied to Semang; on the contrary, a large number of words are allied to Sakal, and with Wilkinson, treating as Jakun certain southern Sakal dialects, agrees with the Semanese linguistic basis, but leaves some of the cases unexplained. Both Rōkōbō and the common element in which Mantri, Redunda, and Jakun differ from every other known language.

5. Religion: greater gods.—(a) Malay. — The official Malay religion, as has already been stated, is Muhammadanism, but the popular beliefs and customs are to some extent based on an older type of religion, which is said to have been introduced by the Semang and Sakali, and to have been followed by the Malay races. This pre-Islamic religion may perhaps be compared to the religions of the ancient Indo-European peoples, which are known to have existed in other parts of the world. In the Malay Peninsula, the ancient religions were probably mixed with the beliefs of the Semang and Sakali, and to some extent with the beliefs of the Semanese, who are said to have been the original inhabitants of the region.

The Semang were a primitive race, who lived in the rain forests and mountains of the Malay Peninsula. They were a peaceful and contented people, and they had a deep respect for the Deity, or the god of the world. They believed that the world was created by a great god, who was called the Father God, or the Creator. They believed that the Deity was everywhere present, and that He was the source of all life and prosperity. They believed that the Deity was a great and powerful spirit, who could protect and defend His people, and who could also punish them for their sins.

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The religion of the Sakai is more shamanistic in character than that of the Semang, and, if any comparison be made, it is the more so. What has been maintained, it is overshadowed by the cults of demons, ghosts, and spirits. The Jakun afford more certain evidence of a belief in a supreme deity, although, in their conceptions, the best are vague and shadowy. The Mantri say that Tukan Di-Bawak, lord of the under world, created the earth and dwells beneath it, supporting everything above him by his power. The Bonak, in one god, Pitung, who dwells in the sky and is invisible. He made the world and everything that is visible. The greater part of the Jakun of Johor know and acknowledge a supreme being whom they call by the Malay-Arabic name of Tukan Allah; the grotesquely slight influence, however, that is really exercised by Muhammadanism on the wild races of the Malay jungles is best evidenced by the statement of these tribes who believe that Muhammad, the prophet of God, is the wife of the supreme deity.

5. Lesser gods, spirits, and ghosts.—(a) Malay.—Subordinate to the great gods are lesser gods or spirits whose place in Malay mythology is due to Muhammadan influences; their inferiority may in part be due to the fact that the gods of the autochthones are usually considered by an invader more powerful than his own deities, but they are gods and spirits are the jin, or geni. The Malays, to a certain extent, show a tendency to identify them with the spirits of the older Hindu religion, but only the Black King of the Genii (Sang Gada Raja) appears to rise on occasion to the level of the great deities, when he is regarded as a manifestation of Batara Gurn in his destructive aspect as Siva, or Kala, though later he became to be considered a separate personality. This would also explain the difficult problems of how the Black and White Genii come to be regarded as brothers, the latter being identified with Maharaja Deva, 'great king of the gods.' The genii are also subdivided into good and faithful (jin isian) and bad (jin kafir), this nomenclature being obviously a Muslim accretion. In addition to these subdivisions they are also regarded as attached to special objects—e.g., the powerful jin of the royal musical instruments. The genii are able to do infinite harm to mortals, and choose as their dwelling-places hollows in the ground or places of human habitation, or the epiphytes on trees, etc. They are sometimes said to derive from the dissolution of various parts of the anatomy of the world-snake Sakatinuna, the first great failure at man's creation. The Malays have also adopted into their popular religion the Muhammadan belief in angels (Azrael, Michael, and Gabriel), prophets (Solomon, David, and Joseph), and chieftains, four in number named in the four corners of the earth.

Ghosts and spirits are known by the generic name of hantu. Of these there are many varieties. Hantu kubor are grave-demons who, with the spirits of murdered men, prey upon the living wherever they see an opportunity; hantu jeli is the storm-lion; hantu moyor and hantu laut are water- and sea-spirits; hantu rimbau, deep forest demons; hantu bérök, the baboon demon; and hantu gong, the 'smoosung' demon, who interferes with ropes-napes and traps for wild animals. In addition there are giant and 'tall' demons (bote, goa-posti, and hantu kingi) as well as the evil one (poor péri), who are of foreign origin; echo spirits (orang buman), spirits of whom little is known except that they are good

1 But this name (= Firtmis, 'Word of God') is clearly borrowed, like Allah, from Muslim sources.
2 Possibly from daikara, 'beneficent,' an epithet of Siva.
3 Or 'hidden.'
the semangat is distinctly referred to as being sevenfold, and, as a similar multiple division is found elsewhere among savages (PC i. 391 f.), this may be taken as original, although seven is a somewhat favourite number in Malay magic.

The belief in the existence of semangat does not confine them to human beings. Animal, vegetable, and mineral semangat are clearly recognized. While in the case of animals the semangat is a concept firmed by the embryo of its embodiment, in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms the tree semangat or the ore semangat is usually an animal, whereas the rice semangat is treated as resembling a human infant. The semangat of the enewood tree, e.g., takes the form of a bird, the tin-ore semangat that of a buffalo, the gold-ore semangat that of a deer, and so forth. A box or a treasurejar may also have a semangat until clipped or broken, when the semangat escapes from it. An interesting variation has been said to occur on the east coast of the peninsula, where the semangat of a particular kind of boat is called by a special name, marred, as opposed to the usual soul-name, semangat. But there is no trace of this form on the west coast or apparently in other parts of the peninsula.

This belief is no empty belief inoperative in daily life. It forms the basis of the Malay's mental attitude and practice in all dealings with the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

Animals, vegetable, and mineral ideas intermingle and complete in extending the belief in the semangat to all nature, animate and inanimate, side by side with the purely animistic belief that is abroad in evidence among the Malay's Ciree-like theory attributing animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, minerals or magic (accursed) human origin. The elephant, tiger, bear, deer, crocodile, solid-crested hornbill, and stick-insect are examples. Evidence of such anthropomoropshic ideas is to be found not only in the folklore but in many magical ceremonies and charms of the Malays (on the semangat see further, Indonesian).

(b) Pagan races.—Of the conception of the semangat held by the pagan tribes very little is known, and, lacking definite statement, their beliefs must be inferred from their methods of burial and treatment of the dead and their views of the life after death.

According to the eastern Semang (Pangan) of Kelantan, each man has a semangat shaped exactly like himself, but 'red like blood' and 'no bigger than a silver coin'. When a mother bears a child, she gives it to the child's grandmother, who keeps it in a box until the child is three years old. After this time, the semangat of the wise proceed to a paradise in the west in which grow fruit-trees. To reach it they cross a bridge consisting of the trunk of a colossal tree. At the end of the bridge sits a hideous demon, and such of the Semang as are scared by him fall into a vast boiling lake beneath, in which they swim for three years until the Lord of the Paradise of Fruit-Trees lets down his great toe for them to clutcher, and in this comtempous fashion pulls them out. The old and wise men for this reason were buried in a manner that he could fly over the demon's head. The Western Semang believed that not only the medicine-men went to the Land of Fruit; the lay members of the tribe crossed the sea to a land of screw-pines and thatch-palms, wherein was the home in which the sun fell at night. If they had committed any bad action, they started by the same road, but turned north to a land which had two months of day and one month of night, and there lived a man of the demon. He is the deponent who said that semangats proceed to a Hades (Nirah) where they are washed clean by one 'Granny Long-Breasts,' and made to walk across a boiling cauldron on the sharp edge of a chopper. Bad semangats fall in, good ones escape to an Island of Fruit, where they stay until a friend comes to show them the way to the 'Husks of the Clouds.'

The Mantri possesses peculiarly positive faith in the continued existence of the semangat after death. If, in the event of his being buried at Lasa either to Ngangnari or to Fruit Island (Pulas Buah), far away in the region of the setting sun, where all semangats dwell in harmony, marry, and have children. Those who die a violent death go to Red Land (Tanah Merah), a desert place and barren, returning thence to Fruit Island to get their nourishment. The Penun, on the other hand, believe that after death the semangats dissolve into nothingness again, having been fashioned from air by Pirmani. Notwithstanding this, they hold that the semangats of medicine-men, while their animate bodies remain behind, are conveyed or carried to Heaven in music.

8. Animism.—Although it would in any case be justifiable to regard the attitude of the Malays towards the tiéwun, or holy place, as a survival from an earlier stage of religion, and the analogy of similar ideas among more primitive peoples, there is, in addition, abundant evidence to support the view that not only Mahometan and Hindu beliefs, but those of the indigenous animism of Java and Borneo (pawang and bomor), the language of the immerable charms recited on any and every conceivable occasion, and the ceremonies which accompany any and every action or undertaking—even in some cases the most trivial—would in themselves point to this particular conclusion, even if we lacked the evidence supplied by the statements of the Malays themselves with regard to their object and meaning. Important proof of this connexion is furnished by the relations of the Malays with animals, with trees, and with the crops, and especially by their remarkable beliefs with regard to mining.

(a) Animals.—To nearly all animals, but especially to the larger, the Malays attribute anthropomorphic traits and, in some cases, superhuman powers. The elephant is a god, e.g., are believed to possess cities or districts in which they assume human form and live in houses. According to a legend which comes from Labu in Selangor, a man tracked an elephant to her home and married her in human form. She resumed her animal form when, on returning to his country against her express directions, he gave her food which included certain young tree-shoots. The tiger, which is an object of especial fear, is believed to be a demon in the form of a beast; in the legendary 'Tiger Village' the roofs of the houses are thatched with human hair, men's bones are the rafters, and men's skulls the hut-walls. The original tiger of the day is said to have been found in the forest who changed into a tiger when beaten with many stripes by his schoolmaster. The latter placed a ban upon him to compel him to 'ask for' his pray. The tiger therefore uses divination by leaves (of certain forest trees) to ascertain whether his petition for a victim has been granted. It may be added that he is also believed to 'doctor' himself; it has been said that the belief in werewolves is one of the most deeply ingrained of Malay superstitions, but the power to become such a being is believed to belong especially

1 See also W. W. Skuse, Malay Magic, London, 1900, pp. 50, 51, etc. It is surprising to find among Malays this sevenfold division of the Earth.

2 N. Armande, 'The Theory of Souls among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula,' JIAS, Sarawak Branch, v. 3 (1903).

3 Skr. naraka, 'hell.'
to one tribe of Sumatrans, the Korinchi Malays, of whom there are a number living in the peninsula. In one case a dead wer-tiger was identified by its possessing a gold tooth derived from its human original (see Lycaanthropy). Both ghost-elephants and ghost-tigers are strongly believed in. They are distinguished by having one shrunken foot, are harmless, and are the tutelary spirits of certain regions of sacred localities. The most famous ghost-tigers of the peninsula dwell on Mount Ophir (4000 ft.), near Malacca; in Selangor they were the guardians of a shrine on the summit of the Jirga Hill. The latter were formerly reputed to be the pets of the princess Malacca; thus the two stories were connected. The princess is said by local report to have established herself on Mount Ophir at the time of the Portuguese invasion, and still visits the hill in Selangor, accompanied by a handsome tiger, though herself invisible. When a tiger was killed, a public reception was accorded to him in the nearest village, at which he was treated as a powerful war-chief or champion, and was entertained by an exhibition of dancing and fencing. Both claws and whiskers of the tiger are greatly valued as charms; the latter are sometimes twisted up with a man's moustache, to strike terror into his enemies, and in old times are imitated in the tiger's claw knives worn on their fingers by the men who pretend to be wer-tigers.

Equally significant are the stories and beliefs connected with the cat. The cat, W. I. Bungee notes, is a complete cembangan of the Malay folklore; 1 it figures in numberless proverbial sayings and proverbs, and is honoured by the title of Meniru Belukar, 'the Vizier of the (secondary) Forest-growth.' 2 In the fire-getting ceremony it is said to ask for fire wherewith to 'sing its mother-in-law's feathers' (a biri). Hunting dogs are continually addressed as if they were human beings. It is, however, believed that it is unlucky to see them in the jungle, unless the person meeting them barks after the manner of a wild dog before they have time to do so. Cats, in addition to possessing supernatural powers (e.g., in the rain-making ceremony), are lucky because they wish for the prosperity of their owners. On the other hand, cat-killers, when in purgatory, will be required to cut and carry coco-nut logs to the number of hogs said to have been killed; therefore cats are 'not killed,' but only set adrift on rafts to perish of hunger. 3

The flesh of swine is now regarded as unclean by the majority of (Mohammedan) Malays, but there are indications that this was not always the case; thus a wild pig's paunch is required in a Malay recipe for turning brass into gold; the wild pig, moreover, is hunted and eaten with avidity by the wild jungle tribes, as is still the case in N. Borneo and other parts of the Malayan region. It may also be noted that the flesh of the buffalo is preferred to that of the ox, and the former is used, and not the latter, for sacrificial feasts—a fact which suggests an obscure survival of Hindu belief. The earth itself is supported on the horn of a gigantic wild buffalo.

The attitude of the Malays towards wild animals and their belief in their magical powers are further indicated by the fact that in hunting and trapping no skill can avail unless it is supported by magic, by special charms supplied by the medicineman, and by formula to be repeated in setting the traps and snares or when actually engaged in hunting operations, either to ensure success or to serve as a protection. Like the Siamese elephant-wizard, the Malay deitier-wizard must first enter the toils before a hunt begins, in order to influence the deer magically to enter the deer-anores. If this were omitted, the ropes would fail to hold the deer, nor would the deer enter. The marks on the legs of the sanubhar deer (reras) are due to unpropitious ones on the deer's itself.

Fish and other inhabitants of the water, like land animals, are regarded as having human or superhuman qualities, and, when catching them, the Malays have to perform ceremonies to overcome their spiritual nature and magical powers. The crocodile, e.g., is, according to one account, a boy who fell from his mother's arms into the water. The various species of fish also have their special origin; one kind is said to be originally a cat, another a monkey, another a human being drowned in the river, and so forth. The Norse myth of the rivers sprang from the teats of the cow Audhumla is recalled by the Perak story of a large snake, the guardian of the mud called aruan. Many magical or semi-magical beliefs cling round the crocodile. In many of the rivers certain crocodiles are regarded as the sacred embodiment of dead chiefs, and are free from molestation. When hunting these reptiles, the Malays repeat charms and take precautions to secure capture by symbolic actions such as striking the water with his club. When the crocodile has seized the crocodile's tail; or, when eating curry, by gulping down three lumps of rice successively in the way in which it is hoped the reptile will take the bait; or (by avoidance) by not taking the bones of curry-meats for fear that the wooden fragments buried in the bait will fail to hold the crocodile.

An elaborate ceremony precedes and accompanies a fishing expedition. It includes notification by three huts cries to the land-spirits that offerings, consisting of rice, beef, parts of a goat sacrificed for the purpose, cigarettes, etc., hung up on a tree in a sacrificial attitude. After their acceptance by the spirits, the bodies of two similar trays, one in shallow water and one, containing the past's head, at the seaward end of the fishing stakes. Miscellaneous offerings from a basket are scattered when a cat's boat is rowed out to the stakes, and, when they are reached, saffron-coloured and parched rice is scattered on the water, while the 'centralizing rice-paste' ceremony is performed on the stakes and the boats. A number of tabus, such as seven days' abstinence from sexual indulgence, the avoidance of bathing without a bathing-cloth, or of taking an umbrella into the fishing-boats, or culling the fishing-stakes with boots on, are strictly enforced. The use of a tabu language by the fishermen is also de rigueur.

Among the Malay tribes similar beliefs are entertained, but in particular they look upon animals as the embodiment of their illustrious dead. The elephant, the largest and most important of the animals, is the one into which the simangats of Semang mythology, having anthropomorphised, has assumed the form of the god of the forest. In consequence, it has euphemistic and proprietary names. The same applies to the tiger. Monkeys, snakes, and birds play an important part in Semang mythology, while among insects the stick-insect is the most important. The list of animals to which the simangats of chiefs are supposed by the Besi to migrate is extended beyond beasts of prey, including deer and pigs as well as tigers and crocodiles. Among the Mentri the tigers are the slavest of the wizard, or peyang, and are supposed to be immortal, while the Jakun believe that, if a tiger meets them in their path, it is a man who has sold himself to the evil spirit in order that such a form he may wreak vengeance on his enemy or give play to his malignity. The amount of unnatural history associated with animals is, indeed, quite remarkable: the supernatural nature is so complete as it is among real up-country Malays. The case of the large caterpillar which is believed to metamorphose into a squirrel is typical.

(6) Birds.—The belief of various birds and their semi-mystic or anthropomorph in character, are very generally associated with birds by the Malays. As a rule, nocturnal birds are ill-omened. If one species of owl alights near a house and boots, it is said that

1 W. W. Siant, Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest, Cambridge, 1903, Intro., p. xiii.
2 Clifford, p. 47.
there will soon be a 'tearing of cloth' for a shroud. If the badoehok, a nocturnal bird which flies in flocks (a goat-sucker or night-jar), is heard, the peasant brings out a wooden platter, bents it with a knife, and adds sand thereto in the hope of deceiving the birds, of the belief that he forms one of the train of the Spectre Hunterman (hantu penaram) which these birds accompany, and must therefore not be attacked by them.

The argus pheasant (kluang) is said in Perak to have been metamorphosed from a woman; the female pheasant, fathered, is believed to reproduce its kind by swallowing the male bird alive. In Selangor it is believed that a hornbill was transformed from the murderer of an old man, another variety (rhinoplax) to have been a man who slew his own mother-in-law. The toh katampli (a variety of horned owl) is believed to enter the fowl-house and there live on the intestines of fowls, which it extracts during life by means of a charm. The luck-bird—a small white bird about the size of a canary—if caught and placed in a rice-bin, ensures a good harvest to its owner; a ground-dove, kept in a house, is a prophylactic against fire. If any other bird should form part of a crowd of birds, it confers upon him the power of invisibility. But the list of birds to which it has been recorded that the Malays attach magical attributes and significance may be said to be limited by the varieties indigenous to the peninsula.

In fowling, as in hunting, sympathetic magic plays a large part, while every operation has its appropriate charm for repetition. In catching wild pigeons, constant reference is made to their semangats, and the aid of the pawang is required to perform the rice-paste ceremony in the space in front of the conjurer's hut, enclosed for the purpose, which is known as King Solomon's Court-yard, or to recite a charm over the long bamboo decoy-boat or pigeon-call. During the operation great care is taken that no part of the latter's paraphernalia is called by its proper name (which might be understood by the pigeon); everything is called by some euphemism—e.g., 'the Magic Prince' (for the name of the hut) and 'Prince Distraction' (instead of the word 'pigeon-call').

(c) Vegetation.—The Malay beliefs in relation to trees and other forms of vegetation follow to a great extent the animistic concepts in relation to animals. It is not clear that they hold that all trees have a semangat, but it is certain that some trees, such as the durian, the coco-nut-palm, the trees producing eagle-wood, camphor, and gatta-percha, and others are supposed to possess semangats. This belief extends even to dead and seasoned wood, as is shown by the invocation addressed to the timbers used in the ceremony of launching a boat—a ceremony which is frequently represented in Malay romances as taking place (as formerly in Fiji) over human rollers. In earlier days the men used to try to frighten the durian graven images in order to address them verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said that the coco-nut should be addressed to them verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said that the coco-nut should be addressed to them verbally. Thus the illegal act of tapping the butt of your neck and roll up your hair; and here is my ivory Todd's knife to help the washing of your face.

1 The malaca can is regarded from the same animistic point of view, and it is believed that a can with a long joint will protect the owner from harm by snakes and animals, as well as bring him good luck in everything. In Selangor the stick-insect is supposed to be the embodiment of the malaca-spirit. In Kedah the tualang tree (apparently not a specific tree, but a generic term for all trees containing a bees' nest)—a matter in which great reluctance is shown—it is necessary to obtain the services of a pawang to drive away the bees by incantation. In some of the incantation the heads of two white owls are cut off and the blood is sprinkled upon the tree-trunks. The lime is another tree of which the spirit is the owner; it is regarded as a special tree of themegh-spirit and looked upon as their chief patron by the theatrical players of Penang. In searching for the diseased and perfumed wood known as kbaru, or eagle-wood, the services of a pawang are required to burn incense and repeat the appropriate charms. According to one account, the pawang uses a shelter near the selected tree (which is indicated by a low whispering or singing in the tree), and then repeats a charm which induces the kbaru-spirit to appear to him, generally in a dream, and to inform him of the kind of sacrifice required. When the tree has been felled, any one passing between the trunk and the stump will die immediately. The pawang uses and carries with him a piece of eagle-wood, the kbaru mampaa (or shaped eagle-wood), which possesses a natural resemblance to some animal or bird. This is to prevent the spirit of the eagle-wood and to assist in the search for that product. Similar beliefs are entertained, and similar ritual is followed, in the collection of camphor and gutta-percha. It is interesting to note that in the collection of camphor a special language must be used, pantung kapor, which, so far as known, is Malay in part only. A portion of any food eaten during the search, and of the wood obtained, is thrown into the jungle for the biosan, or camphor-spirit.

Many rules followed in planting the crops are based upon sympathetic magic and animism. In the first place, the propitiatory season for each operation must be indicated by the pawang. Sugar-cane must be planted at noon; this makes it sweeter by drying it up the juice and leaving the saccharine matter in the cane. Maize should be planted with a full stomach, a thick stick, and thick dibble; this will swell the maize ear. Plants should be planted after the evening meal, as they fill out better; sweet potatoes, to ensure their having plenty of eyes when they begin to sprout, should be set when the night is starry.

Of all agricultural pursuits, however, the cultivation of rice exhibits most completely the animistic ideas of the Malays to nature. At every stage of the procedure precautions are taken to ensure the well-being and prosperity of the rice-soul, upon which the success of the cultivation depends.

The time of the sowing is determined by the pawang; prayers are read over a portion of the seed at the mosque (replacing an earlier ceremony at the holy place, or krama); in. sowing, the mother-seed is placed in a specially-prepared bed in one corner of the nursery-plot, before the rest of the seed is scattered. When the rice is ready, it is transplanted with proper prophylactic ceremonies, and occasionally, say once in three or four years, these were accompanied by a ceremony—a sort of mock combat (sabatau)—to drive evil spirits. When the rice is ready for reaping, in order to begin the harvest, the reapers must first obtain the pawang's permission. The first operation was to take the semangat out of all the plots, and before cutting the rice it was usual to sprinkle it with the neutralizing rice-paste. From the spot where the rice is finest and where there are seven joints to the stalk, seven stems are clipped ceremonially. Thus I bend your neck and roll up your hair; and here is my ivory Todd's knife to help the washing of your face.

The semangat is made into the rice, and it is believed that it is present in the rice planted, placed in a basket with a Malay umbrella to shade it from the sun, and laid on a new sleeping-mat, with pillows at its head, in the house of the rice-soul. For three days after reaping the rice must observe certain tabus: e.g., rice, salt, oil, money, etc., must not be brought into the house, provided the hair must not be cut, and so forth. These tabus were practically identical with those imposed on the new-born children. For three days after the taking of the semangat the
mother-sheaf was treated as a young mother; i.e., young shoots of trees were ground up and scattered over the ground every evening and on the evening of the third day coco-nut pulp and goat-flowers were mixed together and placed in a little ejection from the mouth on to the sheaf—an analogus of the salut administered to a mother. A woman, when entering the clearing, usually addressed the child as a child, saying, 'Come, come, and show of my child, as if embracing one of her own infants. Ultimately the rice of the male child was taken over by a child of the same sex. The receptacle representing the mother is mixed and placed in the receptacle in which rice is stored, together with a wreath of the rice, a present of a colossal pounder of the padi, the ears first pounded being those cut immediately after the taking of the harvest. Some are used up to the next year's seed, and some is used to make the taping taring. From all that has been said it will be clear that the gift of the Malayans harvest ceremony consists in the attempt to simulate, on behalf of the vegetable rice-crop, a lucky birth as of a human infant, in the hopes that this mock-ceremony may stimulate the productive powers of the rice-plant for the following harvest.

(d) Mining.—In the western States of the peninsula tin-mining was, and still is, the most important industry. Although mining is now carried on chiefly by Chinese, the ceremonies in use at the opening of a mine are purely Malay. Formerly a lucrative and highly important post was that of mining wizard; some of these magicians work under one's protection; some possess the power of bringing one to a place where it did not exist, and of turning into grains of sand, or of sterilizing, such ore as existed. The ore itself was regarded as endowed not only with vitality, but also with the power of functional increase. Sometimes it was said to resemble a buffalo, and in this shape could travel to and fro underground. The gold-spirit in one case (at Raub in Pahang) was believed to take the form of a golden roe-deer—a phenomenon obviously based on the imaginary shape of some large nugget. Beyond tin, gold, and possibly a little silver and galena, no metals are worked in the Peninsula.

The natives, however, have a great reverence for iron. The Lamp of Iron in the royal regalia, when placed in water, is the most solemn and binding oath known to those who use it, and it is referred to in the most terrible denunciations of the Malay wizard; a long iron nail guards the newborn child and the rice-soul; betel-nut scissors (also of iron) or a dagger protect a corpse from evil contact, and a Malay in the jungle often plants his knife-blade edgewise to the source in a stream before he drinks, in order to drive away any chance demons. Bezoar-stones and stone implements alike are said to be endowed with magic properties and powers; a unique east-coast belief regards the latter as arising out of the ground, and not, as almost everywhere else in the world, as being hurled down from the sky in the form of thunderbolts. The objects of the charms employed by the mining wizards seem to be to clear the jungle of evil spirits, to banish evil spirits from the ground before starting excavations, to propitiate the local spirits and induce the tin-ore to show itself when the tin-bearing stratum is reached, and to persuade the spirits to partake of a banquet spread for them in the receptacle intended to represent the royal ball of audience. The spiritual 'audience chamber' is usually two or three feet square and furnished with offerings similar to those normally placed on the afflicted body, with certain articles, such as sugar-cane, plantsains, yams, etc., supposed to be specially characteristic of the food eaten by miners. The chief talus is the killing of any sort of living creature within the mine, except in cases when a white lady may be slain upon the brink of the mine, the head being buried and small portions representative of each part being deposited in the 'audience chamber.' Other talus are the burning of a tamping-bag, burling any skin of a beast in the mine, wearing shoes, and even carrying an umbrella; the last is particularly offensive to the spirits, since it is the insignia of Malay royalty; a special language has to be used in so far as certain words and terms, no animal or thing not itself allowed in the mine (such as an elephant, tiger, or cat), nor even lime-fruit, may be mentioned by any but this substituted title. Nor may any one sacrifice or dress (a black coat) worn by the wizard in building the altar for the preliminary sacrifice, in performing the magical ceremonies, or in uttering the invocations (such as the attitude of standing with both hands on the hips or behind the back), nor may even the wizard himself assume them on any ordinary occasion.

(e) Water.—The Malays have been a seafaring race from time immemorial, and the rivers were also of great importance to them before the making of roads. It was by the rivers that they first penetrated the country; the old Malay settlements are all on river-banks, and the streams are still the chief source of supply for irrigating the rice-fields. To both river and sea many superstitions and legends are attached. Their animistic notions include a belief in water-spirits, of whom precautions are taken for the protection of their boats. It was formerly the custom to fasten a bunch of sugar-palm twigs to the top of the mast to prevent the water-spirit from settling on the mast-head. The sea-spirits are invoked to point out shoals, etc., and sometimes in rapids or other difficult places offerings are made to the spirits of the river (kayak)." The tidal wave (deadly sea) on a river was formerly held to be caused by the passing of a fluvial monster, which ascends the river; one of these (on the bare ceasing) was described to the present writer as having been killed by being knocked on the head with a stick. Erede (A.D. 1613) says that the Malays attribute such boses to souls of the dead who are passing the ocean in coffins from one region to another, i.e., from the Golden Chersonese to the river Ganges. Ordinary river-floods (which were distinguished as male and female) were thought to be caused by similar agents.

9. Cosmology and natural phenomena.—(a) Malay.—In Malay folklore the theory of creation is that light emanating from the supreme being became the ocean, from which ascended foam and vapour. The earth and sea were then formed, each of seven tiers, the earth resting on the surface of the water from east to west, the mountains of the Caucasus being regarded as a chain put round the earth to keep it stable on the face of the waters. Beyond them is spread a vast plain, the sand and earth of which are of gold and musk, the stones rubies and emeralds, the vegetation of odoriferous flowers. Besides the Caucasus, which are known to the Malays as Bok, Kof ('Hills of Kaf'), and are of immense importance in popular lore, there is a great central mountain called Maha Morn, which is sometimes identified by Malayas with a hill in Sumatra. Another version of the Creation, in part obviously due to Muslim influence, describes how God, the eldest magician, pre-existing by Himself, created the pillar of the Kaba of which the four branches form the four corners of the earth, and the world was created by the work of an angel named by Gabriel and broke asunder, the head and fore part shooting up to heaven, the tail part penetrating downwards beneath the earth. The description of this serpent (the name suggests an animal of origin)
is remarkably anthropomorphic; in fact, it is a serpent in little more than name.

It was usually believed that the world was of oval shape and revolves on its axis four times in the year, and that the sun was a body of fire moving round the earth and producing the alternations of day and night. Some at least imagined the firmament to consist of a perforated stone or rock, the stars being caused by the light which streams through the transparent apertures. Further, the earth is declared to be carried by a golden demonstrator, the tip of its horns—an obvious Malay parallel to the world-oliphant of the Rândâgyna and the bear-incarnation of Vîqû. When one horn gets tired, the other one is called into action, and so the earth continues to move. Sometimes, however, the other horn, the concussion thus produced being the cause of earthquakes. This buffalo stands on an island in the nether ocean, or on a giant tortoise (according to some versions), or on the monstrous fish called Nun (Arab. 'fish').

The universe is gilt round by a huge serpent which feeds upon its own tail. Peculiarly Malay, on the other hand, is the idea of the tides, which, it is said, are caused by the movements of a colossal crab that twice a day leaves and re-enters its cave at the foot of the world-tree Pauh Janggi (the sea-coco-nut-palm), which is torn up at high water in the ocean by the 'Navel' or Central Whirlpool of the Ocean (quest tâzek). The sun's name in Malay is Mata-hari, which means 'eye of day,' but on the east coast it is held to be a horse which is conducted in procession by a heaven-eyed god, the sun, during the day, and led back again at night-time to the place whence it started.

Eclipses of the sun and moon are considered to be caused by the tail of one of the bodies of a gigantic dragon (Râhu), or, according to some, a god. Malaya, like the Chinese and other more primitive races, endeavours to save the sun and moon by putting white thread or cotton on the temples in the form of string, and by pouring vinegar on their heads as a remedy. A more scientific attempt is made to touch the sun and moon with a burning pyre-dak ('the moon is great with the mouse-deer'), is doubtless explainable by the fact that in Sanskrit mythology the spots on the moon are thought to be a hare, an eagle, or a python, which, being hard pressed by a hunter, appealed to the moon for protection and was taken up by her into her arms; the phrase is often used when she is three-quarters full.

Landlips in the hills during the rains, being often accompanied by floods, are said to be due to dragons breaking forth from the hills, where they have been doing penance, on their way to the sea. Rocks and waterfalls of unusual appearance are believed to owe their origin to demons. A rainbow, if only a small portion of the end is visible, betokens the death of a Raja, if it appears in the west. The treasure which lies where the foot of the rainbow touches the earth has never yet been found, as 'no one can ever arrive at the place' where it touches. The rainbow itself is often taken to be a snake and is sometimes said to be seen drinking (sukum minum). On the east coast it is sometimes said to be the head and entrails of a horse or a bullock which comes down to earth to drink. There is a house on the east coast of the peninsula which has on one wall a huge mirror of metal (tâmgojag) which had been drained dry by a rainbow.

Sunset is a time of danger, since then all evil spirits have power, while the name applied to the yellow glow of the last rays of the sun (wambang kuning, 'the yellow deity') is a term associated with terror. In Perak children are called in at sunset to save them from this danger, and women often chew and spit out at seven points, as they walk round the house at sunset, kunyut têrû, an evil-smelling root much disliked by evil demons. Puluat Tionan, an island south-east of Pahang, is believed to actually be the body of a dragon, or nâga. The Malay who told us this to the present writer said that a long while ago an English Government official was drowned in the whirling waters of the river near the crew, catching sight of the then existing three points of the dragon's crest on the summit of the island, fired, breaking them off, and that the vessel itself sank afterwards. There are stories said to be a number of people living on it, none of whom is allowed to make the least use of vinegar; if any vinegar is spilled, an earthquake follows, because the island is really the monstrous body of an enormous dragon.

(b) Pagan races.—The Semang endow both sun and moon with human form, both being female. Like the Japonesse, who have been credited by some authors with Malayan affinities, they associate the sun with a crow (Ag-Ag), whom they assert to be the husband of that luminary, whereas the husband of the moon is some monster, or serpent. When the sun sets, it falls into a cavern, which some Semang identify with a species of Hades. Eclipses are caused by a huge dragon, or serpent, which tries to swallow the luminary; in the case of the moon, a python is represented. When the sun rises, it is the moon's mother-in-law, who has assumed this form and is trying to embrace it—an act which is clearly referred to by the Semang with loathing and abhorrence. The spot on the moon is said to be a water mark, or serpent, and the spots where it touches the earth are feverish and bad to live near. During a storm of thunder and lightning the Semang draw a few drops of blood from the side of the body to drive away the skywards. As the ghosts of wicked tribemen fly up to the heavens, this is intended to propitiate them and persuade them to return. Sometimes, however, it is believed that the spirits go downwards and become water-spirits. In this case part of the blood is thrown towards the sky and part downwards (Panggan).

Thunderbolts are supposed to be hurled as the result of one's evil-wayliness towards a mother-in-law. An unusual explanation of thunder and lightning from Kodab is that the latter phenomenon is the flashing of the top-cords of dead medicine-men. The thunder is the hum of the tops themselves when revolving.

The Keiath Semang hold that heaven consists of three tiers or layers: the highest is filled with fruit-trees which bear luxuriantly all the year round, and is inhabited by the greater personages of Semang mythology; the second also contains fruit-trees, but is defended against unauthorized pilgrayers by a gigantic baboon who robs any such would-be assailants with 'false durian-fruit' (the produce of a wild fruit-tree); 2 the third has nothing but the low brooding clouds which bring sickness to humanity.

Of Sakai beliefs little that is typical has been recorded, such information as is available witnessing to a close resemblance to Semang beliefs. Râ-hul (obviously the Indo-Malay Râhu), becoming a dragon, tries to swallow the sun and moon, but is driven away by the beating of drums and bamboo clappers. Kelang Bêlok, a world-eagle, at one time destroyed all human beings except a boy and a girl. With a misprint in the
eagle, and from this pair all mankind are descended. The Sakal are said to imitate in ceremonial exorcism of the spirits of thunder, and it is believed that the forces of nature assist the souls of certain evil spirits or demons, which cause them to harm people, though the forces themselves are not demons. The earth is a thin crust resting on the bottom ocean, and the heavens possess several layers, or tiers; the inhabitants of the uppermost are said to include a female deity who has to wash the sin-blackened souls of the guilty.

The Blandas of Selangor say that the earth was originally the shape of a flat long betel-box (sudok-sudok), the nether ocean had the form of a globular tobacco-box (tujok-tujok), and the heavens were round and over-arching like an umbrella. The Blandas’ account of paradise resembles that of the Eeisii. The latter hold that the souls of the good (or wise) pass away to the Island of Fruit-Trees, which they identify apparently with the moon, or eclipse being the work of a spirit that wishes to annihilate their spirit ancestors, the moon’s inhabitants. This Island of Fruit-Trees is reached by crossing a fallen tree-trunk which serves as a bridge, and from which the wicked fall into a lake or boiling cauldron. This happens only to those who allow themselves to be frightened by a big dog, and run away from the spirits by which the souls must go. The magicians of the tribe are reputed to be able to visit paradise and bring back fruit with them. Gaffer Engkoh dwells in the moon, which he reached by a ladder now broken, and married the youngest dead souls who visit the Island of Fruit-Trees.

The Mantri have not, to any extent, acquired Malay traditions as regards the form, character, and extent of their beliefs. The day spots in the moon they believe, however, to be a tree beneath which sits the moon-man Moyang Bertang, an enemy of mankind, who is constantly making nooses with which to catch them—a task which he is prevented from accomplishing by mice, who continually gnaw through the strings. Eclipses are not attributed to a snake or a dragon, but to a devouring evil spirit. The sky is a great [inverted] copper pot, suspended over the earth by a string, and around its edge the earth is constantly sending up sprouts which would join the stars if an old man did not cut and eat them. In addition to this, the waters of the sea believed by the viz, an idea that the sun is a woman tied by a string which her lord is always pulling, while the stars are the moon’s children. The sun once had as many children as the moon, but, having been tricked by the latter into eating them, now pursues the moon, and, when he succeeds in biting her, causes an eclipse to happen. This explains why the moon hides her children by day.

In the beliefs of the Benna Jakun the world is globular in shape and enclosed in the sky. Farthest north and south are the extremities of a great beam, the north being twenty days’ journey from Boko, where there was a great hill from which the north winds issued. The sun and moon move round the earth, producing darkness and light alternately.

10. Origin of man.—(a) Malay. — What is now the most usual account of the creation of man, from the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, appears to be a Malayized version of the Muhammadan story. Adam was formed from the heart of the earth by the angel Azzard, not without strenuous opposition and protests from the earth itself. A common feature of Malayan romances and legends, which also appears in Japanese folklore, is the idea of an indwelling spirit-origin, describes the supernatural origin of human beings in the interior of some vegetable product, as, e.g., in the story of a giant bamboo, which continually sent forth fresh shoots as it was cut down, and in which King Daśaratha, according to the story in Sri Loka (the Malay version of the Rāmāyana), found the princess, or, again, in the tradition of the discovery of Teh Purli in the river-foam.

(b) Bornean races.—The Semang story of the origin of the human race is more interesting. The first man, seeing that all other animals had children, was desirous of having offspring of her own, but did not know how to obtain them. She and her husband took to dressing a brown monkey over their arm-pits by way of make-believe. But one day the coco-nut monkey (Vro), on noticing what they were doing, gave them advice, as a result of which they had four children, two boys and two girls. These married and had children of their own, but the ring-dove (tekukor) warned the children of the first generation that they had united within the forbidden degrees, and advised them to separate and ‘marry other people,’ in which case their children might intermarry without impropriety.

Among the Mantri the story of their origin forms an incident in a group of myths connected with Mertang, the first medicine-man, and his younger brother, Bło, who came from a place called ‘Rising Land’ (Tanah Bangun) in the sky and returned there after a stay of three days, which the children of two people called ‘Drop of Water’ (Ayer Sá-Titik) and ‘Handful of Earth’ (Tanah Sá-Kêşal), the latter being their mother. Mertang took his youngest sister to wife, and from them the Mantri are descended. Mertang married this woman, but had no offspring. When men increased in numbers to an alarming extent, To Entah (or ‘lord-knows-who’), the first batu, a son of Mertang, drew his father’s attention to the circumstance. Mertang wished things to remain as they were, but Bło suggested that ‘men ought rather to die, after the fashion of the bananas, which itself expires, although its young scions survive.’ Thus it was decided, and so the old die now, although they leave their children behind them. According to another version, the Mantri are descended from two white apes (angkos putih) who sent their young into the plains, whenceupon they developed so rapidly that they and their descendants became men. Yet another version says that men came down from heaven in a ship built by God, which floated upon the waters of the earth, but which was found in the bamboo also occurs among the Mantri. She married the son of the first Raja, and she and her husband both live invisible to this very day.

Benna tradition says that a man and woman were created by Pirman when he formed the world. When the Luminut mountains, the oldest land, rose out of the water, a ship of pulai wood, completely enclosed, in which the man and woman were contained, was left floating on the surface of the water. After the ship ceased to move, they nibbled their way out, and from this pair men are descended. As the male child was born from the right leg and the female from the left, children of the same womb cannot marry. The Jakun say that God created a man and woman in heaven who came down to earth in the State of Johor.

11. Personality; the body and personal possessions. — Malays, in common with all peoples of a primitive civilization, have implicit faith in the magical possibilities of personality and of intimate personal possessions. This is very clearly shown in the beliefs relating to the spiritual or magical powers of the Rajas, the theory of the king as the divine man being strongly held and consistently adhered to. It is told to an initiated that the king originally had the right to slay any one at pleasure,

1 Altonia scholaris, which furnishes the Malay substitute for cork.
MHAMMADAN faith, or the first founders of the village, and persons of local celebrity; but, as a matter of fact, in many if not in most cases, they belong to an earlier state of belief than such an origin would imply. Many of these keramat are well known to all, but fall to the category of these holy places which the Malayans have been asked to interpret them, as being 'spirit places' (keramat jin). For instance, the keramat of Nakhoda ('shipmaster') Usain on Bukit Nyai, near the Jetty, near the kings are exhibiting no sign of any kind of burial. This (orthodox) jin presides over rain and streams and all kinds of water. Incense is burnt here to prevent floods and to get sufficient water for irrigation. It is probable that the name is a later accretion and the rite a relic of the worship of the spirit of streams of water. In another place the keramat is a spring with a profusion on the trunk. This swelling is closely connected with the harvest; it increases in good years and in bad decreases.

In Klang there is a famous wishing-rock, called Batu Tre, to which the Mantri have resorted from time immemorial. A similar rock is situated on the top of Gunong Berembun ('Berembun Crag'), while other mountain summits also have similar wishing-places, each possessing its good spirit. The supplicants bring in these mountains a couple of white fowls and samples of various articles of food in a tray, which is suspended from a tree or placed on the highest peak of the summit. After his wishes have been addressed to the spirit of the mountain, the petitioner sets a meal prepared on the spot for the purpose.

It may be noted, however, that such sacred places were not recognized by the Semang, possibly owing to their nomadic habits. The Sakai and Jakan appear to have set apart certain sites for the purpose of burning incense and registering vows, and to have collected clusters of stones, or medicine-huts, or solitary cells in the depths of the forest, in which the medicine-man kept a selection of his charms and spells, or diminutive shelters which screened him and his patients during the ceremony of exorcism.

13. Rites: prayer and sacrifice.—In the case of both prayer and sacrifice, the Malay standpoint is entirely materialistic. The prayer is invariably a request for material advantage. A claim is increased by repetition. Sacrifice, as is shown by the language of the charm, is, or was originally, regarded as a simple gift. There is evidence, however, of the progression from this point of view to that of homage, and, finally, to that of self-abnegation. The spirit or deity is invited to eat or drink of the offerings placed before him. An intermediate stage between the gift and the idea of homage is marked by the use of substitutes and a sacrifice of parts for the whole. For instance, in the instruction of the magician, 'if the deity demands a human sacrifice, a cock may be substituted'—a statement which points, moreover, to the former prevalence of human sacrifices. In one case a more explicit declaration was made to the present writer, who was told that for a man a buffalo could be substituted, for a woman a goat, for a goat a cock, for a cock an egg—a statement which explains the frequent use of an egg in Malay sacrifices. The idea of abnegation among the Malays appears to be connected with votary monies or vows in which the votary's offering is not regulated by custom, but there is often a tacit understanding that he will sacrifice something of value to himself with a higher degree of sanctity. In theory they are the burial-places of holy men, the early apostles of the

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1 Arab. marhum, 'one who has found [divine] mercy.'
2 From Arab. kirdamah, 'respect,' 'veneration,' 'miracle.'
shrimps; (d) the rite of burning the incense; (e) the scattering of the sacrificial rice; and (d) the application of neutralizing rice-paste to the heads of children and he-goats. The worshippers partake of the flesh of the goats and, in some cases at least, of the yearling rice-straws. The former rite is long since discontinued, which is laid on the shrine now becomes the property of the mosquito attendant (gado), though literally it is doubtless went to the pests.

(5) The burning of incense is the commonest form of burnt sacrifice in the rites performed by the Malays and the rice-straw, which is spread in the form of incense, is regarded as the spiritual nature of the rice-straw. The incense is generally used for scattering on the sacrificial tray after banana-leaves have been spread over it. The saffron-stained and the washed rice are specially with the rice-straw. Rice is generally used for feasts at high places.

(6) Lustration is accomplished by fire or water. Of the former the best example is the use of incense and the recurring practice of child-birth, and washing of the skin by water is an integral portion of a large class of ceremonies, such as those relating to building, fishing, agriculture, marriage, etc. It is called l'ongh tawar, or the neutralizing rice-paste (really rice-flour water) is in use. It consists of the application of the incense, by dabbing, sprinkling, or sprinkling, of a thin paste made of the rice-flour with water, taken up in a leaf-brush or similar instrument. The purpose of the neutralizing rice is to wash the body of the victim, the rice-straw, and the incense. The victim is washed, or the sick, with the result that the person is considered to be cleansed of evil. The materials and formulations vary, of course, with the object and occasion of the ceremony, and the quantities used or burned vary according to the customs of the village, or for the raising the sacrifice, etc.

Short rhythmic chants were often used to accompany the rites, but they were not repeated auditorily.

Developments of the idea of lustration by water are to be found in the following of the mother and child after birth and the washing of the skin on similar occasions, the ablution of the bride and bridegroom, and of village officers, and the annual bathing expeditions which purify the bathers and protect them from evil. Passing in the form of religious purification, or purification, or in a religious sense, is in many cases voluntary, and the victim's sick soul is considered to be cleansed of evil. The use of the royal colour, and the use of the royal or the king himself, ensures the ceremonial use and disposal of water, and of water's forms.

Other words and phrases are held to be dangerous. Other powers and attributes of the medicine-man, may which may appear to be identical with a spirit-medium and to give oracles in trances, and his practice of amnesties and observation of chastity for the time being. His use of mesmerism is not yet recorded, but motor automatism certainly occurs.

14. Magic and the medicine-man. (a) Malay. Although the office of the medicine-man, or magician (pawang), is falling into abeyance in towns, it was at one time of great importance; and this is still the case to a large extent in country districts. A patient may be taken to a medicine-man, between men and spirits, and, although he has no connexion with the Muhammadan religion, without him no village community would be complete. The office of the medicine-man is often hereditary, or at least confined to the members of one family. Certain properties, such as a peculiar kind of head-dress, as, for instance, the regalia or official insignia, and are handed down from one generation to another. The functions of the medicine-man are many and diverse. Few of the operations of life can be undertaken without his intervention. In fishing, trapping, and hunting, in the gathering of jungle produce, in the collection of natural materials, such as medicinal plants, in sowing, reaping, irrigation, and clearing the jungle, the medicine-man is consulted, as a guide, for the treatment of the. Not the least important of his powers is that of calling the rain. The art of calling the rain is of great importance, and is still practised in Malay weather charms. For his services in these matters he receives a small payment.

For the most part the pawang's instructions consisted of spitting out rice; e.g., it is pawang in some places to work in the rice-fields on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the lunar month; certain instruments such as a small instrument consisting of a crescent-shaped blade, set transversely in a slip of bamboo, which will cut only one or two grains of rice at a time; must be used to begin the reaping. By these prohibitions, it may be concluded, the pawang preserves the traditional method of an older régime—e.g., in enforcing an absolute prohibition on the sale of all maximum prices for the sale of rice and other articles within the village, in contrast to the demands of a fair harvest.

The pawang is sometimes supposed to keep a familiar spirit which is hereditary in the family, enabling him to deal similarly with wild spirits of a noxious character, and also to bewitch and thus to punish people who are bold enough to dispute his authority. Such punishment is usually inflicted by a 'sending,' or 'pointing,' one form of which consisted in pointing a kris in the direction of the intended victim, the point of the dagger beginning to drip blood as soon as the victim began to work. Another form consists in burning the point of the cord of a newly opened bunch of bananas growing on the tree; this causes excruciating agony; the pain is afterwards succeeded by death of the victim dies vomiting blood, his heart having fallen out of its proper position. The Malay witch also commonly keeps a familiar, which may have as its embodiment a night-owl, a balinese, etc.

In certain respects, it is important to note, the magician stands on the same footing as the divine man or king; e.g., he possesses a regalia which is called by the same name (klbntarum) as the insignia of royalty, he may (at least in some cases) use the royal colour, and he may, like the king himself, ensure the ceremonial use and disposal of water, and of water's forms. Probably both offices are held to be dangerous. Other powers and attributes of the medicine-man which may appear to be identical with a spirit-medium and to give oracles in trances, and his practice of amnesties and observation of chastity for the time being. His use of mesmerism is not yet recorded, but motor automatism certainly occurs.

1 Although the office of magician is hereditary, the power may be acquired by certain recognized methods. One is the ability to raise the victim, the victim is the victim of a victim, by means of incantations and incantations performed at the grave-side.

The Malays themselves make some distinctions between the pawang and the borom, the latter being the medicine-man who is concerned especially with the curing of diseases. The two terms are, however, sometimes used as if they were interchangeable. The basic principles of the medicine man's art are identical with those of the pawang; they depend upon a belief in spirits, and the aim of his treatment is either to propitiate or to overcome their influence.

The borom's procedure in dealing with disease falls under two clearly distinguished headings. First comes the ceremonial inspection or diagnosis, when the character of the therapeutic treatment is determined by divination, by means of omens from the smoke of burning incense, by the position of the victim taken in a water-jar, or by the aspect of parched rice floating on the water's surface.

The therapeutic rites are various in character; constituting:

(1) Propitiatory ceremonies, the most popular of which is the use of the sacrificial tray called tondih, a small frame of bamboo or wood decorated with a trims, on which offerings of food are laid for the spirits to eat when it has been hung in a suitable spot outside the house.
As an alternative method models of certain objects are placed upon the tray, the evil spirits are invited to enter them, and the tray is then got rid of by being hung up in the jungle or set astride on the sea or nearest river.

(2) Neutralizing ceremonies—the use of counter-charms to nullify the evil influence of an evil principle of life, is found among the medicine-men to cure all cases where any evil principle (even a terrestrial spirit) is supposed to have entered a sick person's body. The ceremonies of appealing such evil spirit usually consists in making powder from a grazed bamboo-stalk or cnot with water and spreading it around the sick person, reciting the incantation.

(3) Expiatory ceremonies—rites intended to expel from the patient's body all kinds of evil influences or principles, such as may have entered him on his touching a dead animal or bird, or from meeting the "Wild Hunter." The evil principle known as the patient's "rind" or soul, has everything to do with what is sick, including inert objects such as trees, and even stones and minerals, which, in the Malay view, are animates. Of these evil principles or "rinds" there are one hundred and ninety, or, according to some, one hundred and ninety-three. To "cast out the rind" the patient is soaked down with a brush (made of certain prescribed leaves and plant-sprays) which has been dried in water in which woods have been grated or pieces of scrap-iron allowed to soak, or else he is rubbed with limes, appropriate charms being recited in either case. In another form of the ceremony the "mistimed" is driven from the patient on a long red thread, which the patient holds in his hand, until it reaches certain dough images of birds, beasts, and fishes, placed upon the anvil. A "disease-bolt," sometimes a mere reed, is also used as a vehicle for the spirit and set about on sea or jungle. The evil spirit may also be expelled by a long and elaborate ceremony in which a protective spirit, such as the tiger, or children's spirit, is supposed to be present, in which cases the spirit, acting upon the medicine-man, who, while in a state of possession performs some incantation over the animal-spirit summoned, expel the evil by its superior spiritual powers.

(4) Religious or sacrificial ceremonies—to recall the sick person's "rind" which has been rolled into a human figure, which is laid upon five cushions of white cloth, Red-dye is thrown on, and the person burned, and a cord connected to the image, the anointed to enter the dough image and be transformed into the soul-cloth, and thence to the patient. Similar ceremonies are used to prevent the "smaugat" of a swooning person from escaping.

(5) Pagan race.—The belian (shaman, or medicine-man) most prominent in any tribe among the Senasan. In normal circumstances the chiefs or head-men are always belians of more or less reputation. They observe certain prohibitions which do not affect ordinary members of the tribe; they may not eat the flesh of domestic animals like the goat or buffalo, and that of domestic fowls but rarely. They receive a special form of burial, traditionally regarded as specially honourable, consisting of a rude shelter built in a tree, in which are placed a modicum of food and water, a jungle-knife, etc. It is believed that they are able to proceed to paradise in trances to drive out disease, and that they are the "charmers" that never fail, and can slay men by "smaugats" at a distance of several days' journey. They alone have the power to change themselves into verticillae or verticillae-like objects, by means of which they enter the body of an elephant, tiger, or rhinoceros. When the latter dies, they proceed to paradise.

Not merely are diseases caused by demons, but they are demons, and have to be exorcized as such. They are abstracted sympathetically from the body by pulling up sapling stumps at or near the place where the disease is believed to have entered the patient. The affected part is rubbed with earth taken from the bed in which the root grew, chewed betel is ejected on the body (in imitation of the Malay medicine-man), and the hurrying of dead saplings into the wood, so that the evil spirits may be made to enter the Christian service. The word is not used as a word which means to enter a ceremony. "Smaugats" or "paintings" are achieved by a minute dart or splinter of bamboo about two inches long, which is laid on the right palm and is ordered to "dry and play the violin." This dart or splinter flies through the air and, reaching the victim, pierces his heart and kills him. Sometimes a taper formed of wax from a deserted bees'comb is burned at the same time. Such "smaugats" were said by the Shah to be effective at "a distance of probably two days' journey."

The Mantri believe that all diseases are caused either by the spells of bad men or by spirits. Among the latter are the smallpox demon, which the Mantri regard even more mention than the dropped demon (hantu dembong), which haunts the abodes of men and afflicts them with pains in the stomach and head; the Demon Hunter (the hantu ci jakun, or spirit who, in lakes or pools, is black, and blackened by a certain plant which he will cause to chase a man in the forest; if they catch him, they will drink his blood. In every stream, in the ground, in trees, and in caves and crevices of rocks, dwell malignant demons who cause disease or mischief to men in various ways, as by sucking their blood and thus causing their death. When a person is wounded, the hantu pari fastens on the lesion and causes the blood to flow by sucking. The Berembun tribe believe that diseases are inflicted by the spirits of the rivers (hantu sungun), which are evil and feed on the human smaugat.

The Mantri's most noted form of 'smaugat' is the tijus, or pointing ceremony, which is achieved by the use of wax from an abandoned bee's nest.

When a wind blows in the direction of the victim, the magic takes a vessel of water and a lighted candle or two, and matters to an end. If the victim is a man, the man discards his image of his intended victim in the water, he throws the image of his intended victim to the sea. If the victim is a woman, he carries it to his victim. The latter feels as if struck by some unseen assailant, and is immediately seized by sickness, which may result in death, should the strength of the spell be great enough.

This attack may be averted if the victim has surrounded himself by counter-spells or charms of a prophylactic character. These may not only ward off the blow, but may prevent the magic from seeing the image of the victim in the water. Among the Jakun the magician is an order combining the offices of priest, physician, and sorcerer. They and the Besi medicine-men are much dreaded by the Malays, who believe them (as autochtones) to be more powerful than their own magicians, especially, e.g., in matters in which the performance of the Besi berasnan ceremony is likely to be effective. Not only can the medicine-men cure, but they can inflict disease and death also. This is usually inflicted by the 'pointing,' or tijus, ceremony. Even tigers are subject to these medicine-men, and every magician of repute is believed to have one in constant attendance. The smaugat passes directly into the body of the animal, or the magician's power are accompanied by the music of the gendong, a long bamboo stick by sticks, which are always made of wood of the merasan tree. Conjunctions are addressed to Jiwa-jiva (=Mal.-Skr. devos- dence), who resides in heaven and alone can approach Pirman. The incantations last all night for one, two, three, or four nights, until the medicine-man announces that he has received the medicine or that the deity is inexorable. The Berembun tribes, like the Malas, attribute the magician's powers to his command over spirits. Every shaman has disciples, who accompany him when he visits the sick. They also read divination, and other men's man's questions respecting the mode of treating the diseased person. The Jakun of Madek (Johor) believed that the great magicians (payang bêvar) of the tribe could reach heaven itself, and that they could appear without dying or else, on sickening for death, by arranging to have incense burned over them for two days after their apparent decease, they could return to life again.
A ceremony of exorcism known as søk, or, more commonly, as sarnu, is employed by the Bésii in case of illness or when an answer is required to a question concerning the welfare of an individual. The ceremony takes place in a hut in complete darkness. After incantations accompanied by the rhythmic drumming of bamboo-stamps, the central beam of the floor, the spirit denominated by one member of the company and questions put to him while he is in a state of trance or possessed, obtains a woman or a small boy, the chamber or cell (batu bolon) near the walls of the hut, in which he encounths himself while the ceremony progresses. The Blaanis employ spells and exorcisms to cast out disease and evil spirits. Spirits of tigers, elephants, and monkeys are summoned to enter the magician's body, and the sick man is then brushed with leaves seven times downwards from head to foot while a charm is repeated. In the blood-throwing charm water is used, and a charm against the Wild Huntsman is also recited.

15. Birth ceremonies and beliefs. — (a) Malay. — There are four spirits, or, rather, demons, which are especially feared by the Malays in relation to child-birth. The bejang, a demon which appears in the form of a civet-cat, is evoked by incantation over the grave of a still-born child. It may, however, enter the body of any small boy or girl, and the demon can send illness, usually in the form of convulsions or delirium, to an enemy. It is especially insidious to children, who are sometimes made to wear a black silk sash or piece of cotton around their neck, to protect them from its attacks. The languir, a woman who has died in childbirth, becomes a flying demon, or bannsee, who, through a hole in the back of her neck, sucks the blood of children. It is believed that these demons have on occasion become wives and mothers, but, when allowed to dance at village merrymakings, they will assume their original form and fly off again into the forest. The pontunak is the still-born daughter of a languir. As a precaution intended to prevent the dead mother or still-born child from originating these mischief, the languir and pontunak are buried with glass beads in the mouth (to prevent them from shrieking), an egg under each armpit (to prevent them from waving their arms in flight), and needles in the palm of each hand (to prevent them from opening and shutting their hands in flight). The pontunak appears under the form of a species of night-owl, the békanggalan, a colossal flying head with hair matted by clots of blood, a species of monstrous vampire or bannsee that sucks the blood of children, six or eight inches long, and by jerking its body along its way through the floor, whenever a child is born, to attack the infant. In addition to these four spirits specifically connected with child-birth, there are the familiar two, called polong and pélésít, which also give rise to anxiety at this time, though they do not congregate to activities of newborn children. The polong originates from the blood of a murdered man which has been placed in a bottle and over which certain incantations have been recited. It is described as a diminutive female figure about as large as the top joint of the little finger, and is usually preceded by the pélésít, its pet or favourite, which is in the custom of eating or devouring for a victim and enters his body, when found, tail foremost. The pélésít is obtained by exhuming the body of a first-born child, a first-born mother's earring, or of an old person, who had to suffer an attack by the victim's tongue, with incantations in a spot where three cross-roads meet. It has been noticed that these demons belong to the spirit world, and that they are sent by the 'roasting-ghosts' to cause aberration of mind or even the death of the unfortunate patient. At the end of the forty-fourth day a purificatory ceremony takes place, wherein the floor is smeared with rice cosm...
and scratched over by the claws of a fowl held tightly in the grasp of the cleaner. At about the same period, of the forty-fifth day, the child (in Perak) is presented to the river-spirits, being made to stand with one foot on a couple of coco-nuts and the other on a fowl (both of which have been deposited in the water). A boy then, if the infant is a boy, is set in, up-stream to catch a fish with a casting-net, if a girl, the girl sets as the fisher. In Upper Perak the boy himself, with a number of other young children, is caught in the net; he will then never want for fish to feed on.

During the forty-four days' period there are only many food prohibitions—e.g., any foods which, from the Malay point of view, are lowering, such as certain vegetable foods, things which irritate the skin or cause flatulence, containing (except coco-nut sugar), coco-nuts themselves, and chillies are prohibited.

Both before and after child-birth many prohibitions are laid not only on the wife, but also on her husband. The latter may not shave his head or cut his hair until after the child's birth; he may not sit in or obstruct the doorway. Any untoward act may cause deformity: a child was born with no forehead and little finger on the left hand owing to the father having, previously to the child's birth, killed a crab with a cutlass. In fact, it was at one time prohibited for him to cut the throat of a buffalo or a fowl preparatory to cooking it, or even to take any fish whatsoever.

In Perak any log marked by, or distorted in growth by, a parasite, if used in building the house, would cause deformity, protract delivery, and shorten the life of both mother and infant.

(b) Pagan races. —Superstitions and practices connected with birth, so far as known among the pagan tribes, or, rather, among those pagan tribes for whom the wild origin of the Malays is here claimed, strongly confirm the view that the popular beliefs of the more highly civilized natives of the peninsula are essentially primitive in character. The operation of roasting the mother, e.g., of course on a quite minor scale, is found among the Jakan, Besisi, and Mantri, while among the Blandias the charms used at birth are directed against the demons, the langkali (Malay longwir), polong, and poncunak—identical, at least in name, with those of the Malays.

Another incantation is repeated at the moment of removing the caul as a charm against the caul-demon, which licks up the blood of the child. The mezakhus, the umbilicus and placenta under human inhalations so that the rain may not beat upon them and turn them into birth-demons.

It must be stated, however, that our knowledge of the birth customs of the pagan tribes is by no means adequate, and the whole subject awaits further investigation. In one account of the Semang, for instance, it was alleged that their birth customs were based upon a belief in a bird-soul which was carried by the expectant mother in a bamboo receptacle; but, although the conception of the simangai as a bird is certainly familiar to the Malays, this statement still awaits confirmation among the wild tribesmen. Both Sakai and Jakun make use of the services of a sage-femme, who, among the former, has a special hut used by the women of the tribe for round labor, and administered to the mother. The sap of certain leaves is given to the child, and a charm is repeated. A name, which is retained until marriage, is given him,

when the umbilical cord is severed. The Benua Jakun fastened round the neck of the child at birth a string to which pieces of turmeric, and so forth, were attached. Jakun also observed a number of food prohibitions: while the child was unable to walk, the parents abstained from certain fish and animal foods, the latter including fowls and eggs, deer of all kinds, tortoises, and lizards.

16. Adoration of the Child (b) Malay. —Of the purely Malay ceremonies at adolescence the most important are the felling of the teeth and the cutting of the first locks of hair—the latter, of course, only when, owing to some vow of the parents, the ‘first head-shaving’ operation has been postponed until marriage.

Tooth-filing is done by a professional tooth-wizard (papang gigi). Neutralizing rice-paste, charms, and the scattering of the several kinds of sacred rice and rings of precious metal is usually done by the waki, the ‘tooth-wizard’ (badi) from his instrument, as well as from the teeth of the patient. The medicine-man’s eyes are considered to be especially encharmed by the badi emanating from the teeth, while an unskilled performer may cause much pain to the patient if he does not know thoroughly how to ‘neutralize’ the evil.

The rings of precious metal which are pressed against the patient’s teeth at the act of extraction are usually used in the hair-cutting ceremony. The bride’s hair is arranged in seven long tresses, each one of which, on occasion, strands her head; to each of these is attached a ring of precious metal, and these rings, being on being cut, is allowed to fall with the attached ring into a coco-nut vessel (ornamented for the purpose with a chevron edging), which is used to contain the hair. As the ceremony also the proceedings are opened by the appearance of the bride with the hair-cutting rice-water, sprinkled over the palm of her left hand, by those who take part in the ceremony.

The ear-boring ceremony appears to have fallen into abeyance, though in some of the Malay States a special kind of large, round, ornamental ear-ring, or ear-stud, is still the mark of virginity. Significantly, the ear-studs of a virgin bride are tied on to the ear-lobes of a widow who remedies the latter being regarded, so to speak, as a sort of ‘merry widow’, and being, in fact, actually called jeeringly ‘the widow adorned’ (jamala bbr-bhigans). Ear-boring is now usually performed when the child is quite an infant.

Circumcision is practised, the instrument being traditionally a knife of bamboo, but in all the more accessible of the practice it seems to be entirely a non-Musulmanad rite. Especially in the Northern States it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant detail as to suggest that it has been grafted upon an ancient festival (probably the tamurah cerimoni) belonging to an older faith than that of Islam. 1

It is accompanied by the usual purificatory rites, and the ceremony is usually an occasion for a large gathering, at which the bride’s hair is dressed like a pilgrim and stained with henna like a bride-groom, after which the customary gifts are offered. In Pahang she is then taken aside and robbed in rich garments, her mouth filled with the sacrificial satroon-stained rice, and her body sprinkled with the purifying rice-dust. After this, two coco-nuts and two small packets of rice are slowly rolled over him from head to foot. A hen is then placed on his chest to pick up grains of the yellow rice from his mouth. This is done to drive away ill-luck.2 The boy’s teeth are next tapped with a stone by the operator, and, after feasting, a procession to the river follows, the object of which is to propitiate the water-spirits. The boy then takes his top-knot shorn off and returns to the house for the actual circumcision, during which he takes his seat either on a sack of rice or on the stem of a banana. In the procession the yondua are sometimes worn on the shoulders, sometimes (east coast) in a litter shaped like some strange bird or the head of an ox.

The girl’s ceremony is much simpler, much more private; it was formerly accompanied by ear-boring and tooth-filing, and by staining the teeth ‘black as a horer-bee’s wing’. Large round ear-studs were also formerly assumed by girls at this period, as ornaments, but, as not being permissible until sometimes worn on the east coast, they are now assumed, on the west coast, at the wedding ceremony, in preparation for the rite of discarding them a few days later.3

In the same part of the peninsula (east coast) the ceremony is still the morning the child ‘awakes from being born into Islam,’ but, most significantly, masak jai, 4


which means literally 'admission into the body of the Malay people'—the most usual meaning of jawi being the vernacular, or 'Malay,' language. Yet another term for the ceremony in these parts was 'Betrothal,' which, from the fact that it is used by the tribes, as the word for the act of 'marriage,' is a phrase which is also applied in the same parts of the country to marriage.

(b) Pagan races.—Of the various operations with which a marriage ceremony is crowned is the making of the attainment of maturity, neither inclusion nor circumcision is practised by the wild tribes except, in the case of the former, among the Semang, and the Jakus, of the Batau Pahat in Johor, and the Benua, and, in the case of the latter, as elsewhere, only where Musulman influence has penetrated. It may, in fact, be said that the rite is virtually synonymous with conversion to Islam, and that it may be taken as the broad dividing line between Musulman and mere pagan.

Nor, with the exception of a single record from the Perak Sakai, is there any tainting in the strict sense of the expression. Sacrification, however, is found among both Semang and Sakai, but not among the Jakus, and, judging both from distribution and from frequency, there is good reason to believe that this was among the Semang, and was introduced, though only to a limited degree, among the Sakai. The scarification consists of divergent lines on the cheek from the nose towards the ear, produced by the scratches of a file. The flesh is then made to bleed, and charcoal being rubbed into these scratches by way of pigment. Body-painting is of wider distribution, and is to be seen among Semang, Sakai, and Jakus, but more especially among the Sakai. The colours used are black, white, red, and occasionally yellow. The designs are decorative and magical rather than tribal. Perforation of the nasal septum with a bone-bar, which is the practice in the Semang, is also found among the Andamanese kindred.

17. Betrothal and marriage.—(a) Malay. Negotiations for marriage and the ceremony of betrothal are carried out by representatives of the families implicated. The betrothal is a simple affair, consisting chiefly of the offering of betel-leaf by the representatives of the prospective bridegroom and its acceptance by the bride's parents, the two parties meeting in a 'family circle,' at which the offer used originally to be made, and the reply given, in rhyming stanzas. The term of the engagement is then settled. The amount of the marriage settlement is fixed by custom at two breaths of dollars ($22, about £2, 6s.) in Selangor, or $31-25 (about £3, 5s.) in Perak, etc. The sum is not usually mentioned unless a modification of the condition of the marriage is fixed by custom at two breaths or at a distance.
is then taken to the bride, and both are seated ceremonially side by side (dining). 5 On the day and partake of rice, each family distributes rice to their relatives (in the case of Selangor, Bicu), and then give the fruit, with dower and leaf, to the guests as wedding favours. On the third day of the instructions which follow the marriage ceremony of bringing good fortune take place in the evening. Later, at night, a henrope was formerly bound to the heads of the bride's father and mother. In many cases, the bride's parents were not present. He was escorted back to his house next day, and a water-fight with syringes called "water-bows" took place (presumably the Slip-knot) before the formally erected pavilion between the friends of the two parties. After this the bride and bridegroom each pulled one end of a slip-knot made of young coconut root, and the bridegroom broke through threads wound seven times round himself and the bride; in some cases (Patan) the threads were severed by burning. Seven days after the concluding feast-day the rice of the "discarding of the ear-rings"—the ear-rings to the ladies—takes place. For two years the bridegroom may be expected to remain under the roof of his mother-in-law. It has been remarked that in the "bridal rice" (kasin-berat), in the "bridal thread" (Jakun panchari), and in the "bathing pavilion" (balasip panchari) are not only Indian names, but Indian names as well. In addition to this regular form of marriage with the consent of the girls' parents, the Malays recognized another form of marriage when the parents were not favorably disposed to the marriage. Among the Monogamy, the most distinctive feature, however, in theJacun marriage was the use made of a conical or, rather, half-spherical mound of earth, sometimes as actual and artificial "flowers," the latter being representations of the sun. The latter, with rays, etc., and other forms of symbolical parts. The union was consummated at this mound the bride was pursued by the bridegroom, in some cases three, in others seven, times; if he succeeded in catching her, they were regarded as married. In the case of Kuala Langat (Selangor) the bridegroom was conducted before the present was given seven times round the "nature of the rice of the marriage ceremony" and the bride once, before they parted with a common kiss, consisting of a dish of rice and drink from a horn of water which had been placed on top of the bride's head. This was, of course, a survival of the mound-race ceremony. In one form of this among the Matsa the bridegroom was not in the bridal procession, but the portable took place round a circle of varying size; in the case of the Jakun, the kisses and kisses were given by the bride and the bridegroom. The kiss is a mark of respect among the Matsa. The kiss (Orang Dara) was, it is important to note, among the Sea-Tribes (orang laut) of Johor a ceremony in which the bride had to be pursued by the bridegroom for a given distance on the river, in cases. Monogamy was generally, though not invariably, the rule. Although marriage was recognized as strictly binding by the Bési and other Jakun, yet at their drinking carnival (main jôö), which took place at the end of the rice-harvest, they were allowed to change their wives if they wished. Monogamy was generally, though not invariably, the rule. Although marriage was recognized as strictly binding by the Bési and other Jakun, yet at their drinking carnival (main jôö), which took place at the end of the rice-harvest, they were allowed to change their wives if they wished. This preparation of the body for the grave includes ceremonial washings, which should be performed while it rests on the stretched legs of four people (members of the family sitting on the floor. Allowing volunteers for this office, hanoa-stans are used as rollers. A final washing of "nine waters" is performed by the women (if accessible). The shroud of water being scattered to the right, three to the left, and three over the head, from head to foot. The corpse is then placed on the mattress. In the position which it is to occupy in the grave, lying, that is, the right side with the head to the north, and face looking towards Mecca, and Perak—"the entombment of the body." If the kiss before the shroud is fastened, they must be careful that no tears fall on the shroud, the ceremony is not completed. The position of the body in the grave depends upon the kind of coffin used. If it is a single-plank box, the body is placed in a recess at the left side of the grave, and the plank is fixed in a sloping position with pickets closing the aperture, so that the body itself may not allow the earth to fall upon it. Another kind of receptacle 6 1 "Wherever the old Falang (Sumatra) tradition exists—in Patang, Johor, Bako, Malacca, Selangor, and Perak—the documents or kossinings vary little. But if we look at the Romance of the world over, the ceremonies are quite different, the regalia are different. We see before us the ghost of the eastern Northern Celebes and the old high civilization that has been crushed out of existence by the Siamese" (Wilkinson, p. 70).


3 P. 28.

4 According to one account, the bride and bridal attendent
burial customs exhibit considerable variation, but they are especially significant as revealing the attitude of the various groups towards death, and particularly towards the dead. The Semang appear to have no special fear of the dead, although they do exhort their deceased friends to think of the spirits of their departed ancestors and not to trouble the living. The Semak, on the other hand, appear to have great terror of the spirits of the dead, and it is usual for them not merely to desert the house in which any one has died, but to abandon the whole clearing, even if the other houses standing nearby are not distinguished from both the Semang and the Sakai by the tender care which they show for their dead relatives.

The Semang method of interment is simple. Among the Negritos (Semang) practised tree-burial. The bodies of their medicated dead may still occasionally be seen exposed in trees in the forest—this being a more honourable form of burial. Among the Malays a tradition is current that the Semang used once upon a time to devour their dead. It is unnecessary to place any credence in this statement; its importance lies in the fact that it probably alludes to the existence at one time of a custom analogous to that of the Andaman Islanders, who disinter and dismember their dead after the_scores_of_days.

Of Sakai methods of burial little is known with certainty, the reason being apparently the fact that they threw the bodies of their dead into the jungle, or simply left them to rot away in their primitive hut-shelters. It is certain that they have always shown the utmost abhorrence and terror of the dead, abandoning their huts—and even clearing with growing crops—had happened to their encumbrance. A modified form or survival of platform-burial is found among the so-called Sakai of Selangor (Ulu Langat), by whom the body was exposed on a platform in front of the house for forty-eight or seventy-two hours, or even longer, as death occurred. Jakun (or Malay) ritual and practice are more elaborate than those of the Semang, and in the solicitude shown for the welfare of the departed imply an entirely different mental attitude towards death from that of the Sakai and the Semang. In many respects there is close affinity with Malay customs.

The body is carefully washed and prepared for the grave. It is covered with white cloth, and laid on a mat, which, in turn, is placed upon a tree-bark wrapper. This tree-bark is then lashed round the body and used for carrying it to the grave-side. Frequently the blade of a chopper (parang) is laid on the breast of the departed. The orang could cut a hole in any of the cloths in order that the corpse may 'breathe' more fully. It is customary also for them to make crosses on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet with a yellowish red which, on being bruised, leaves a stain behind it. By these marks the deceased person may recognize, on waking in the other world, that he or she is really lifeless. At the grave the tree-bark wrapper is removed, and the body is laid on its back, or sometimes facing east if an adult, and head of the child toward the sun. The covering, in accordance with the Malay custom, is formed from pickets covered with tree-bark or a similar material (also a Malay usage) to keep the earth from striking the body. The orangs (Men’s) place a dish of boiled rice at the feet for the spiritual needs of the one dead, but the orang (Men’s) is commonly the custard to lay in the grave some or all of the property of the deceased, usually among the daily duties of the sexes. An extremely interesting practice among the British consists in their erecting, a yard or two away from the foot of a grave, a small tree trunk but thatched with a big fan palm-leaf made to lean against it, fitted with a stick or it by which the grave may be opened. In the hut are

(a) Pagan races.—Among the pagan tribes the

(b) Pagan races.—Among the pagan tribes the
placed models of domestic and other utensils and implements, such as distaffs, looms, tortoise, hand-sheets, and fish, and fruits, water, and sugar. When the grave has been filled in, the seeds are scattered about the grave, so that in order to provide the ghost, when the grain has grown up, and ripened, with suitable nourishment. Among these people it was traditional to take two or three to two or three men to scatter the corn on each side of the grave and simultaneously to let fall two choppers, horizontally. One represents the circle in which the brew would be, thus being done in order to fix the ghost in the grave and to prevent it from harassing the living. The Malays believe that the dead (no doubt the deceased) scattered the fragments on the grave mound. At each end of the mound they plant a banana plant. In a more common belief a banana plant is covered with white cloth similar to those used by the Malays, and, again like the Malays, they enclose the grave, when made up, with a framework of wooden planking.

The feeling for the welfare of the dead which is expressed among the Balais by the seed-rice sown over the grave is also responsible for the decorating of a number of offerings at or near the place of interment. The Belais themselves plant yams, sweet potatoes, etc., near by, while on the grave of a mahak (trivial chief) described by D. F. A. Harvey (JRAS, Straits Branch, No. 2 [1921], p. 140), were sticks to serve as ladders for the soul to climb up, coco-nut shells, a torch in a stand, and a cooking-pot, as well as the basket in which firewood is usually carried. This grave was also provided with a trench in which the dead man could paddle his canoe—apparently a link with heathenism of the Malay-Bornean. As his canoe was placed up-right near the face of a child, with one end projecting from the grave—undoubtedly a survival of an earlier custom of feeding the corpse through the bamboo, as is still done by the Dayaks of Borneo. It was not uncommon for a fire to be lighted near the grave, as the Malays believed that the spirits visited the grave on the third and seventh days and one month after interment. The spirits of the dead are used as weapons, though not weapons, abandoned house and clearing after a death; usually, however, this took place after a month's interval.

In Omens, divination, and ordeals. - Astrological calculations based upon the supposed values of signs and the promises of numbers are largely employed in divinatory ritual. Exhaustive tables of unlucky and lucky times and seasons have been compiled by the Malays, but are proved to have been largely translated from Indian or Arabic sources. The oldest and best known of the 'magic squares' founded upon these systems is that known as the 'five times' (katika timur), in which the day is divided into five parts, while five days form a cycle, the name of a Hindu divinity being assigned to each division. Mystic values are also attached to certain colours in connexion with these divisions. Another scheme is based upon the seven heavenly bodies, the divisions being, correspondingly, seven in number. Malayana astrological knowledge and the signs of the zodiac upon which the various systems are founded appear to be largely a West Indian-Chinese, and there can be little doubt that the original home of this lore was Babylonia (or Chaldea), and some part of it may have come into India-Persian channels. The day is divided into 360 rows, thirty in each, with a separate symbol, is based upon the twenty-eight nakshatras, or lunar mansions, of the Hindus, rather than upon the asaved of the Arabs. The Malays are especially partial to the magic square, which generally takes the form of the magic square once used in Europe, but sometimes works conversely—the latter being, doubtless, the older native form proper to the Malays. In this method, the Malays introduce both coloured squares and the names of five of the greater Hindu deities. Besides these squares, many other magic figures—pentacles, compass-lates, and the like—are much used by Malay diviners.

In interpreting omens from dreams the method usually employed is that the initial letter of the thing dreamt of determines the character of the omen. T is very unlucky, N indicates sorrow, H a visitor from a distance, and so on. In another system an almost entirely arbitrary interpretation is given to the subject-matter of the dream, or, in most, it is interpreted by analogy. In a third method, however, the nature of the thing dreamt does actually suggest its interpretation, with the proviso that so-called 'direct' dreams come only on the eve of a Friday, whereas on other days the dream works out in a different manner.

It may be added that the doctrine of luck plays a most important part in what may be called Malayan 'natural religion.' By certain signs and omens the Malays are enabled to predict both the good and the bad, and animals are either credited with the possession of luck or believed to be invested with the power of bringing it to others; in a fine passage the Malay door-guardian spirit (the house alma) is likened to a tom-cat-

From the seven Hills and the seven Valleys
Comes the intense barking of my Hounds.
My Hounds are Hounds of Luck,
Not Luck that is adventitious,
But Luck incarnate in their bodies.1

Even inert objects, such as krisives and other weapons, may be brimful of luck, or otherwise.

(a) Malay.—Omens and divinations play a part in the everyday department of life's activities in Malaya. Equal significance is attached to signs deduced from the acts of men and those taken from the events of nature.

Among the signs taken from natural events, the following may be mentioned.

A star in apparent proximity to the moon portends an approaching wedding. The entrance of an animal which does not usually frequent the house denotes ill-fortune. If the cattle are barked at by a wild jungle-dog is a fatal portent; a wild bird entering the house should be caught carefully and measured with oil and then released in the open air, a formula being recited which beds it fly away with all the ill-luck or misfortunes of the household. Omens are taken from the sight and cries of certain birds, such as the night-owl, night-jar, or emperor-pigeon, the crow, and certain kinds of wild dove, as well as from a bird called the 'rice a husband.'

Such prognostics are drawn from entirely fortuitous events, but they may also be the natural reply to actions initiated by the inquirer. In such cases we have the rite of divination properly so-called (tilik = Skr. tilaka, 'mark').

One form of divination is effected by means of a lemon which, after offerings have been made and certain ceremonies performed, is suspended with incantations over a brazer by seven strands of coloured cord, or is dropped into a receptacle through a needle. The motes of the suspended lemon answer questions as to the negative or affirmative, or whether the inquirer cover a shawl by indicating which of a number of names written in paper is that of the guilty man. The water is then boiled with water held in the palm of the hand, or saliva, or a bowl filled with water and covered with a cloth upon which the names of suspected persons are successively placed is employed to discover those who may have been guilty of stealing. In the last-named case, two men each place a finger in the bowl, which begins to turn when the name of the culprit is placed upon the cloth above it. Another method is the use of the medicine-man of a divining-end composed of one, three, or more rat-tat-tats, inscribed with magical devices, and connected at the base or head-end, which vibrate when the third approaches; these rods may also be used for treasure- or water-finding, as by our own 'dowsers,' and also even for exercising demons.

It is noteworthy that the Malays attribute the arts of the diviner to animals as well as to men; thus the tiger is said to employ divination when it wishes to secure a human victim, just as tigers are believed to poliute themselves with tilak tilak (the medicinally applied to the newly circumcised) when wounded.

An important and solemn ordeal was that by diving. This required the consent of the Sultan, and could be brought about by the pressure of the four great (west coast) chieftains.

In the case of a dispute, each of the adversaries in defence of his own case wrote a statement, or a malam, this document inscribed in a bamboo sheath or covering. One of these bamboo receptacles is given to each of the two

1 Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 182.
adversaries, who are escorted to the river and placed up to their necks in the water. A huge red pole, then made to rest upon their heads and, at a given signal, they are both pressed downwards. Each remains under the water as long as he can, but not more than three minutes. As the bodies rise to the surface, his staff is taken from him. The winner is led back, having his head, as it were, crowned with the beaten brass of the bystanders.

(b) Pagan races.—The savage Malays of Malacca also paid much attention to omens when a new clearing was to be made, and charms were used to expel the jungle spirits. The Mantri, in choosing a new locality for a clearing, paid strict attention to the attitude of the spirits toward his undertaking as signified by the dreams of the party. To dream of being chased by a dog or an enemy, entering water, or being flooded out, was an evil omen; to dream of felling or climbing trees, of ascending trees, or of growing plants was of good import.

Divination among the Sakai, so far as records go, is practically non-existent. Among the Jakun it is employed as a part of their medical diagnosis, but, whether used as a part of a tribal or group ceremony or by the medicine-man alone, it falls more properly under the category of sorcery.

20. Charms, amulets, and talismans.—(a) Malay.—Not only does the Malay attempt to foresee the coming of evil, but he endeavours to ward it off by charms and talismans. Charms in the shape of invocations are extremely numerous, and are addressed to every conceivable form of spirit on every conceivable occasion. But, in addition, free use is made of charms of a more material character. Examples of this class include a length of the semangat (Malacca cane) with a joint equal to the height of the owner, which protects him from snakes and animals; so, too, the ‘coconut-pear’ (apparently a form of ‘tabashee’), the ‘eyeless coconut’ (which confers invulnerability by ‘sympathy’), the ‘dragon’s blood’ rattan or cane, the tiger’s whiskers and claws, and many others are all, for various reasons, much sought after by warriors. Some of these are directly effective, others work only by influencing the volition of another mind, as in the case of love-charms, charms for securing conjugal fidelity, and so forth. In most cases the charm consists of a short Arabic or Malay and Arabic prayer or a few magical letters or figures inscribed on paper or cloth and worn on the person. The important use of a charm is to enable the devotee of this magic to abduct the semangat of a person from his (or her) body, for the purpose either of benefiting the operator or of harming the intended victim. There are many methods of obtaining these objects. In some the charm works without contact; in others contact is necessary. Although there is considerable variety, the principle in all cases is the same, and is based upon the Malay theory of the semangat. Thus, e.g., soil is taken from the intended victim’s footprint and treated ceremonially by wrapping in red, black, and yellow cloth; and this, when suspended from the centre of the magician’s mosquito-curtain, becomes the embodiment of his victim’s semangat. As such it is swatched with seven strokes three times a day for three days. It is then buried in the middle of a path where the victim is bound to pass; on doing so, he becomes distracted. Wood scraped from the floor where he has been sitting, parrings of his nails, and clippings of his hair are utilized in various ways; sometimes they are knitted into a wax figure, which is either transfixed with a thorn in the member that the enchanter desires to injure or burned to ensure the victim’s complete destruction.

Of the various methods of abducting the semangat without contact, the simplest is to go out when the sun clears or when the newly-risen moon glows red, and, standing with the big toe of the right foot resting on the big toe of the left, make a trumpet of the right hand, and recite the appropriate charm thrice or four times. At the conclusion, the invoked spirit appears on the left side of the victim’s head-cloth in the direction of the moon seven times, and so forth, the appropriate charm in each instance being, of course, recited.

With their customary logical thorunghness, the Malays attribute the use of charms and amulets in some cases to wild animals, and even to reptiles. The wild boar is believed to be under the protection of a Malay man of extraordinary power called ranta baba, ‘the wild boar’s chain,’ which is hung up on a neighbouring bush by the animal whilst he is occupied in wallowing, and which can therefore sometimes be stolen by a lucky native. Another talisman carried by the boar for defensive purposes is the kalum baba, ‘boar’s sucking stone’; the two together made a wild boar invulnerable. A similar ‘lucky stone’ was sometimes worn by serpents. Any magically potent object is called bar-tauh.

(b) Pagan races.—Amulets and talismans are common among the wild tribes. Coins are strung on necklaces and used as ‘medicine’ in cases of sickness, e.g., lengths of tufts of squirrels’ tails, teeth of apes, wild pigs, and monkeys, and bones of birds and animals, as well as the bristles, teeth, and claws of tigers, were first worn, as among the Malays, quite as much for magical purposes as for ornament. The Mantri string pieces of turmeric on strings of artoocarpus bark, and these were wound round the neck, wrists, or waist as prophylactics against demons, bad winds, and, generally, all kinds of evils. They also placed great reliance on the efficacy of spells to render them invulnerable. Semang women wear amulets of palas (Lonanai pedata) leaf, and men wear similar ornaments of the ‘rock vein’ (srot batu) fungus. It appears that among these tribes, as elsewhere, much of their personal adornment was intended to protect them against evil from the spirits in which they were on all sides surrounded. The elaborate patterns of the combs of the Semang and half-breed Sakai-Semang women were similarly designed to ward off accidents and disease, and the copper bracelets, rings, and other objects worn by the Semang and Sakai were in effect talismans which preserved the wearer from ill-health and misfortune. The Semang, when wearing the Malay strong, frequently still wear an underneath string girdle of ‘rock-vein’ fungus, possibly from habit, but more probably for magical reasons.

The most important class of charms or talismans employed by the wild tribes is undoubtedly the ornamental geometrical patterns with which they adorn various objects of common use. These designs are intricate and have as yet been adequately studied and elucidated only to a small extent. So much, however, is clear: the pattern, as it is symbolical of the use to which the object on which it appears is to be put, and its aim is to secure the successful attainment of that object. Exception to this rule may be made in the case of the women’s combs and other articles, the patterns on which are intended to ward off disease, the attacks of reptiles, animals, and noxious insects, and other accidents. The difficulty of comprehending and interpreting these designs is increased by the fact that, in the usual fashion of primitive artists, the wild tribes make a part stand for the whole. The slots of deer on a bamboo quiver, e.g., represent the whole animal, which, it is believed, is induced, by being represented as approaching towards certain wild jungle-fruits beloved of the deer, to visit a particular feeding-ground, when they can be more easily made to feed and captured. The articles decorated in this manner
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with magical intent include, in addition to the Semitic plants. They have been used as quiver for darts and arrows, the last being covered with patterns intended to secure success in hunting. Other articles similarly adorned are 'stampers' (i.e. bamboo struck on the ground during magical ceremonies), and 'mages', such as insect pests, drought, etc. Besides these they decorate bamboo rice-dibbers, poison receptacles, tobacco receptacles, blowpipes, arrows, nose-sticks, etc., mats and wall-hangs and hairpins, etc. (see Snouck, "Arabische Kunstgeschichte", Berlin, 1895, p. 129). The term "al-Musulman" (1884, 416); C. Brockelmann, Geschichte des arabischenLiteratur, Weimar und Berlin, 1918-1920, i. Other biographers, and also the Arab historians, have used the term "Malikite" for Malik ibn Anas, and Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Malikite school, was born in the month of Rabii al-Awal (A.D. 78), a.d. Nov. 170). He was of pure Arab stock, being descended from Dhu Asha’ al-Jufri, who belonged to one of the tribes of Yaman. When still a youth, he had acquired a full knowledge of the Qur’an and the hadith (tradition), and other Muslim sciences, and so high was he held in reverence as a great authority in these matters.

During his long career Malik ibn Anas resided in his birthplace Medina as a mafirat and teacher of Muslim law. Like many men who have spent their lives in study, he has not left much for his biographers to record. His chief work was the collection of cases (known as the Qudsi), the basis of the whole Malikite system of Muslim law. This book is not a mere collection of traditions. It deals not only with the sayings of the Prophet but also with the opinions of several famous fakihis in Medina and with Malik’s personal views on various matters of canon law. It is often alleged that Malik rejected every kind of reasoning by means of argument and kept exclusively to the literal sense of the sacred texts. But the contents of the Murraddi prove the contrary. According to his later biographers, Malik repented of this in his last illness, and told them that, when his last illness and wept, he was asked: ‘What makes thee weep?’ He answered: ‘Who has more reason to weep than I?’ By Allah, I should wish I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own fallible judgment!’

The text of the Murraddi is handed on by Malik’s disciples in different versions. The best known is the text of Yabiyah al-Musulmi, which was printed with the commentary of Muhammad al-Zarqani in 4 vols. at Cairo (1803). Another version is that of Muhammad al-Shafi’i, the famous disciple of Abi Hamid, who studied three years in Medina (printed at Lucknow, 1859).

It seems that the opinions of Malik ibn Anas were not always in agreement with the views of the other books, or with the views of the Malikite school, or with the views of the Qudsi. In A.D. 145 (A.D. 762), as some persons had accused him, he declared that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the Abassid caliph’s binding; he was even flogged and treated in a most scandalous manner. After this cruel punishment, however, he rose still higher in public estimation in Medina, where he died on the 10th of the month Rabii al-Awal, A.H. 179 (A.D. 3rd June 798).

Malik ibn Anas enjoys the reputation throughout the whole Muslim world of being one of the greatest faqihis and traditionalists of Islam. At the present day his school is still dominant in the west of the Muslim territory, in the French and Italian possessions, as well as in Tunisia, Tripoli, and in many other parts of Africa.


W. JUYNBOLL

MALTHUSIANISM.—Some economic and social investigations seem to have been haunted by an evil fate. The subject with which they are concerned seizes popular attention for a time, and the results of the inquiry come to be represented in a form which is little more than a travesty of the original meaning and intentions. One of the most remarkable instances of this tendency is to be found in the reception accorded to the work of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) on Population. Popular interest in his work grew much more rapidly than the time or the capacity for assimilating it, and he was criticized by many who had not read him. He was acquitted of the sin of being an enemy of the human species, and of being guilty not merely of heterodoxy but also of atheism. It was said that ‘the insults the theory of Malthus level at God, and the injuries it meditates inflicting upon man, will be endured by neither’ (M. T. Sadler, Law of Population, i. 15). Further, the principles of population enunciated by Malthus have been expanded and developed in several different forms (notably by T. R. Malthus, 1802; W. McCulloch, 1803; W. Petty, 1805; and all these views are described roughly by the vague and comprehensive term ‘Malthusianism’, which means little more than the consideration of the relation between increase of population and the available food supply. Malthusianism, in fact, has no more definite meaning than ‘Smithianism’ in Germany.

It would be a mistake to consider that Malthus was the first economist who treated of population. The Mercantilists had explicitly advocated ‘population’ as an important condition of national wealth, and had even thrown down the tabus against the use of blowpipes, etc., and thus they prepared the way for the later writers. Yet all these views are described roughly by the vague and comprehensive term ‘Malthusianism’, which means little more than the consideration of the relation between increase of population and the available food supply. Malthusianism, in fact, has no more definite meaning than ‘Smithianism’ in Germany.
convention was destined to have important results. It took place between Malthus and his father. The latter, Daniel Malthus—a friend of Voltaire and the author of A Treatise on the Principle of Human, was favourably disposed towards Godwin's views, while the son had doubts, which he afterwards placed in writing. The treatise which resulted was his Essay on Population, published anonymously in 1798.

Malthus believed that a fatal objection to the thesis of Godwin and other writers who maintained the necessity and the gravity of the relations of population to the means of subsistence. Population, when unchecked, doubles itself every twenty-five years; the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio; i.e., the progression for population, if unchecked, would be 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, while that of subsistence could not exceed 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Population had not increased in a geometrical ratio, owing to the checks imposed upon it by misery and vice, the former being certain and the latter by the operation of whatever makes 'a constant effort towards an increase of population,' with the result that there is a constant tendency towards distress among the lower classes (Essay, 1798, p. 29). Against this position, he adduced the grim spectres of famine, war, pestilence, and evil living as the necessary limitations to the natural increase of mankind—either positively by reducing a redundant population, or negatively by the dread of those evils. The first edition of the Essay can be understood only by remembering the controversy process out of which it arose. In opposition to the optimism of Godwin and his sympathizers it overestimates the darkness of the situation. An attempt was made to correct this in the second edition (1803), which is practically a new book. The treatise of 1798 was in the main the product of his youth. Utopia, from the point of view of the support of a growing population; that of 1803 was a scientific examination of the principle of population, as far as possible in isolation from other phenomena. There was, however, a greater change than that of external form; the two progressions remain, but the exposition of the checks to increase of numbers is worded differently. Misery and vice become subordinate to what Malthus termed the 'rest submarine.' The optimists anticipate, and so prevents, a pressure on the means of subsistence; and, where it is observed, actual misery, as a result of population, need not arise. Moral restraint is, strictly speaking, 'moral' only in so far as it is exclusive of 'irregular gratifications'; its main characteristic is rather that of rational prudence, based on man's 'reasoning faculties which enable him to calculate distant consequences,' (Essay, 1803, pp. 9, 11), such as his capacity to support a large family without lowering a suitable standard of life. Hence moral restraint operates in the direction of postponing early marriages as well as irregular connexions. It means, in fact, as J. Bonar puts it, simply continence (Malthus and his Work, p. 53).

Much of the popularity of the principles of Malthus may have been due to his summing up the foundations of his theory in a formula which is capable of being apprehended easily and remembered, especially as the geometrical and arithmetical ratios were to be exhibited in a mathematical demonstration. But the formula suffers from a false simplicity; the first important objection is that Malthus founds his argument upon two premises, both of which he claims as co-ordinate, but it is clear that a supply of food is much the more urgent need. The colatitude must be fed if he is to live. It follows that the tendency towards increase of population is a conditional one, and hence the theory may be advanced at a given time is susceptible of alteration, irrespective of changes in the quantity of food. Malthus often speaks as if population must increase up to the limits of the means of subsistence, but in such a ratio, as the maximum possible increase in the production of food, was never formally and fully proved by Malthus; indeed, his sections on the state of population in America (Essay, 1798, p. 29) partially contradict his view of the range. Moreover, not only the production of food but its consumption must also be taken into account. Economics in consumption without loss of efficiency would enable a larger population to be maintained by the same supply. The whole statement of Malthus regarding agriculture in his earlier editions is embarrassed by his ignorance of the Principle of Diminishing Returns, a law which could not have been anticipated, or even implied. Torrens, James Mill, and McCulloch understood Diminishing Returns not so much as a theoretical tendency, but as a condition of the working of the extractive industries in practice. Accordingly, in spite of improved methods of production, they thought that the increase of population drove agriculturists to cultivate more and more inferior soils, so that a larger and larger proportion of the produce became required for providing the necessary of life. J. S. Mill stated this point of view concisely when he wrote: 'It is in vain to say, that all months which the increase of mankind calls into existence, bring with them hands. The new mouths require as much food as the old ones, and the hands do not produce as much' (Principles, bk. 1. ch. xii. § 2). Mill, like the rest of the Classical School, regarded Diminishing Returns as a 'law' which could not be suspended only temporarily by the disturbing influence of improvements. The present disposition of economists is to consider Diminishing Returns as a tendency too low characterized by the term of action. The difference of outlook removes some of the gloom which settled on the population question during the 'dismal' era of economics in the first half of the 19th century. The real influence of Malthus survives in a much modified form, on the one side in the responsibilities of parents in being able to provide for their offspring, on the other in a ceaseless effort to effect improvements in the productive arts, particularly in those connected with the provision of the world's food supply.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the doctrines and practices of Neo-Malthusianism, or the voluntary restriction of the birth-rate, form no part of Malthus's own teachings and would doubtless have been indignantly repudiated by him.
transliteration of the Gr. μαμωνᾶς, a form which, with ας, appears in TI, with Latin Vulgate, Old Latin, and Greek manuscripts. The correct Greek, however, is μαμωνᾶς, which is found in RV, with all Greek manuscripts, and most minimuscles, as well as in the Complutensian and the first two editions of M. But the influence of the Vulgate led to the appearance of μῶν in the later editions of Eramus and in AV (for further details as to spelling see E. Nestle, in ZDB).

The word mammon is one of the few English words found in the Hebrew Bible. It is a hellenized form of the Aram. ממון, which means 'money,' 'riches,' 'worldly goods.' Wycliff and Purvey translated the word by 'riches' ('richess'), but Tindal followed the Vulgate in transliterating the word, and so did all later English versions, except Geneva.

1. Derivation.—The Aramaic form ממון (stat. empf., מון) follows a well recognized form of normal inf. מון, but scholars are divided as to what is the verbal root.

(1) J. Draisius (quoted in J. Buxtorf, Lexicon Chaldaicum, Basel, 1640, s. v.) and Dalman (in PPE XIII, 158) derive the word from מון, i.e. ממון = מון, which would mean 'that on which man trusts,' or, as Dalman prefers, 'that which brings man into safety.' (2) Justrow (Talmud Dictionarius, p. 724) derives the word from a form, מון, 'to distribute,' to the root, and thus our word means 'that which is distributed.' (4) W. Gesenius (Thesaurus linguae Hebrew et Chaldea, Leipzig, 1829, ii, 532), as if ממון were the true form, derives it from מון, 'hide,' whence מון = ממון, 'that which one hides or treasures.' (Gen 44, Job 29, 5, Prov 6, 11). However much the learned may now differ as to the derivation, it seems certain to the present writer that the Syriac versions all derive the word from מון, and that they assumed a paronomasia to exist between our word ממון and מון (pass. part. of מון), which means 'faithful' or 'trustworthy,' thus: He that is trustworthy in little is trustworthy also in much; and he that is not trustworthy in little is not trustworthy in much. If ye have not been trustworthy (ממון) in the unrighteous mammon (ממון), who will entrust (معنى) to you the true? But, since the verb מון is a verb of disjunction, we must expect to find our word ממון in Syriac, may we not go further, and say that the paronomasia was probably intended by our Lord in the original Aramaic?

2. Usage.—The trade of the world, before the time of Alexander, had long been in the hands of Phoenicians and Arameans; and we have evidence that in both languages mammon was the word for 'money.' As to the former, it occurs on Phoenician inscriptions on tombstones; and Augustine, in two passages (de Serm. in Monte, II, iv. 47, and Quest. Evang. ii, 34), states that the Punic word for lucrum ('wealth') is mammona. Its Aramaic usage is also abundantly attested. Jerome (Ep. cxxii, 6) affirms:

'Non Hebraeorum sed Syrorum lingua, mammona dividit monetanum.'

Irenaeus (III, viii, 1) attests its use 'secondum Iudaicam loquentiam, qua et Semitice sanctitatem.'

The Aramaic Targums often contain the word: e.g., Fr 3, i.e., 'Honour the Lord with thy mammon'; Is 50, i.e., 'Ye that wish to learn, learn without price and without mammon'; Jz 5, i.e., 'They accepted no mammon of silver'; in Ex 1821, the ideal judges are those who hate the receiving of mammon.' In the Aramaic sections of the Palestine Talmud the same story is told twice (Nedarim, v. 3; Brakhot, vii. 2) of 300 poor Nazirites who came for purification. R. Simeon asked King James to give half the cost, but it turned out that the king paid all
the money (μαμων) and the Rabbis' half was his knowledge of Törah. Brekh. 616 says:

"May the name whose money (μαμων) is dearer to them own body."

There is also a classification in lawsuits between those which concern money (πληρωμ) and those which concern life, and which speaks of them as a pair. This is found often in the Talmud and also in Jesus, Targ. to Dt 11. The pre-Christian usage of our word even in Hebrew is shown from Sir 31, 'Blessed is he . . . that hath not gone after deceit.' The translators of LXX show themselves acquainted with the word, for in Ps 36 (ERV 37) they mistranscribe γαρ as γενομενον, 'Thou shalt dwell in the land and be fed on its wealth,' and in Proph. Abdath (l. 16) we have a saying of which the Lord says: 'Let the property (της) of thy friend be as precious to thee as thy own.'

The very phrase 'mammon of unrighteousness' is quite common in Jewish literature; in the pre-Christian work of Enoch the word is:

"Our soul is sated with unrighteous mammon, but this does not prevent our descending into the flame of the soul of Sheed." (ESR 37)

The phrase γενομενον γενομενον is a well recognized phrase in the Targums for 'money earned through deceit or fraud.' The crime of Samuel's sons was that they turned after mammon of fraud (1 S 8; cf. also Ps 52). In Deut. 32:19, they are called "money givers by fraud," and in Prov. 28:27, 30:3.

3. Exegesis. — (1) In Lk 16, 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,' the difficulty is: to whom was Christ speaking? In the Greek Testament, 1 Cor 15:58 is employed: 'For the gospel, I say, is of no worth to you if it bring not salvation.' The other passages cited, 2 Cor 9:3-15, Rom 15:25, and Gal 2:10, are all of the early church, and are in the crowded (164). It was certainly more suitable for them for the Twelve, who had not much 'mammon' of any kind; and, if so, the phrase has no meaning homely in Jewish literature—'money ill gotten, money gained by fraud.' Thus the advice which Jesus gives to the Pharisees is that they should make restitution to God by deeds of benevolence. The Rabbis say, "Maimon (p. 253), 'Ye who have acquired money unrighteously and cannot refund it, use this wealth in making friends for yourselves,' as Zechariah, when converted, volunteered to give half his goods to the poor. 'The counsel is to use wealth in dolog kindness to the poor, . . . only care must be taken not to continue to get money by unrighteousness in order to have wherewith to do charitable deeds' (Bruce, loc. cit.).

The alternative view, that the words are said to the Twelve, and that μαμωνας γενομενον is the evil term stamped on all wealth, 'wretched' or 'low', 'beautifull great wealth, is seldom gained or employed without injustice,' is forcefully presented by Moffatt, in DCOG II. 106 f.

(2) In Lk 16:16 we have a contrast between τοις διάκονοις μαμωνας and τοις διάκονοις μαμωνας, which seems to turn on a second meaning of γενομενον. In the original Aramaic, γενομενον means (a) 'deceit,' 'fraud,' and (b) 'nothingness,' 'illusion,' 'vanity.' We believe that γενομενον, here as elsewhere in NT, means 'real,' 'permanent,' 'belonging to the spiritual world,' in contrast with the present life of illusion and vanity, where 'the things that are seen are ephemeral' (2 Co 4:4). We surmise, then, that γενομενον would, in the original Aramaic, appear in both v. 9 and v. 11, but in v. 9 γενομενον means 'deceit,' 'fraud,' while in v. 11 it means 'illusion,' 'vanity,' and thus presents a contrast to the true, the 'real,' 'spiritual' riches. Our Greek translation, of course, obliterates or ignores the distinction between the two meanings of γενομενον.

(3) In Lk 16:13, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' the opposition is on 'serve' (κεναλώντες). No man can at the same time be the θέλητας of God and of worldly wealth. The ordinary pursuit of wealth is not condemned. It is the undivided concentration of mind—the surrender of body and soul to money-getting—that is censured, as being incompatible with whole-hearted devotion to God and to His service. Mammon is personified as the object of unkindly attention and service, as in Ro 16:14 Paul says, 'Counsel is given him of his own nature (συνεστίον παρ' αυτω και καλέω), and as in Col 3:2 he utters a warning against 'covetousness, inasmuch as it is idolatry,' i.e., wealth so easily erects itself upon and substitues its affections from God and makes men averse to giving cheerfully what they acquire. Here and in Lk 16 there is, no doubt, a personification of wealth, as also in Tertullian (deo. Movr. iv. 33). When Milton, therefore, speaks of Mammon as one of the fallen angels in hell, 'the least erected spirit that fell from heaven,' who even in heaven was

"admiring more
The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trod'd gold,
Thus sage, divine or holy, else enjoyed
In vision beauteous." (Par. Lost, i. 637 f.; cf. also ii. 223)

We have, perhaps, not so much legislation on the poet's imagination as an indication of his familiarity with apocryphal lore. The phrase 'mammon-worship' has been made familiar by Carlyle (Past and Present, bk. iii. 2, bk. iv. 4, 5, etc.), and is, no doubt, used in an emphasis upon the warning of Jesus, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'


MAN.—See ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNONOMY, EPHORATION, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, etc.

MAN, ISLE OF.—See CELTS.

MANA.—Mona is a native term belonging to the Pacific region, but, for the purposes of the science of comparative religion, serves likewise as a category of world-wide application. The local sense will be found to stand in close relation to the scientific, despite the fact that the latter represents but the generalized content of various concepts prevailing in different ethnic areas and presumably of more or less independent origin.

1. Local meaning of mana.—'The word,' says R. H. Codrington (The Melanesians, p. 119), 'is common I believe to the whole Pacific, and people have tried very hard to describe what it is in different regions. I think how we know our people mean by it, and that meaning seems to me to cover all that I hear about it elsewhere.' For the two-fold reason that Codrington's account has in no respect been impugned by later observations, and that it is the classical source from which the scientific use of the term mana is derived, it will most naturally be followed here, though one must bear in mind that it deals primarily with the Melanesian usage, whereas there is reason to suppose that the actual word is an importation from New Holland and the Melanesians.

W. Taylor Smith calls the attention of the present writer to a passage in 'Pastio Sandoval Velarde,' in Adolfo Antoniani, New Zealand, 1813–69, p. 320, in which "mana" is used in the same way as mana, and in which it is stated that the people who use "mana" are the "Maoris" who live in the South Island, and that the word is "a kind of magic, and is used in this way: 'Mana' is a powerful person, or a god, and so the word may be translated "god." C. R. M. Snow, in his "New Zealand," says: 'Mana' is a word signifying power, dignity, and respect. It is also used in reference to the essence of a man or woman, and is often used in combination with names of persons or places, thus: 'Mana-a-Puhinui,' meaning the essence of Puhinui. The word is derived from a root "man" meaning a person, and is used in the phrase "mana," meaning a person's soul or spirit."

LAW, THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THE PACIFIC. (See also MELANESIA.)
manifested, where it resides, and whence it comes; and (b) practical, involving the methods by which it is sought to turn the supposed fact of its existence to human advantage.

(a) Theoretical aspect. — **Mana** is defined by Codrington thus:—

> It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which it possesses. This mana is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it, and can impart it to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of a stone, or a house, or a bone (p. 118).

Again, he describes it as 'a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which is of the greatest advantage to possess or control' (p. 118 n.).

In this account three points are specially to be noted: (1) that the power or excellence for which mana stands is 'in a way supernatural,' namely, in fact, 'what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature' (p. 118); (2) that, even if it be in itself impersonal, resembling a contact, it is such a force as electricity, in that it can have a material object for its vehicle, 'it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it'; (3) that it 'acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil.' Other words, 'it may be used to benefit or to afflict friends and enemies' (p. 200), and is thus indiscriminately at the service of religion or of the black art. So much for the nature attributed to mana which, be it noted, is noun, adjective, or verb, since it is equally a property, quality, or state. It may next be shown how such an attribution is a result of experience and sometimes even of experiment.

If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the mana of a successful warrior to empower him, conveyed in an anulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, or a tooth hung upon a finger, or the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man has pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of mana or pigs and yards that possess them. On the other hand, a man naturally grows wise when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very usual unless mana comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless mana be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, or an arrow inflict a mortal wound' (p. 120).

Moreover, in this matter the native mind proceeds logically through by the method of hypothesis and verification.

> A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular; it is something like something. It is certainly not a common stone, there must be mana in it. He asks with himself and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree, the fruit of which has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground where he plants his garden; an abundant crop is the result, the garden shows that he is right, the stone is mana, has that power in it' (p. 119).

Hypothesis and verification even lurk behind the forms of prayer.

Thus in Florida, one of the Solomon Islands, a fisherman addresses Daula, a Tindalo, or ghost, connected with the frigate-bird, in these words: 'If thou art powerful, mana, O Daula, put a fish or two into this net and let them die there.' If he makes a good catch, he thereupon exclaims, 'Powerful, mana, is the Tindalo.' or 'Great is the mana.'

Again, the heir of a famous chief must live up to the reputation of his predecessor, or society decides that the mana has departed (p. 52).

Indeed, a man who has been successful in fighting, to use a phrase of the Polynesian, has mana, and a man of authority, a great man, one who may be called a chief (p. 119 n., cf. p. 115). In the words of the native, the ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had mana in him; the souls of common men are the common herd of living beings, nobodies alike in mana; but the supernatural power abiding in the powerful living man abides in his ghost after death, with increased vigour and more ease of movement' (p. 125).

As for the mana associated with inanimate things, the following example will show how it may come to be attributed.

> If a man came upon a large stone with a number of small ones beneath it, lying like a saw among her litter, he was sure that to offer no man help it would break him; and such a stone would be thought to have mana (pp. 151, 153).

Moreover, the mana (herein, as has been said, resembling a contagion, or such a force as electricity) may be transmitted by one thing to another. Thus, to make sunshine, certain leaves are held over a fire, and a song is sung to give mana to the fire, which gives the leaves, so that when the latter are hung upon a tree, the wind may blow about the maize derived from the fire, and sunshine may result (p. 201).

In other cases, the mana is seen to lend itself not only to transmission, but likewise to a sort of accumulation.

To make rain, leaves that are mana for this purpose are caused to ferment so that a steam charged with mana may rise up to make clouds and rain; at the same time a stone, or mana for rain is placed amongst thee to assist the process (p. 231).

It remains to notice the native theory of the ultimate source of mana. It has already been noted that, according to Codrington, mana is a spiritual force that belongs to personal beings to originate it' (p. 119 n.); namely, to a dead man's ghost, a spirit (which was incorporeal from the first), or a living man (p. 151). The notion of the living man to originate mana is, however, somewhat doubtful, inasmuch as, if a man has mana, it resides in his 'spiritual part,' which after death becomes a ghost, while, for the rest, it is held in his hand, or held by his ghost, or his mana, or not that a man has mana, not that he is mana, as can be said of a ghost or spirit (p. 191). In short, the native theorist would seem to have arrived at the view that mana, being something supernatural (to use Codrington's own term), must ultimately come from pre-eminently supernatural personalities such as ghosts or spirits. The existence of such a view, however, need not blind us to the fact that it is the man who does great things in his lifetime that is after death supposed to be a ghost with mana, a fighting man's ghost, for instance, being known specifically as a keramo, or ghost of killing, and hence much prized for its mana, or mana of mana (p. 135). Similarly, it is because the stone with little stones round it is like a saw among her litter that it is credited with mana; and the doctrine that it belongs to spirits (p. 153) is, clearly, but an explanatory after-thought. Thus neither animism (in Tylor's sense of 'the belief in spiritual beings') nor even animatism (the attribution of life and personality) would seem to be essentially involved in the native experience of the wonder-working thing, whatever be the last word of native theory on the subject.

It must be allowed, however, that, if mana does not necessarily imply personality in the case of the thing with mana, it is none the less perfectly capable of co-existing with it, as in the case of the living man with mana; and, being itself something indwelling, could be inanimate without a personality.

In this way mana and its derivatives have come in various Polynesian dialects to supply all that is needed in the way of a host of terms merely for 'heart' and 'belly,' but for the 'interior man,' and all therein comprised, namely, 'desire,' 'love,' 'wish,' and 'feelings' generally, as also 'thought' and 'belief,' and even in some sense 'conscience.
and ‘soul’ (see E. Tregear, Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary, s.v. ‘Mana’). Even if, however, mana is not imported in an apologetic system, so that its ultimate source is usually supposed to be a ghost or spirit, that is no reason why, for the general purposes of comparative science, mana should not be taken to cover all cases of magico-religious efficacy, whether the efficacy be profane or sacred, or derived, i.e., as proceeding immediately from the nature of the sacred person or thing, or mediately because a ghost or spirit has put it into the person or thing in question.

191. Thus, finally, the saying of Codrington quaintly declares that ‘all Melanesian religion consists in getting mana for oneself or getting it used for one’s benefit—all religion, that is, so far as religious practices go (p. 110 n.). As he shows by numerous examples, to obtain mana is the object to which all prayers and sacrifices are directed. Or, again, as can be gathered from Tregear’s Dictionary, mana may be used to express the performance of miracles, the exertion of a gift of healing, the interpretation of omens, an act of prophecy, in short, all the manifestations of a wonder-working beneficence which a religious man may aspire to see in the world. On the other hand, mana is a twined-edged sword which may just as readily be employed in the service of maleficence. Those who have the mana to produce wind or calm, sunshine or rain, and order, are accordingly beloved. Not to turn their will to turn it’ (Codrington, p. 200).

Healing medicine and poison are alike mana (ib. pp. 198, 358). As Tregear’s citation of phrases shows, accident and misfortune, curing and throttling, involve the exercise of mana no less than does any and every form of blessing. In short, all trafficking with the unseen and occult, whether illicit or illicit, involve mana; and, just as electrical energy may be exploited alike in the public service and with criminal intent, so mana lends itself to the manipulation of the expert, be his motive moral or the reverse. Further, whatever is mana is likewise, in a complementary aspect, not to be lightly approached, or, as we find it convenient for comparative purposes to say, ‘tabu,’ though, in Melanesia at all events, the word tambu (=tabu, tapu) has a rather different sense, implying human sanction and prohibition, the sacredness involving a supernatural sanction being rendered rather by rongo, or, where it is held to be especially severe, by buto (ib. p. 215; cf. pp. 190, 34). Whatever has mana belongs to the beneficent, is treated with more or less of awe, not to say fear, because in a corresponding degree it has supernatural power which it is liable to exercise on the unwary with such effects as usually attend the careless handling of something extremely potent. In sheer self-protection, then, the profane, that is to say, ordinary folk in their ordinary manner of life, observe a number of tabus towards the person or thing that is mana. Meanwhile, conversely, such tabu may be looked upon as helping to keep the holy person or thing inviolate, or guarding the mana from degrading influences that will somehow spoil its efficacy.

2. Scientific meaning of mana.—It remains to determine what mana may appropriately mean when used as a class-name of world-wide application. Just as tabu has been turned into a general category standing for any prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction, despite the fact that in Melanesia another shade of meaning apparently attaches to it, so mana, in approximately the same way, obtained a wide currency as a general name for the power attributed to sacred persons and things, and is so used without reference to the particular association of mana with this or that part of the Pacific region. Thus, even if it be true, as Codrington’s somewhat guarded account leads one to suspect, that in Melanesia mana has been more or less successfully incor-

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Thus, finally, the saying of Codrington quaintly declares that ‘all Melanesian religion consists in getting mana for oneself or getting it used for one’s benefit—all religion, that is, so far as religious practices go (p. 110 n.). As he shows by numerous examples, to obtain mana is the object to which all prayers and sacrifices are directed. Or, again, as can be gathered from Tregear’s Dictionary, mana may be used to express the performance of miracles, the exertion of a gift of healing, the interpretation of omens, an act of prophecy, in short, all the manifestations of a wonder-working beneficence which a religious man may aspire to see in the world. On the other hand, mana is a twined-edged sword which may just as readily be employed in the service of maleficence. Those who have the mana to produce wind or calm, sunshine or rain, and order, are accordingly beloved. Not to turn their will to turn it’ (Codrington, p. 200).

Healing medicine and poison are alike mana (ib. pp. 198, 358). As Tregear’s citation of phrases shows, accident and misfortune, curing and throttling, involve the exercise of mana no less than does any and every form of blessing. In short, all trafficking with the unseen and occult, whether illicit or illicit, involve mana; and, just as electrical energy may be exploited alike in the public service and with criminal intent, so mana lends itself to the manipulation of the expert, be his motive moral or the reverse. Further, whatever is mana is likewise, in a complementary aspect, not to be lightly approached, or, as we find it convenient for comparative purposes to say, ‘tabu,’ though, in Melanesia at all events, the word tambu (=tabu, tapu) has a rather different sense, implying human sanction and prohibition, the sacredness involving a supernatural sanction being rendered rather by rongo, or, where it is held to be especially severe, by buto (ib. p. 215; cf. pp. 190, 34). Whatever has mana belongs to the beneficent, is treated with more or less of awe, not to say fear, because in a corresponding degree it has supernatural power which it is liable to exercise on the unwary with such effects as usually attend the careless handling of something extremely potent. In sheer self-protection, then, the profane, that is to say, ordinary folk in their ordinary manner of life, observe a number of tabus towards the person or thing that is mana. Meanwhile, conversely, such tabu may be looked upon as helping to keep the holy person or thing inviolate, or guarding the mana from degrading influences that will somehow spoil its efficacy.

2. Scientific meaning of mana.—It remains to determine what mana may appropriately mean when used as a class-name of world-wide application. Just as tabu has been turned into a general category standing for any prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction, despite the fact that in Melanesia another shade of meaning apparently attaches to it, so mana, in approximately the same way, obtained a wide currency as a general name for the power attributed to sacred persons and things, and is so used without reference to the particular association of mana with this or that part of the Pacific region. Thus, even if it be true, as Codrington’s somewhat guarded account leads one to suspect, that in Melanesia mana has been more or less successfully incor-
(3) Manitu.—Here once more we have an Algerian word that is generally identical in meaning with orenda or wakan. It is primarily an impersonal substantive; for in the Algerian dialect a rigid distinction of gender is made between things with life and things without life: and, when manitu stands for a virtue or property, the form expressive of inanimate gender is used, though, ‘when the property becomes identified with the object observed and confused’ (W. Jones, A.J.P.L. xviii. (1905) 183 f.), the following account by an Indian of the Fox tribe of the beneficial effects of the sweat-lodge, becomes very much a non-personal nature of the force set in motion by a man for his personal betterment: he might almost as well be describing an electric bath.

‘Often one will cut oneself over the arms and legs ... it is done to release the power or the message for the medicine-man to put into the body. The manitu comes from its place of abode in the stone. It becomes aroused by the beat of the fire, ... ceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled upon it, ... and in the steam it enters the body, ... and imparts some of its nature to the body. That is why one feels so well after having been in the sweat-lodge’ (ib. p. 183.)

See, further, notes MANTU.

(4) Hasina.—This word is used in Madagascar to express the power of a virtue which makes a thing unusually good and effective, such as the efficacy of a remedy, the power of a prophecy to come true, the virtue residing in an amulet or in a spell, the sanctity of holy persons and things, and so on. Hasina belongs in a high degree to the king, seeing that he is born in a family which has it, and is strengthened by the ceremonies of people having it, such as sorcerers and his own relatives. Hence his hasina, being highly contagious, is apt to cause his subjects to fall ill and die, if they but touch him. He dare not even speak to them, save through an intermediary. Meanwhile it is his duty to guard and hoard his hasina, so that A. van Gennep is probably right in regarding such a tabu as that which prohibits the subject from entering the court of the palace with his hat on his head as a pady (= tabu) de conservation (Tabon et totémisme à Madagascar, p. 17). Indeed, the native theory of kingship turns entirely on this notion of hasina. Thus, at the king’s enthronement, the monarch-elect stands on a sacred stone charged with hasina and cries aloud to the people, ‘Have I, have I, have I the power?’, to which they reply, ‘The power is thine’ (ib. p. 82). Taxes paid to the king are called hasina, being derived from firstfruits and hence inherently sacred, in fact, a tithe. Even when the king is dead, his body transmits its hasina to the place of the cairn, a cairn for war, or, in the present case, a cairn for peace. It may even be, as van Gennep suggests, that the royal practice of strict endogamy, which was carried as far as sister-marriage, was due to the desire to keep the hasina in the family (ib. p. 162). Hasina thus is a monopoly of the exclusive property of the king. Nobles have it too, but in less degree. Even common men have some, and the very animals, trees, and stones have their share likewise. Hasina, in short, is relative. If I plant something in my field, I put into it some of my hasina. Another man will therefore respect it, unless he feels his hasina to be greater, in which case he can receive no harm (ib. p. 18). Meanwhile I shall do well to fortify myself by protecting my property with amulets of hasina, these often amounting to veritable boundary-stones (ib. p. 186). For the rest, whatever is sacred has hasina and for this reason is likewise pady, or tabu, so that, for instance, the word hasina, and therefore pady, must be received with rites of admission the object of which is détabouère, ‘to remove the tabu’ (ib. pp. 40, 40).

(5) Barakka.—This is the term used in Morocco to describe the holiness attributed to ‘saints’, male or female, as well as to places and natural objects, which are, however, thought of as deriving their holiness from the saint. The name sayid (i.e. sayyid), ‘lord’, is meanwhile bestowed impartially on person or place, implying a certain ‘confusion of categories’ (E. Westermarck, in Anthorp. Essays presented to Tylor, London, 1907, p. 305). To secure that the power shall be exercised in his favour, the Arab puts a conditional curse (ér) upon the saint by throwing a stone on the cairn marking his tomb, or by tying a rag near by. The most obvious effect is the blood becoming red, however, by no means necessarily noxious (as it is when it provides the sting of a curse); for it stands equally for the blessing, l-baraka del ‘id, ‘the benign virtue of the feast’, which flows from the sacrificial meat and is further distributed among the worshippers by a man clothed in the victim’s skin (Westermarck, MI i. 445). Or, to take another example, the baraka inherent in the Moorish bride ‘implies not only beneficial energy, but also a seed of evil or an element of danger’, so that people partake of her dried fruit to rid themselves of evil on account of her baraka, even while they regard it as an evil and likewise suppose her baraka to give efficacy to the ceremonies practised with a view to producing rain for the good of the crops (Westermarck, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1902). Baraka is, however, a virtue which may recover the potency resident in the pebbles being thus equally capable of killing or curing according to the intention of the powerful man who has the baraka and, as such, it may relieve his patient by drawing out the evil by means of a rope, and such a rope he obtains from Dhakkan, the rainbow, who is himself mannggyur (superlative of manngyur, superlatively potent) (ib. p. 162).

These examples, which might be multiplied indefinitely, will suffice to show that there is a widespread tendency on the part of the peoples of the lower culture to isolate in thought and invest with
a more or less independent being of its own the power whereby a holy person or thing proves his or its holiness by means of action supremely efficacious in the attitude of fear or evil. Modern anthropology lays great stress on this notion of the savage (whether it be conceived and expressed by him with full explicitness or not), because it appears to stand for something which lies at the very heart of existing belief in regard to the supernatural and unseen. Whether it is more or less central and fundamental than the notion of spirit is a question that need not be raised here. In any case it would be quite beside the mark to seek to assign exact relations of logical priority and posteriority to these two ideas, seeing that savage doctrine is tolerant of confusion, not to say downright contradiction, and uses the one or the other conception alternatively or in manifold conjunction as a particular situation may seem to suggest.

Here, then, it will be more profitable to indicate shortly what general purposes of theory are served by reference to the group of ideas for which mana may by convention be allowed to stand when used in its scientific as distinguished from its purely local sense. The first is the attention to the element which magic and religion have in common. Among savages my religion corresponds roughly to whatever system of rites is regarded by the Melanesians as preserving in the face of all the dangers, real or imaginary, that beset them. If you are a member of another tribe in perpetual strife with mine, I am not disinclined to attribute to you any religion worth speaking of, even if your rites bear the closest family resemblance to mine; but rather incline to pay you the compliment of supposing you to wield a most malignant magic, in proportion as I feel respect for your power of getting the better of me. It is a case of me and my gods against you and your devils. Gods or devils, however, they have power alike, and to the stronger power, whichever it be, the victory goes. Similarly, within the tribe a particular individual may have recourse to mystic rites to help a public cause or to help himself in a way of which the public approval, or contrariwise in order to wreck his private spite on his neighbour. In the former case he is behaving piously, in the latter he shows himself a wizard and deserves to die the death; but in either case indifferently a wonder-working power is attributed to him, and it is quite irrelevant whether that may be broadly described as the element of the miraculous, enables theory to treat the magico-religious as a unity in difference, the unity consisting in wonder-working power and the difference in the social or anti-social use to which it is put by the rival systems. In the second place, mana, taken together with tabo, provides a minimum definition of the magico-religious, such a delimitation coinciding accurately with the distinction which the savage both in theory and in practice draws between the world of the supernatural and the world of the workaday and ordinary. Whether it may be as well, and however diverse the characters it may otherwise wear, the magico-religious in all its manifestations is always hedged round with respect because of the potency inherent in it. Tabo and mana always imply each other, so that either can stand by itself for the whole two-sided notion. Thus tapu ( taboo) was a name general for the system of restrictions in which the magico-religious is involved, and conversely, wakan, a word of the mana type, is translated by McGee ‘mystery,’ because the notions of power, sacred, ancient, and animistic, animate, immortal, and to a certain extent the circle of its implications (Is RBBW, p. 152). Mana, however, taken by itself offers the more adequate characterization of the nature of the magico-religions, since it reveals the positive ground of the negative which is the characteristic attitude of fear or evil. It only remains to add that, having by means of such terms expressed the generic characters of the class of objects to which magic and religion relate, the anthropologist is merely on the threshold of his task, and much remains to be done in the way of fresh terms of narrower connotation the specific types in which this class abounds. Thirdly, mana is well suited to express that aspect of the magico-religious in which it supervenes as an irresistible force or influence. Thus van Gennep shows the notion of hasina, which is of the mana type, to be closely bound up with that of tabina, realization (Trabou et tolémisme, p. 17). The idea of spirit, on the other hand, does not lend itself so readily to the representation of such transmissibility or infectiousness on the part of what is sacred, except where some sort of dual personality is manifested, as in the case of what is known as ‘inspiration.’ Meanwhile the passing on of sacredness between one person and another, one thing and another, or a person and a thing in either direction, is a common enough case of mana (corresponding as it does to that play of association to which the uncritical mind is prone, more especially when rendered suggestible by emotional excitement. Thus when for self-culture and sunshine, the operator’s desire, as expressed in his song, starts a train of actions—the lighting of a fire, then the placing of leaves therein to warm them, then the hanging of the leaves upon a tree to impart their warmth to the wind; and the whole process is interpreted in terms of the transmissibility of mana, from the song to the fire, the fire to the leaves, the leaves to the wind, the wind to the sun, in strict accordance with the associational flow of the interest (cf. Codrington, Melanesians, p. 201). Lastly, mana is the term best suited to express magico-religious value as realized in and through ritual; and ritual, as Robertson Smith has shown once for all, comes before belief in order of importance for the peoples of the lower culture. If mana is, regarded in itself, an impersonal and quasi-mechanical force operating on its own account, even though personal beings may have set it in motion, this largely because a more or less automatic efficacy is imputed to ritual as such. Whereas the reason and conscious design which are immanent in the ritual, are at most but dimly apprehended, the rite itself, on the other hand, stands out clearly as something that can be seen and enacted, and thus acquires independent value. Whatever it may exactly mean, at all events it works. Thus the ideas of mana and of ritualistic control go very closely together, the former being little else than a projection of the latter into the world of objects, which are thought of as so many foils in a system of partly co-operating and partly conflicting controls. And so it is also with the civilized man’s notion of luck, which is a genuine, though degraded, member of the mana group of concepts. Those who still hold to a belief in luck are precisely those who likewise believe in the possibility of controlling it.

Literature.—For the local use of the word mana the best classics are R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, vol. i, pp. 378 seqq., Cl. also E. Tregear, Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary, Wellington, 1891, e. x. ‘Mana’ (Tregear, s. n.), ‘tabou’ (Tregear, s. n. ‘tabou’). Conversely, wakan, a word of the mana type, is translated by McGee ‘mystery,’ because the notions of power, sacred, ancient, animistic, immortal, and to a certain extent the circle of its implications (Is RBBW, p. 152). Mana, however, taken by itself offers the more adequate characterization of the nature of the magico-religions, since it reveals the positive ground of the negative which is the characteristic attitude of fear or evil. It only remains to add that, having by means of such terms expressed the generic characters of the class of objects to which magic and religion relate, the anthropologist is merely on the threshold of his task, and much remains to be done in the way of fresh terms of narrower connotation the specific types in which this class abounds. Thirdly, mana is well suited to express that aspect of the magico-religious in which it supervenes as an irresistible force or influence. Thus van Gennep shows the notion of hasina, which is of the mana type, to be closely bound up with that of tabina, realization (Trabou et tolémisme, p. 17). The idea of spirit, on the other hand, does not lend itself so readily to the representation of such transmissibility or infectiousness on the part of what is sacred, except where some sort of dual personality is manifested, as in the case of what is known as ‘inspiration.’ Meanwhile the passing on of sacredness between one person and another, one thing and another, or a person and a thing in either direction, is a common enough case of mana (corresponding as it does to that play of association to which the uncritical mind is prone, more especially when rendered suggestible by emotional excitement. Thus when for self-culture and sunshine, the operator’s desire, as expressed in his song, starts a train of actions—the lighting of a fire, then the placing of leaves therein to warm them, then the hanging of the leaves upon a tree to impart their warmth to the wind; and the whole process is interpreted in terms of the transmissibility of mana, from the song to the fire, the fire to the leaves, the leaves to the wind, the wind to the sun, in strict accordance with the associational flow of the interest (cf. Codrington, Melanesians, p. 201). Lastly, mana is the term best suited to express magico-religious value as realized in and through ritual; and ritual, as Robertson Smith has shown once for all, comes before belief in order of importance for the peoples of the lower culture. If mana is, regarded in itself, an impersonal and quasi-mechanical force operating on its own account, even though personal beings may have set it in motion, this largely because a more or less automatic efficacy is imputed to ritual as such. Whereas the reason and conscious design which are immanent in the ritual, are at most but dimly apprehended, the rite itself, on the other hand, stands out clearly as something that can be seen and enacted, and thus acquires independent value. Whatever it may exactly mean, at all events it works. Thus the ideas of mana and of ritualistic control go very closely together, the former being little else than a projection of the latter into the world of objects, which are thought of as so many foils in a system of partly co-operating and partly conflicting controls. And so it is also with the civilized man’s notion of luck, which is a genuine, though degraded, member of the mana group of concepts. Those who still hold to a belief in luck are precisely those who likewise believe in the possibility of controlling it.
MANDÆANS.—I. Introduction. — The Mandæans claim our interest not only as being a separate surviving branch of the Semitic stock, but also on account of their religious language, and their sacred literature. Besides the records of their religious teaching and their religious poetry, that literature includes fragmentary remains and revisions of ancient Gnostic speculations and myth. Adherents of the Mandæan faith, either as larger communities or as distinct family groups, were to be found some forty years ago— and may perhaps still be found in cities and smaller market-towns on the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern Iraq al-ārabi and the adjacent Persian province. It is, indeed, necessary for them to live in the neighbourhood of rivers, since immersion in flowing water is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic, feature of their religious practice.

According to our records carry us, we find them subsisting in very humble conditions, earning their living as tradesmen— carpenters, smiths, locksmiths, goldsmiths—or as shopkeepers. Upon their priests rested the duty of preparing and directing the public religious ceremonies, which were few and by no means sumptuous, as well as that of performing certain rites on behalf of individuals and members of the community. At these functions it was their regular task to recite a number of extracts from the sacred books. In the Mandæan religion, as in others, such recitations take the place of the incantations that are no longer permitted, and in conjunction with the religious rites they serve to effect or to ensure the salvation of the soul.

From the time when the Mandæans began the serious collection of their religious texts— their mythological and legendary documents may also be regarded as revelations—the transcribing of their sacred books, and even a monetary contribution to the expense of such labour, ranked among them as a work which could purge from sin hence not merely priests, but also a considerable number of laymen, possessed copies. Some of those were obtained by Christian missionnaires from their converts, and others were bought, with the result that since the middle of the 17th cent. not a few Mandæan MSS have found their way into European libraries. The books are composed in a distinct Semitic idiom, and written in a special script.

2. Mandæan writings. — The most valuable, from the historical point of view, and—at least in the main—the most ancient portions of Mandæan literature are collected in the voluminous Sîdîr râbbâ ("Great Book") or Genâz ("The Thesaurus"), which is divided into a right and a left part. 2 This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with revelations, prayers, and hymns. All these components, so varied in their matter, may be called "tractates," though only by way of having a uniform term by which they may be enumerated and cited. From the introductory "blessings," which occur some forty times, it may also be inferred that the sixty-four pieces, with three collections of hymns, were gradually incorporated in the "Thesaurus," now singly, now in groups. Originally the tractate was independent, though in the very first three or four separate writings have been brought together. The last tractate of the Right is the "King's book," which contains a survey of cosmic events as they appeared to a Mandæan who was composed prior to Muhammad's time to take place one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Arabian sovereignty, and assigned to that sovereignty a duration of only seventy-one years; hence the tractate must have been composed in the early years of the 8th cent. A.D. The short tractates, xix. R, speaks of Mahamet the Arab (Muhammad) as one who had lived at least from two to three generations in the past. To the much more important i. and ii. R, however, notices referring to Muhammad have been attached only at the end, the redactors of these tractates only thinking that they might expound the historical sketch, no other tractate exhibits any knowledge of Muhammad or any trace of his teaching. As regards the narrative tractates, we can distinguish between those of more and those of lesser importance, the latter having their materials or their themes from the former. In some we find fragments interpolated from older works not now extant, while not a few are mere patchwork of remnants of what they originally contained. When all has been said, it cannot be doubted that these documents of the Genâz which speak authoritatively of Mandæan thought and sentiment were composed prior to Muhammad's time, and such later recension—often far from competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandæan priests who were concerned to transmit in some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancestral literature. The formal nucleus or focus of the entire collection is a manifesto of the Mandæan priesthood to the community (xxvii. R; cf. MS., supplement A).

Like the Genâz, the Sîdîr d'Yahdû ("Recitations of John"), or Drâtâ d'malîtâ ("Recitations of the Kings"), more rarely designated Drâtâ d'Yahû ("Recitations of John"), is also a collection of tractates, many of which have come down in an incomplete, or at least in a corrupt, textual form. A considerable number of them relate to the experiences and the teachings of John the Baptist. The book also contains narratives (e.g., one about the "fisher of souls"), instructions in conversational form, etc. The fiction is still good, but the legend of the baptizer of the Jordan, who is mentioned only once in the Genâz, where he is described as a truly wise and devout prophet, is here brought down to the sphere of popular taste, and expanded with entertaining stories. The older form of his name, Yîhânnâ, is superseded by the Arabic Yahû ("Recitations of John"). From these facts we infer that the contents of this collection are of considerably later origin than those of the greater "Thesaurus." The QâqÎlû is a volume containing the liturgies for the annual baptismal festival and the service in Bithroitic form as Thesaurus sine liber manibus, Leipzig, 1867. We shall cite from this ed., using the letters R and L for the right and left parts respectively of the adjoining figures will indicate the page and line. The right-hand pages are for the living, the left-hand for the dead. 1

1 In this art., the abbreviations M.R. and M.S. indicate respectively the present writer's Mandæische Religion and Mandæische Schriften, cited at the end of the Literature.

2 A transcription of a complete MS with a list of variants from three others, executed by H. Petermann, was published in Liturgical form as Thesaurus sine liber manibus, Leipzig, 1867. We shall cite from this ed., using the letters R and L for the right and left parts respectively of the adjoining figures will indicate the page and line. The right-hand pages are for the living, the left-hand for the dead. 1

1 ed. M. Littmann, Das Johanneum, Jena, 1891, 1: a second vol., with tr., is promised for 1915.
for the dead (massagath). Its poetical sections, which are intended to be recited as hymns or prayers, are worthy to stand beside the songs in the Gena, though such a feature is not so abundant. The liturgical directions attached to them are certainly of much later origin, being the work of writers who were not familiar with the pure form of the Mandaean language. The same statement holds good of the two sections of Massagath Ritual, which has not yet been printed, though there are MSS of it in Oxford.

To the liturgical rubrics of the two works just mentioned attaches the Dīdēn, now in the Vatican Library, 7-6 metres in length, and consists of a series of sketches representing the halting-places through which the soul of a deceased Mandaean must pass in its ascent (cf. § 28), and, at its destination, the scales and the throne of Abartār. Its numerous figures have been drawn in the shape of a hand, but parts of the text found between or at the side of the figures have been rendered illegible by stains and disfiguration of the paper. The Latin notes added by Ignatius a Jesu to explain the figures sometimes do not agree at all with the original text, and at certain points there is convincing evidence that the missionary could not read the whole language. It would appear that he had the work explained to him by one of his converts, but that he frequently failed to understand his informant, and made fresh errors in writing his notes.2

Another Mandaean work, one main division of which bears the title Asfar moloudāt (‘Book of the zodiacal Constellations’), is found in the Royal Library of Berlin.

According to Nöldeke (loc. cit.), ‘it is a compilation, containing all sorts of astrological material of very diverse date, and translated in part from Arabic and Persian; portions of it are of Jewish origin.’

Mention should also be made of the recently discovered earthenware bowls with Mandaean inscriptions intended to avert a curse or an evil spell.2 They furnish melancholy evidence of the complete decay of Mandaean theology.

3. The Mandaean language. The idiom in which this literature has been composed is recognized by Nöldeke as of importance for the study of the Semitic languages; it is the form of Aramaic which developed in lower Babylonia, and its nearest congeners is the special dialect of the Talmud Babli (i.e. the Aramaic of Upper Babylonia). The script (see below, § 19) has the advantage of expressing the vowel-sounds by letters, and does not require diacritical signs. A correct interpretation of the texts is at least so far as they are accurately written and in good preservation—has been made possible by the grammar which Nöldeke has drawn up from them (Mandäische Grammatik).

4. In 1884, Ignatius a Jesu, who, as a missionary in Basra in the 17th cent., was in close contact with Mandaean for nearly thirty years, simply says that he had some knowledge of the language, while his successor, Angelus S. Josepho, thought himself to be able to read the Mandaean writings. The material extracted by the learned Maronite, Abraham Echellens, from three Mandaean books, and given to the public in a work printed in 1660 at Rome, that scholar had doubtless succeeded in the Mandaean versions and converts then resident in Rome (cf. M. R., p. 6). From the same period come three renderings of the supposed Mandaean baptismal formula, but these show how utterly bewildered the translators were even with the first line of the Mandaean books, for it is in reality their introductory formula. Later essays in translation, the most notable of which were the arbitrarily conjectural version by M. Norberg and the more careful but still very erroneous studies of G. W. Lobsach, are considered in some detail in JS, pp. xiv-xix. In the latter half of the 19th cent., it also transpired that there was no such traditional interpretation as scholars had expected to find in the hands of the Mandaean priests (cf. MR, pp. 7-20). The specimens of translation offered by H. Petermann simply repeat the errors of Norberg, 1867, 210.

Even with Nöldeke’s Grammatik at our disposal, there are still serious obstacles to a complete translation of the Mandaean writings. These contain a large number of words which are not yet determined and of which the meaning seems to be that they are of the same sort as the words used in other dialects of the Mandānaean language. In some instances, again, it is obvious that words and phrases have acquired a theological or ritual sense which is not clearly determinable. All this, however, has to do with matters of detail; the course of thought and most of the constituent elements lie within the scope of literal reproduction. H. Pognon (opp. cit.) has taken the utmost care in establishing the renderings of the inscriptions, and has also, in connexion with them, translated numerous passages in the Gena and the Babul,3 though he, too, has made mistakes. The same may be said of JS.

5. Interest of the Mandaean texts. The largest and most interesting portion of the Mandaean writings is liturgical and mythological. The myths relate to the origin and nature of the world of the gods and that of men, and also to the religious history of mankind. They are not derived from conceptions of nature, nor did they originate in the popular mind, but were constructed in accordance with theological views. The scientific gains which this vein of liturgy and myth seems to promise—and it is the prospect of such gains that draws us to the study of the Mandaean texts—are in the main as follows: (a) enlightenment regarding the meaning of the Mandaean rites; (b) a tenable view of the origin and early history of the Mandaean religion; and (c) an advancement of our knowledge regarding the character of Oriental Gnosis and its religious bearings.

6. General contents of the Siddā rabba, or Gena. In seeking to solve the riddle presented by the Mandaean and their writings, we must begin with a critical examination of the oldest portions of their literature. We shall, therefore, first direct our attention to the matter found in the Gena. There we find a teeming world fabricated by religious and theological fantasy. Gods and demons, or beings of like nature, come before us with actions and mutations, and set forth, as the key to all other, except those relating to the creation of the world, the
founding of religions, and the destiny of the human soul. Not infrequently it seems as if one and the same being stood before us under different names, while in other texts the bearers of these names are found in company with one another; sometimes, again, a particular action is ascribed to beings of altogether diverse character, or, as the action of one and the same being, is characterized with much variation in different texts. It would be impossible here to set forth or unravel all this, and we shall seek only to give a concise summary of the most of distant frames of thought and imagination to which the vast variety of the materials may be reduced.

7. Ancient Gnostic elements in the Genzâ. — The tractsates that first claim our interest, as being probably the oldest, are those which exhibit polytheistic beliefs, or are at least ultimately based upon polytheistic views. Some of these open with speculations regarding the origin of all things, including the world of the gods, and to this group belong the sections in which emanational doctrines are set forth (cf. MR, p. 24 f.). Here 'the Great Fruit,' from which innumerable other fruits have sprung, and a personal divine being, the 'Great Man of Glory,' from whom, in like manner, other 'Great Mânas' have arisen, are spoken of as primal entities. Beside the Great Mân we frequently find 'drops' (ayar, akhûd, or 'the great ether of Life' (ayyâ râbâ d'ayyâî), who appears sometimes as a primitive being, sometimes as one of the first emanations; and the same holds true of the 'First Life,' also called 'the Great Life,' and of 'the Great Hidden First Nôxîftô' (i.e. 'drop,' perhaps thought of as a sperm-drop). In all the sections of this type we read also of 'the great river,' which is always represented as a river of white water, as 'the living water,' 'the glistening and lustrous water.' It encircles the realm of the ayar, the world inhabited by the higher beings, and in its descent it is joined by innumerable other Jordians which water the ayar-realm; and, again, it traverses that realm as 'the great artery of life.' So unorganized is the system, however, that as early as the middle period of the Genzâ we find the personified figures of Wisdom making request for revelations as to the gradation of the higher beings according to their period and dignity (MS, p. 25 ff.). Nor do the texts in question proceed merely with divergent conceptions of a single underlying view, or with various attempts to reconstruct an imperfectly conceived system; on the contrary, they contain originally divergent conceptions of the origin of things—conceptions either fabricated or gathered from foreign sources by the Mandaean scholars themselves at a period before the transmitted texts were written. Of the authors of the Genzâ it is only the polytheistic group that have made use of these conceptions.

Of the narratives describing the creation of the terrestrial world, some still bear a relation to the theogonies, the relation being peculiarly close in the long and important tractate vi. 1, which we may call the Mandaean Genesis. In this text 'the Life,' calls 'the Second Life' into existence by a 'request to itself.' Then this 'Second Life' creates for itself a celestial world, and among the spirits of this higher realm of second rank (the 'âdrâs of the Second Life) arises the idea of creating a third world, viz. our earth, with inhabitants who should know and worship only the Second Life, not the First. Then the Great Mân of Glory, in order to frustrate this design, calls into existence the Mândä d'âyâî, who was to see that the First Life was worshipped also upon the earth.

In the Mandaean dialect mandâ is a by-tern of mändû or mändûd, a noun from the root 'man' (cf. Nîdûs, Mand. d'âyâî, p. 75), and Mándû d'âyâî is equivalent to D'ayyâî ū tspûq yputs, 'the knowledge of life'—such a knowledge of life as gives one a portion in it. The term 'Mândû' is a rendering of mändû, /nvests-cus.

8. The polytheistic strain in Mandaean theology. — While the Mandaean writers esteem the theological speculations and divinities as matter of distant and ancient revelations, in their own religious thinking they retain only the belief in 'the Great Life'—or simply 'the Life'—whom they regard as the deity of the second rank. The spirit of pîrât for the most part is equivalent to 'fruit' in the ordinary sense, and the term ayar (ultimately derived from Gr. ἀγάρ) as denoting the air of the celestial world and the north wind associated with it. The word mändû (usually = 'vessel,' 'instrument') is still found in a group of hymns (L 38-74) in which the soul of the Mandaean asserts its heritage in the higher world, declaring, 'I am a mändû of the Great Life,' while occasionally an exalted celestial being is distinguished by the epithet 'pure mändû.' At first the deity referred to as 'the Life' is still regarded as a plurality, being designated 'the Fathers,' and is thus conceived as a council of gods—though one that is small and always unanimous. Very soon, however, 'the Life' comes to be spoken of in the singular. Other gods appear besides 'the Life'—not, indeed, as its subordinates, but inferior to it in power and prestige. These are not called 'gods'—among the Mandaean texts we know them all as angels or devils, as also are the countless angels who play a more ornamental part.

Far below the realm of ayar lies a world of darkness—'the black water' (meyyâ yûkhâ). We are nowhere told that the black water is merely a portion of the under world, or that it bounds or covers it, and yet the idea that the under world is in a liquid condition is quite irreconcilable with a large number of its features as presented in the narratives.

The creation of the earth which lies solid in the black water, and of the firmament expanded over it, is ascribed to no elaboration of the Nag Hammadi texts. Ptáthil (on whom cf. MS, p. 60 f., note). The characterization of this demigre shows a remarkable degree of variation. Ptáhîl merely resembles the higher beings, and has arisen out of the black water; he acts only by permission, or, indeed, upon the authority of 'the Life,' and with the means vouchsafed to him by the latter, but he oversteps his orders; or he has accepted the preferréd help of the evil spirits. Again, he is in fault solely because he has not boldly resisted such an evil spirit, or, once more, he himself has committed no transgression, and it is only after he has only performed his work that evil comes into the world.

The creation of man is wrought in part either by Ptáhil or by the evil spirits, but is left incomplete, the soul and the finer organs, or at least the former, being still lacking, and man live—labreasted into Adam by Mándâ d'âyâî, or else brought down from the treasure-house of 'the Life' and placed in Adam's body by one of the celestial beings. By this means, and also by the fact that the first man was at once enlightened regarding his origin and the true religion, the design of the subordinate spirits (those of the Second Life) to create a world in which inhabitants should belong to them and worship them alone was foiled.

The wicked spirits, however—of the 'âdrâs of the
Second Life nothing is said even in the 6th tractate—do not at once accept defeat. By magic they create all manner of! noxious things—poison and corruption by way of incantation, devouring fire and earthquake, etc., as well as evil passions—and mingle them with the good creation. According to vi. R, the first to be deluded by the wicked ones was the son of the first man (Adam = Adam); and Mandã d’hâyê, or his representatives (Hibîl, Sitîl, ‘Ènãsî), must once more appear to fortify and maintain mankind in the true faith. These spirits, with their wives, Arâm, son, and her children, viz. the spirits of the seven planets and of the twelve zodiacal signs. Prior to the creation of the earth her abode was the region overlying the black water, and from her and her sons all evil things have come into the world—demons, founders of false religions, teachers of heresy, and men of violence. The Rîthâ, who also bears the epithet of ‘world-mother’ or ‘mother of the world,’ bore these children to Ur, the Mandæan devil, who was himself her son. He is a most villainous creature, and had to be laid under restraint before the earth and the firmament were created, and, accordingly, the solidification of the land in the black water would otherwise have been impossible. According to vi. R, it was Mandã d’hâyê himself, according to vii. R. it was his son Hibîlî, who, as at Ur, loaded him with chains, and set warders over him—or, on another view, immured him in Ur’s own dark realm. Detailed accounts of how these measures were carried out—mainly by magic and trickery—are found in the tractates cited; and vii. R (one of the later portions of the Genza) relates further, with reminiscences of Bah. myths, how the ‘fathers’ of Ur, the lords of three deeper regions of the under world, were rendered harmless (complete tr. in MS, pp. 137-191).

9. Biblical matter in the tractates of the polytheistic earlier school.—The Rîthâ and her son Ur, dwelling upon the surface of a watery expanse that existed before the creation of the solid land, and in some way interested in that creation of which their names are not Mandæan, but of Heb. origin, can be none other than the female ‘whom he loved, according to the opening words of the Heb. Genesis, ‘brooded upon the face of the waters,’ and the light (79), which is said in the same passage to have been the first work of the creation. The Gnostic Mandæans, who according to the tractates believed the light which the light was born of the Rîthâ (of God), as were also, subsequently, the lights of the heavens. The word ‘gîy’, ‘call,’ as used for ‘call into being,’ can be traced to the Biblical Genesis, as well as the names of Adam and his wife Hawwâ, and, consequently, also that of their son Sitîl (i.e. ‘îsî, lengthened in Mand. to ‘îsîi) and the names of the other two gôni Hibîl and ‘Ènãsî. The exaltation of Abel (‘îsî, slain in his innocence, as Hibîl ‘îsî) seems to the present writer to be of later origin (cf. § 14). The Heb. narrative of the Fall, in which knowledge is described as a forbidden fruit, is one that the Gnostic author could not use at all, since he must have regarded it as directly in conflict with the view that the knowledge of good and evil, of truth and error, was revealed to the first man immediately after his last, and as a soul from the higher worlds, and that that revelation marked the founding of the true religion.

In connexion with the account of the origin of the Hebrews, and of their origin in the tractate, the Mandæan Genesis refers to the false religions of the whole world, and states that all of them, as well as the peoples who profess

them, were called into existence by the planetary spirits, and that, in particular, Judaism was created by Sîmûs (‘the sun’), ‘whom all people call Adônas.’ The writer does not, however, say that the Mandæan reform was an outgrowth of Jewish religion, but in the place of Mercury he inserts the Messian (Mîthâd), of whose followers he says that they ‘all accuse one another of lying,’ and of himself that he had disturbed the peace of the true religion. This reference to the mutually conflicting teachings of the Christian Church (R 120, 7 f.) comes doubtless from the hand of the Mandæan redactor.

10. Possible antecedences of a Gnosticism entirely independent of Christianity.—In the last relating to the cosmogony (and theology) there is nothing to remind us of Christianity except the fact that the rivers which contain the ‘living’ water are each called ‘Jordan.’ Among the Mandæans the word yarînâd is used as an appellative; but, as it is not a native Mandæan formation, this usage is, no doubt, to be explained by the peculiar respect accorded to the chief river of Palestine by the Gnostics, whose writings had been appropriated or used by the Mandæans. There are certain facts which lend support to the opinion that the high standing of the Mandæan doctrine is somewhat greater than the gospel narrative of John the Baptist and Jesus (cf. MS, p. 16 f., note; Brandt, Elchast, p. 164); and upon this point depends the answer to the question whether the Mandæan documents show vestiges of Gnosticism that was not affected by Christianity, and was perhaps pre-Christian.

11. Jesus Christ as Mandã d’hâyê.—Tractates bearing unmistakable signs of dependence upon a tradition of gospel history, and emanating, at the same time, from the polytheistic school, are found in ix. and xi. R. These two tractates stand out from the rest of the tractates in that they alone speak of the Mandã d’hâyê as having appeared in Jerusalem and Judah, or in company with Yâhânnâ the Baptist at the Jordan, with a view to selecting the believers in the true religion from amongst all peoples and families (R 115, 10), while the proclamation of the true doctrine, which, according to the view otherwise universal among the Mandæans, was revealed in the days of Adam, is in these tractates utterly ignored. The Mandæans gave their sanction to the narratives without suspecting that they related to the Lord of Christian believers, and also without adjusting their own theological views according to the appearance of the Mandã d’hâyê among the Jews, or amongst a human race long in existence, is never again mentioned—so far, at least, as the Genza is concerned—by later Mandæan writers.

12. The monothetic school, or doctrine, of the king of light.—With the polytheistic Gnosticism described in the foregoing paragraphs Mandæan writers of, we would surmise, the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. conjoined a strictly monothetic Gnosticism, which, from its leading themes, we shall call the doctrine of the king of light. i. and xxv. R furnish a complete and almost unavowed account of it. *1

*1 One is the lofty king of light in his kingdom—lord of all heavenly beings, source of all good, creator of all forms of life, of infinite greatness and goodness, highly extolled by the ‘kings’ of the angels who stood before him and incited him to create the distinctively Mandæan character are the features noted in 3. 11 of the tractates in the north) and 6. 17c ‘victims are not sacrificed before him,’ and the description given in 9. 8: ‘The Jordans of the world of light are white waters, fall, whiter than milk, cool and drinkable, and in the Zêda and the Gisana and the Gudot the taste of death;’ their garments and crowns are things of splendour and light. In a complete contradiction to all this is seen in the realm of darkness, with their black water and poisonous snakes. Likewise, like the Mandæan devil, has the head of an lion, the body of a serpent, and the wings of an eagle; he is called ‘incendiary’ by two Mandæan authors, and is said to carry three arrows of poison: ‘iron teeth in the exubilations of his mouth; the stone is burned in his mouth, the breath: when he bursts the mountains tremble; the phœnas quakes at the whisper of his lips,’ etc. All the demons he once projected an assault against the realm of light, but, coming to the border of his kingdom, he
found no gate, no way, no means of ascending to the celestial being. This is the most primitive concept of the king of light, by proclaiming that 'All the projects of the Daywâ (`demons') come to naught whenever sins are offered in his name.' (MS, p. 425.)

According to the theology which finds expression here, the king of light is also the creator of the universe, with all that they contain—stars, winds, fire, plants, animals, and human beings—were created by command of the king of light through the agency of an `âdûn named Gabriel, the Ambassador.

In the second mandate given to Gabriel the Mandean redactor has interpolated a passage referring to the subjugation of the world of darkness (R 12, 9-12), but nothing is said of this subjugation in the account of the actual creation. The creation of man is briefly recorded as follows (12, 9): And the man Adam and his wife Hâwêç were fashioned, and the soul fell into the body.

Then (13, 9) the `angels came: they made submission to Adam; they came and worshipped before him, and changed not his word. One was the evil one, by whom wickedness was formed, who departed from the word of his lord; and the lord fe Herned him with a fetter.'

13. The moral code.—With this theological exposition in i. R and also in the parallel ii. R it is associated a code of practice, which seems to be of identical origin, and which, at all events, has been transmitted (R 13-36; cf. MS, pp. 24-43) as a record of the doctrine of the king of light. Here, e.g., we read:

I say unto you, all who give heed to the name of God: In your standing and your sitting, in your going, coming, eating, drinking, sleeping, and as charged a dressing-gown and girdle, the name of the lofty king of light. That the record in question is derived from a non-Mandaean source appears from the use of the term alâhâ, 'God,' and also from its repeated mention of the `Satan,' and of `Satans.' The laws relating to food are of special significance; they forbid the faithful to partake of the flesh of animals that have died otherwise than by slaughter, or to taste of blood, and of meats and drinks that have been prepared by heterodox hands. This portion of knowledge (mandâ), R 13, 29), however, has been considerably modified in conformity with the Mandean faith, and distinctively Mandean commandments have been inserted in it—those enjoining white clothing with girdle, immersion in a river, the Mandean communion, the massequâ for the dead, and the washing of all foods, as well as those prohibiting lamentation for the dead and condemning fasting.

14. Judeo-Christian Gnosis in the doctrine of the king of light.—The monothestic concept of the king of light, as set forth, with marked Parri colouring, in the Genâz, must be originally Jewish or, at least, Judaeo-Christian. The present writer is of opinion that it reveals a Judeo-Christian Gnosis. From what was said above (§ 10), the mention of the `Jordans' of the world of light must not be regarded as decisive evidence; but in the moral code (11, 25, 29, 48, 9) we find the injunction:

"Arm yourselves with the weapon that is not of iron; let your weapon be Sagâridûn (šarâbîtân; variet sagârîtâ) and the direct utterance of the place of light."

In the Genâz the terms Nâzârêyâ and Mandâyâ are used synonymously; according to the Mandean, both terms apply, or, at least, should properly, apply, to themselves alone. We know, however, that down to the end of the 4th cent. the former designation was specially used by the Jews who believed in Jesus, and that it is applied in the Qur’ân (li. 59, 105, 107, 114, 129, 134. Lii. 69, v. 17, 21, 56, 73, 85, ix. 30, xxxii. 17) to the Christians generally. The injunction just quoted permits us to hazard the conjecture that the doctrine of the king of light was the source from which the Mandean, adopted the name Nâzârêyâ.

No other unmistakable features of a specifically Christian character occur in the tracts of the school under notice. In the Middle Sections of the two most notable documents (i. and t. R), the Messiah, the prophet of the Jews, is actually described as a leader among the wicked spirits who make the human race abandon the true religion. These sections, however, regard only the second elements of the original doctrine of the king of light. Such residual elements might with most likelihood be found in the figures of Hûlût, etc., like Mandâ d’haîyâ in the polytheistic Gnosis) instructs the first man in all the necessary salve, and Enôs-tû, who in the course of the world’s history comes forth to rehash that instruction (R 29; cf. MS, p. 48).

15. Enôs.—He is the cloud; MandâEnôs (i use, us) rests upon an identification or fusion (due, possibly, to the author of the Judeo-Christian doctrine of the king of light) of the OT Enôs (Gen 4, 32) with the Son of Man (bar ‘enôz) of Dn 7, 14, 17. Abel, Seth, and Enôch—or, in their Mandean form, Hûlû, Sitîl, and ‘enôs, three ‘âdûns—are associated with Adam as messengers of the true religion and as his auxiliaries. ‘Enôs, however, comes forth again, appearing in Jerusalem at the same time as Isa-îshâ (Jesus Messiah,) who poses as a wonder-worker, and whom he unmask as a deceiver; he performs miracles of healing (perhaps on the basis of Mt 11, 3) proclaims the true religion, causes three hundred and sixty (or three hundred and sixty-five) ‘disciples’ to go forth from Jerusalem, and ascends to the Life, by whom (again) he is called ‘Mandân’ (here since he destroy the city, and does so in the form of a white eagle—corresponding to the white falcon in Bundahish, xix. 23 (SBE, p. 1880) 71 f.; cf. MR, p. 155 f ). In all these acts ‘Enôs has for his dispensation a cloud, in which he dwells; and from its matter he fashion the body in which he appears upon the earth as a man. This cloud is in its origin doubtless the cloud of the gospel narratives (Mt, 17, Ac 19), and this, again, probably has its source in the clouds of heaven which seem the vehicle of the Son of Man in Danâd (7, 12; 2 Es 13, 21, Mt 26, etc.). In the closing periods of the Bundâhish, the Mandaeans began to dopst the cloud of ‘Enôs in conformity with the Para conception of the garden of Yâmin (see art. BLEST, ABDÔH OF THE (Persian)), and it then came to be conceived as a country floating above the earth—a realm called mhânûn endôh from the ‘righteous translated ones’ who inhabit it (R 335 f); the name recalls the Jewish traditions about the righteous spirits. Enoch, Eljah, etc., who were translated to heaven (cf. MS, p. 77, note).

16. The Christian Redeemer in the Genâz.—From all this we seem to be entitled to infer that the Mandean form became adapted to the figure of Mandâ d’haiyâ in the framework of a Gnosis working with polytheistic ideas, and appropriated it, and that they afterwards adopted the figure of ‘Enôs from the Judeo-Christian doctrine of the king of light, while, at a still later date, they met with the Messiah Jesus in writings of another origin. The tracts or books in which they found the name last mentioned were, as regards their contents, more closely related to the gospel narrative than were their other sources, and in them the Christian Saviour was intimately connected with the Holy Spirit. Hence, as the Mandean savants identified the Râhôwith the Iribh whom they had long known as an evil being, the mother of `Ur, they could not but regard Isa-îshâ likewise as belonging to the group of evil spirits. In the Genâz tracts which profess to relate the religious history of man—in other tracts the Messiah does not appear at all—He is usually surnamed the ‘liar’ or ‘impostor,’ on the ground, of course, that He sought to diminish the role of Mandân, Seth, and ‘Enôs. Where the writers of these sections still employ the scheme of the earlier system, they assert that He is the planet Mercury, and, similarly,
an adoring salutation to the rising sun. A further point of importance is that in their prayers the Mandaeans turned towards the north, where the erstwhile king of light sits upon the throne, while the common Jewish view (held also by Elkesai) is that the evil spirits and their chief Sammaël (from semäl, 'the left,' i.e. the northern one) have their abode in that very region of the heavens.

18. Conjectures regarding the origin of the Mandean religion.—The relations between the Mandean teachings and Manicheism (q.v.) cannot be fully discussed here. The parallels have been noted by the present writer in MS, pp. 223-228 (cf. Elchesian, p. 142 f.), and to that list should be added the correspondence between a passage in the Manichean narrative regarding the awakening of the first man to life (as quoted by Pognon, Inscr. wird., p. 190 f., from Theodore bar-Khoni's Book of School), and one in L 461. In the verifiable parallels the Mandean versions seem to be secondary, and we must infer that both sides are indebted to the same group of sources. A large proportion of the material common to both is explained by the mass of Paris ideas in the Judeo-Christian groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light, to have died on the cross, and in the theology of Mani on the other.

19. Doubtless, too, the Mandean redactors introduced into their tractates a number of fragments from Manichean documents unknown to us (cf. MS, p. 198 f.). The religious teachings of the Mandaeans are derived from Jewish and from foreign sources, including some of a Gnostic character. The ark of Noah (Nû) ran ashore—as the Targums also tell—on the mountains of Qardh (Gordya, i.e. Kurdistan); Abraham and Moses were prophets of Rûhâ; King Solomon, like King Jânisdî in Iranian legend, held the demons in subjection until he caused them to return to their prison by undertaking a performance of duties, or by adoring the angel Daniel, to whom was given power over fires, at the order of 'El-rabbâh and Rûhâ (MS, p. 120 f., 122)."!

The assumption that the Mandaeans were originally a Jewish or Judeo-Christian sect (Hilgenfeld, Weilhausen) seems to be at variance with the following facts. Their knowledge of the most eminent names associated with the teachings of Judaism was not obtained from oral tradition; on the contrary, they found the names in written documents, such as the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus they render the name of Moses as Mîšâ, Miriam as Mîryâ, Abraham as Abraham, Israel as Usrîl, Jacob as Yaqîfi; Sabbath appears as Sâyîdâ, mukktehâ, 'angels,' as mûkbtû, 'kings,' and Benjamin actually as bûn 'Amin,' 'the sons of Amin.' The inevitable inference is that the Mandaeans had been through-out complete strangers to the religious tradition of Judaism. The same may be said of Jewish religious life. In the entire Mandean literature there is no evidence to show that the Mandaeans ever observed the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, or turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. Like the Essenes (q.v.), they rejected animal sacrifices, and believed that the soul was liberated from the body at death; but marriage—in the form of monogamy, though with a succession of wives—and the procreation of children were considered upon them as a religious duty; they had nothing like the organized communal life characteristic of the Essenes, while their views regarding the planets are quite inconsistent with such a practice as that of according

1 The Genâd refers also to the Iron Mountain (L 17. 5: yâfîr d'parâid), which, though not noticed in the OT, is mentioned in the Targums in connection with the fire of the eastern frontiers of Palestine in Nu 33:11 (also in Josephus, BJ iv. viii. 2 [416, ed. Weiser]).
MANDAEANS

had they much appreciation for explanations of the
world-process by pre-suppositions which purported
to guarantee salvation to all who acted in
accordance with them, although this salvation
itself and its mythological elements, the ideas of
the gods and all their imaginative embroidery,
were quite of the kind to produce a powerful impression
upon them. In reality it was into the hands of a
class whose learning was confined to a little read-

and writing that "Gnostic" tracts fell, and
texts, written in a foreign language, and,
Gnostics, wrung upon them with the force of oracles,
revelations and, as it were, a subject . . .

20. The baptismic nature-religion.—The idea
that the rivers descended from the celestial world
by way of the mountains in the distant north and
that their waters impart fresh energies to the
pious who bathe in them—a naturalistic element
of belief retained by the Mandaeans amid all the
thoughts and fancies subsequently acquired—
was probably inherited from their ancestors.
In explanation of this belief we might advance
the conjecture that this Semitic people had not always
lived among the lower courses of the rivers, but at
an earlier period had dwelt in a locality much nearer
the snow covered mountains—in a district
from which they could see, upon their northern
horizon, huge mountains towering to the sky (cf.
M.B, pp. 96-72; M.S, pp. 213-217). We scarcely
need to explain how these facts would provide a
basis for the belief in question, and we can easily
understand, too, how a people, if driven from their
native region and compelled to endure a miserable
existence in their new abode, should seek, in con-
formity with the practice of their ancestors, i.e.,
by means of immersions, constantly repeated, to
absorb the virtues which the river brought from the
higher world to the low-lying plains. We do not
claim, of course, that this is more than a surmise,
yet we would draw attention to the fact that there
are linguistic phenomena which might be adduced
in its support. Thus the Syriac idiom used in
Kurdistan and on Lake Urmiya is found to agree
with the Mandean dialect in the formation of the
ininitive and in not a few features of the pronoun
— a fact which Nöldeke (q. xxvii) recognizes as
'the strongest proof'. If, however, we set the
theory aside as over-hazardous, we must be
content to suppose either that the very simple religious
ceremony of baptism had prevailed from primitive
times among the country people of Lower Baby-
lonia or that by some means or another it had
spread to that district from Syria (cf. Brandt,
Ebonasi, pp. 151, 154).

21. The adoption of Gnostic tracts.—The
Mandaeans, then—though not yet bearing that
name—practising their religious abonitions, and
sharing the general Semitic belief in demons, were
living in Southern Babylonia at a time when the
intermingling of religions had proceeded so far in
the districts in which the Aramaic and Persian
languages were spoken that it had at length
evolved those creations of theological fantasy com-
mmon among all Gnostics, whether, however, we
must here combine the Manichean teachings and,
great part, the substance of the Pahlavi books
(Bviandahin, etc.). The priests of this baptismic
tribe were not intellectually sufficiently advanced to
share in the reflective activity which strives to
interpret the objects of faith and the influences of
religion as cosmic entities and occurrences; nor
would these circumstances have prepared them to
receive the Gnostic script which bears a fairly close relation to the earliest form of Pahlavi,
especially the so-called Chaldean-Pahlavi, but its conformity with the Syriac script mentioned above shows to
the present writer much more striking.

22. The rise of Mandean theology.—It seems
beyond question that the earlier generations of Mandaeans who had previously been
stripping, by an early act of translation, we should estimate, a period of at least two
hundred years) treated all the texts in their posses-
sion as far as the contents comprised in some
measure with their own religious sentiments, as
records of revealed wisdom; in their backward
intellectual condition, moreover, they could not
fail to be impressed with matter so familiar.
In the work of transcribing, the Mandaeans
were intranscribing and renewing dilapidated texts,
themselves learned the art of literary com-
position. Thus, if they found that these strange
documents made no mention of, e.g., the 'Jordan,'
the bath of immersion, or anything else that they
could have wished to discover in them, they added
what was required, while fragments of defective
MSS they either inserted into others or put into
such order as was possible. Hence, we may infer
that they advanced to reduction, and from reduction
to independent composition. Such, then, was the
genesis of the Mandean literature; it consists
for the most part of pieces written in different
views. This,

23. The religious beliefs of the Mandean writers.
—Amid all this evidence that the Mandean
script bears a fairly close relation to the earliest form of Pahlavi,
Mandean writers, especially the so-called Chaldean-Pahlavi, but its conformity
is the true home.
surrendered the traditional religious practice of their people, although their ideas of the benefits to be derived from the bath of immersion underwent a process of refinement in conformity with the development of their theology.

If we take into account the trains of thought by which these theologians were influenced there arose, in course of time, a distinctively Mandaean religious belief, which can be traced without difficulty in most sections of the Gena\textsuperscript{d}. The main features of that belief are as follows. Far above, beyond the heavens, there is a world full of light and splendour, where dwell the Life (as the supreme deity) and other divine beings, or, where, according to another phase of doctrine, the 'exalted king of light,' surrounded by hosts of angels, sits enthroned. From that realm the soul of man derives its origin—the soul of Adam and the souls of his descendants in the Mandaean community. Far beneath, again, is the world of darkness with its black waters. Part of it has been 'thickened,' brought into a solid state; this is the earth inhabited by mankind. The earth has now the black water upon the south; upon the north it stretches over lofty mountains to the world of light; from that world the rivers descend by way of the mountains to the lowlands, and it was by the bathing in the 'living' water of the rivers, main- taining their connexion with the higher realm. The souls of the devout dwell upon this earth as in a foreign land and must, therefore, make an effort to lift themselves up to the powers of darkness now innured—the deities of other peoples and other creeds—and it is they and their creatures or servants who make life a torment for the Mandaens. Hence the believer waits with earnest longing for his salvation, i.e. his deliverance from this earthly existence. At the hour of death a divine being descends from the world of light, and, as the 'liberator,' takes the soul from the body, and bears it upwards through the celestial spheres to the world of light and of the Great Life.

24. The Mandaean typology. The soul of the Mandatory after the hour of its deliverance, is sustained by the symbolism of the ritual elaborated by the priests. 'Confessors of the true faith are plants of the world of light or of Mand\textae\textsuperscript{d} hay\textae\textsuperscript{y} (R 89 f., 220, 15 f., etc.), and they are summoned to their death not only by the Mand\textae\textsuperscript{d} br\textae\textsuperscript{d} y\textae\textsuperscript{y} (P\textae\textsuperscript{d} r\textae\textsuperscript{d} n g\textae\textsuperscript{d} r\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n, \textae\textsuperscript{d} 17), 'Make the river sprout' or 'blossom' (\textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} S, p. 99 f.; \textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} S, p. 163, note). What is implied here is that the water is to flow from the world of light and confer life into those who bathe in it, so that they may be said to spring from the river like plants. They were also required, however, to mark their brow with the living water, and likewise drink of it (the draught is called 'gushing'), partake of a loaf (the loaf is termed \textae\textsuperscript{d} p\textae\textsuperscript{d} k\textae\textsuperscript{d} t\textae\textsuperscript{d}, 'opening,' 'unlocking,' etc.); and those who take part in these ceremonies have a share in the benigh fountains of the better world—in the great baptism in the heavenly Jordan, in the gushing of radiance, in that treasure of the Life which is to be opened. The liturgical recitations (\textae\textsuperscript{d} d\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}) were meant to represent the beams (\textae\textsuperscript{d} d\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}\textae\textsuperscript{d}) of splendour which would flow from the house of the Life to meet the soul as it sped upwards from the earth (\textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} S, p. 49), etc. The ultimate ground of trust, however, was always the ceremony of immersion; thus it is in R 18, 1 we read: 'Your token is the token of the living water, by which you ascend to the place of the Light.'

25. The Mandaean prayer—originally this itself was the sign—it was the practice, as early as the period of the Gena\textsuperscript{d}, to utter names, viz. those of the Great First Life (R 196, 8; or of the king of light, R 17 f.) and Mand\textae\textsuperscript{d} d'h\textae\textsuperscript{d} m\textae\textsuperscript{d} n (\textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} R, p. 104 f.). To their own rite of immersion, whether performed, as was usually the case, by the individual himself, or, as on feast-days, with the cooperation of a priest, or administered to children, the Mandaens applied the term m\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n (presumably for m\textae\textsuperscript{d} t\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n; the odd pronunciation given by Siou\textae\textsuperscript{d}, \textae\textsuperscript{d} m\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n (French), could be approximately correct only for the plural form of the noun), the word which certainly comes from the Som. verb \textae\textsuperscript{d} t\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n (the sound of \textae\textsuperscript{d} t\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n in Mand\textae\textsuperscript{d}), which the Mandaens was exclusively in connexion with the religious practice in question (cf. § 36). For Christian baptism, on the other hand, the writers of the Gena\textsuperscript{d} persistently employ the term used in the Syrian Church, ml\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n (\textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} S, p. 152) and the A\textae\textsuperscript{d} d\textae\textsuperscript{d} n forms of \textae\textsuperscript{d} m\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n. They contaminate and vitify the Christian ceremony because it is performed not in 'living,' but in (or with) 'cut-off' water.

26. Ceremonial purity. In this period the idea of purity was recognized in the sense of a relation to the world of light so intimate that it carried with it exclusion from every object and condition antipathetic to it ('H\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n\textae\textsuperscript{d} n, pure Mand\textae\textsuperscript{d}; I. 118, 17, 'the Jordan of the Life, from which I have taken purity'). The laws already mentioned regarding food came to the Mandatory through the medium of the ethical code in the doctrine of the king of light, as did also the injunction that husbands and wives should 'wash themselves with the water of our baptism' after ordinary ablution (the ritual of ablution was afterwards for the Mandaens transformed into a sort of self-purification by means of special baths). It was only later that the commandment of abstinence was extended to many other occasions of life (Siou\textae\textsuperscript{d}, cited in \textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} S, p. 195 f.).

27. Prayers. Among the Mandaean prayers was known as 'compassion,' or 'petition and praise.' According to the ethical code just mentioned, believers must rise to pray thrice in the day-time, and twice during the night, but in other texts, apparently of Judeo-Christian origin, the only prayers enjoined are one in the morning, one at the seventh hour of the day, and one before sunset, while in one passage (R 300) prayer in the night-time is actually forbidden. We read of a 'man' who (like the archangel Michael among the Jews) receives the prayers, and stores or preserves them in the treasure-house of the Life (R 223 f., 300). In the later redaction of a regulation in the ethical code the believer is commanded to ask a blessing upon flesh-food before eating (R 68; cf. \textae\textsuperscript{d} M\textae\textsuperscript{d} R, p. 94). The priests drew up short forms of prayer for these ordinances; but the protection accorded by such danger they regarded prayer in the proper sense as less effectual than a long series of recitations from the ancient books.

28. The massæ\textae\textsuperscript{d} n. The ceremony termed mas-
Mandæans

segat, 'mounting up,' 'ascend,' consists exclusively of such recitations, and is designed to help the souls of the departed if in their journey or flight to the better world they should be stopped by evil-disposed spirits or because of their own sins. The imagination of the Mandæans gave itself with zest to descriptions of this ascension and of the stations through which the soul must pass. Each station is pictured, and none have any pretensions of a false religion, or various classes of sinful men, are kept in ward and punished, the term applied to such a place being ma'rōd, or ma'tartōr, i.e. 'ward,' 'place of custody,' 'prison.' Some of the descriptions contain features taken from Parsi-Gnostic sources, as, e.g., the 'gates' of the planets situated one above the other (mentioned as Mithrale in Origin, c. Cela, vi. 22; cf. MS. p. xii), or the guardian spirits who come to meet the soul, and—in the latest Genzâd texts—the tree of life, the balance in which the soul is weighed, the judge of the dead, etc. (MS. p. 105 f., and in the Various, Dēva, beasts of prey lie in wait for the soul). The souls of the deceased pass all the wards without molestation, because, according to the tracts of the Genzâd which describe the ascension (x. R and iv. L), they give the name 'hâdyây' or 'shāh'—takem from the waves of the water, i.e. because they profess the Mandæan faith and thus show that they belong to the world of light. In place of this name and summary incantation, the hymns of the Genzâd (about 120 pieces), all of which find their themes in the destiny of the soul, its imprisonment in the body, its release, and its journey home to the world of light, insist rather upon the necessity of good works; with these was probably associated a devotional spirit (cf., e.g., L 101. 3: 'I loved the Life, and Mandâ d'hâdyây dwelt in my heart'). It is but seldom, however, that we find in these hymns even a few words referring to the religious practice of the Mandæans or to the 'Jordan.' The explanation of this curious fact we take to be as follows. The massagêtâ for the dead is in reality a Mandæan imitation of a corresponding ceremony in the Parsi religion. According to the Parsi doctrine, the soul, after leaving the body, is received by its own good thoughts, words, and works—which assume the form of a beautiful maiden—and by them is led across the narrow Chinvat bridge, or guarded against other objects of fear. Now the hymns in the Genzâd are simply massagêtâ hymns, i.e., they were composed for the purpose of a ceremonial. They are the work of Mandæan writers, as can be deduced in view of the matter incorporated in them, but in composing them the writers must have let their thoughts be guided by the example of the Parsi ceremony and the Parsi texts.

29. Mandæan poetry.—Although the majority of the Mandæan hymns can lay little claim to real poetic merit, they show at least that the Mandæans did not deal with their religious knowledge on purely intellectual lines, but found in it a source of true emotion, and the spirit that inspires them seems to be one of sincere and genuine emotion. As a specimen of the massagêtâ hymns we give here one of the most pleasing (L 80 f.); it should be premised that the use of the expression 'my conflict' rests upon the idea that the soul is entangled in its earthly daily affairs generally—an entanglement that is dissolved at death.

How I rejoice! How my heart doth rejoice! How I rejoice on the day when my conflict is dissolved, and I go to the place of the Life.

By and by, when I arrived at the water-brooks, As I arrived at the water-brooks, the radiant beam (am ūm) came forth to meet me. He took me by my right hand and led me through the water-brooks. They (the water-brooks) brought splendor and clothed me with it; they brought their light and wrapped me round with it. Life reclined upon me, and life was my own life; it overflowed in life. Here follow a few sentences composed of ancient formulas; their construction and, in pars, their sense are difficult to make out.

30. The Mandæans under Sasanian rule.—The Mandæans never played a part in the field of politics. As long as they were allowed to go about their daily tasks without interference, their frame of mind was one of entire content. They were in no sense a warlike people, and their whole history, as well as their literature, shows that they were able to offer only a weak resistance to persecution and attacks upon their religion.

Babylonia period preceding its conquest by the Arabs, belonged to the empire of the Sasanians. We cannot say whether the Mandæan hatred of the Jews was kindled by documents embodying an anti-Jewish Gnosis; it may perhaps date from the first half of the 3rd century, when a number of rampacous Jewish satraps, as related by Josephus (Ant. XVIII. ix. 1 § 310 ff., ed. Niese), provoked the whole population to an outbreak against themselves and their companions.

The Sasanians persecuted the Mandæans and the Christians who adhered to Rome, but they spared the Nestorian Church, which was subject to the State, and the peasant Mandæans. The latter, however, were sometimes ill-treated by Christian monks who went to them as missionaries.

In the Genzâd (xvi. R) we find an account of the Roman Catholic clergy and worship, and (i. and ii. R) we are told that the attempts to convert the Mandæans were not always carried out 'with sweetness'—with discourses and promises—but were also supported by force. In that satrapy, doubtless, the Nestorian Church had at one time sufficient influence to have the soldiery employed on its behalf; and, accordingly, we read (R 28, 16): 'When [the] Fravashis [the Persian] diurnal [religion] take reference to the gate and the demons of the planet Mars, [the nearer] (Nergal) who is called the Arab Abdâl.'

The whole earth is made subject to his throne; to his followers all things fall a prey; 'day after day they make war and shed blood, and live ever an enemy to the souls, and to the great family of the Life; and there are also many souls of the great family of the Life who go over to them, and deny the name of the Life. . . . ' In their distress the devout Mandæans comforted themselves with the thought that the wicked Abîlah had fallen into one of the infernal prisons, where his followers take him to task, asking why they now suffer torments in the realm of darkness while 'the servants of the alien (i.e. Mandâ d'hâdyây), against whom we drew the sword, mount up to the world of light' (MS. p. 162 f.).

It must have been about this period, in the 7th or 8th cent. A.D., that most of the Mandæans, having reached the limits of endurance, gave way before the Muslim Arabs, and migrated from Babylonia to the adjacent districts of Persia. It is possible that the minority, as found later on in the Enfratrees and the Tigris, had for a time ostensibly adopted Islam, or that they concealed themselves among the adjoining marshes.
adulation to the Mandaeans of both sexes to urge them to fulfill their religious duties. The people are to come on Sundays to the temple (lit. ‘dwelling’; down to modern times it was nothing more than a small house with gabled roof), where, in becoming ordained, they are to stand prayerfully behind the Tarnýdý, to take part in the communion, etc. This tractate is unmistakably one of the very latest compositions in the Genad, and is a documentary witness to the rise of the ecclesiastical organization among the Mandaeans. In earlier texts the term ormidá (for ḫon̄a), like the corresponding word aḏmád in the NT, means simply ‘believers’; but by this time it was the name which the priests applied to themselves. The Institution of Sunday, as is shown by its designation as habaṭbá (ḥabāṭbā; cf. Peshîta of Mt 28), was adopted by the Mandaeans from Syro-Christian usage, though, of course, through the medium of documents of whose origin they were ignorant. The manifesto urges the due observance of the day (MR, pp. 85, 90). The religious ceremonies enjoined are those of old: immersion, performed by the individual himself or applied by parents to children, the stretching forth of the right hand, and the partaking of communion-bread. The prayers in the morning were included, as was the case in the morning prayers in the Psalms; and in harmony with the fact that the ormidá, ‘priests,’ are still hardly distinguishable from the motfánd, ‘teachers,’ reverence for whom had been enjoined in the moral code of 132 (53).

33. Introduction of new ceremonies by the priests.—In the period that immediately followed the priests formed themselves into an organized body and gradually amplified the religious ceremonial with rites requiring the co-operation of an official celebrant, or, at least, elaborated such rites from the traditional usages, and conjoined them with the simple ceremonies of earlier times. Even towards the close of the period of the Genad as attested in the latest sections of that work (cf. MR, p. 104), we find, besides the rites of marking the forehead with water from the river, a sign made with oil; a certain mixture was prescribed, and was to be prepared and applied by the priests. The draught of ‘living’ water was duplicated, being taken once from the individual’s own hand and once from the priest’s bowl (gâmir). The priest has to bring in the water, and in addition to the ordinary communion-bread, a host of higher order, the ‘superior pektá,’ which was reserved for ourselves and the Sāhlimá (see below). They also introduced a meal, and in addition to the massaqú the dead one for the living. The latter was an eight days’ ceremony, and conferred upon the person concerned the title of stumánd tâkî, ‘blessed perfect one,’ as well as priestly rank; he was afterward regarded as dead to the world, and had to abstain from sexual intercourse. The ordinary immersions performed by the individual Mandean as time and opportunity permitted—every day, morning and evening (Le-Gonz, Voyage et observations, p. 301), or only on Sundays and feast days, and the days preceding them (Sioulli, La Religión des Souabés, p. 23)—could still be regularly performed without priestly assistance. About this time, however, an annual festival was introduced at which all the members of a community assembled upon the bank of a river. This celebration, conducted by a priest, included, in its first part, all the ceremonies requiring to be performed in the river and with river water; but here the priest, using his right hand, submerged the layman in the water; then, he made the sign upon the recipient’s forehead, and thrice, with his own hand, gave him water to drink (Qolastán, fol. 9. 32 ff.). Further, the first immersion of children now assumed the form of a baptism administered by a priest with one or two assistants (for texts and references bearing upon these baptisms cf. MR, pp. 221–224).

34. Ceremonies wrongly interpreted by Europeans.—The assertion that the Mandean worship the cross rests upon a misapprehension. Nor, according to Ignatius a Jesu (p. 38), and is due to misapprehension. What actually takes place is that at great festivals a priest of higher rank sticks a few wands into the ground close together and crosswise, and that he renders homage to this symbol. The structure is termed ‘beams of splendour,’ and may thus be regarded as symbolizing the world of light. Reports dating from the 17th cent. agree in stating that it was the practice of the Mandaeans in Bagara to sacrifice a fowl once a year, and Jean Thévenot writes that he himself had witnessed ‘la sacrifice de la poule’ on the 2nd of November 1665. Since, however, the Mandean religion does not permit animal sacrifices, such statements refer in all likelihood to the fowl whose blood was used in preparing the special host mentioned above. According to Sioulli, the ‘superior pektá’ was made but once a year, and was in the form of baked wheaten cakes, each of which was sprinkled on one side with some quiver afflute, in drops of the blood of a newly-killed pigeon. The dead bird was afterwards buried in the temple, presumably with a view to ratifying its slaughter as a sacred act. (The act thus has no sense of a sacrifice, and it must be the simple record of the ritual act.) The fabric of the Mandean cult that its institution can be characterized only as a gross blunder on the part of the priests.

35. The priestly hierarchy; an order of confession in the Persian settlement.—The priestly system included the following grades: pupils, who were in training from their fifth or seventh year; assistants employed in the sacred ceremonies; priests, who had to pass an examination and be ordained; and high priests, chosen by the ordinary priests from their own number. The name applied to an assistant (and perhaps also a pupil) was ignád or skónád (cf. MS, p. 169), and to a priest, ormidá, while a high priest bore the Persian title of gâzmábâr, ‘treasurer.’ Each priest had his own dishes and table, and partook of food and drink apart from the congregation, after the usual liturgical consecration, might sit with him at meals. There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalization of the Mandean cult was carried as far as in the Persian settlement. Besides the title of the high priest, the names of several articles of priestly attire (rásat) are Persian words—tâgâ, kânâmâth, pandâmâth. The priest’s seal-ring (Sioulli, ‘le chaumiavar’) bears the device, ‘Name of Yāwar siwā;’ had the inscription originated in Babylonia, it would have been ‘Name of Mandâ d’hayâyê.’ Again, while the Narratio of Ignatius (p. 23) shows distinctly that the Mandaeans of Bagara knew nothing of the practice of confessing to a priest, Sioulli’s informant, who appears to have studied in Persia, tells of a form of confession according to which the sinner, upon making a penitent acknowledgment of his sin, after a special prayer receives absolution for the same sin, i.e., he is assured of the remission of future penalty; but after the third time further transgression can be expiated only by certain good works. The imagery of the Genad to which appeal is made in support of this ordinance simply enjoins that the devil shall thrice ‘re-eject’ apostates or transgressors before casting them out of the same. Three times, thrice, thrice, the form of...
hardly have come into vogue among the Mandaeans except on Persian soil. When, accordingly, in many tractsates we find these names taking the place of the undoubtedly more ancient Mandā ḍanyūṣ, and when we observe that in others, in passages where the bearer of that epithet is mentioned, it is added that he is also called Sām, Yāwar, etc., it seems highly probable that most of the tractsates in the Genaz underwent their final reduction, i.e., attained their present form, in the Persian province.

37. Religious decadence; obsolence of the language.—By the time when the 'Abbaled khalifs had established peace and order throughout the Mandan provinces, the Mandan religion had passed its zenith. The desire for knowledge and the spirit of enthusiasm were quenched; the theological activities that had been earnestly directed towards a solution of life's enigmas had spent themselves, and had given place—as in the writers of the Drattā ḍánalak and the Sādār d'Yahūdā—to placid dialectics and fable-making. The soul which knew that it had come forth from a better world and would again beheld its primal abode was no longer a well-spring of sacred lyric; the Mandean had, in fact, become familiarized with his faith, and the Mandasans were wholly occupied in making its stories and ancient hymns into order, to keep it intact, and to use it properly. It was in this period that the Mandaeans gathered their writings into collections, and brought their doctrines or regulations comprised in the Qolastā, the Marriage Formulary, and the Paris Divān. Moreover, living, as they now did, in isolated groups among peoples of other faiths, they gradually lost the use of their ancestral languages and melodies, and made their way into these districts, became their vernacular, though Mandean still maintained its place in religious worship. In the process of organizing the ritual every ceremony came to be introduced and concluded with recitations from the sacred books; in the masqueṭā, indeed, the recitations constituted the main element, and, according to the ritual, this ceremonial, designed to succeed the departed, lasted for seven days. Since, however, the teachings of the Genáz required all believers to engage in such recitations, the priests endeavoured, by the generous manner in which they distributed the fruit of their study, at the least, to make the laity able to read and, as far as possible, to understand the texts, although their own learning was doubtless almost wholly confined to a knowledge of the liturgy and a traditional understanding of the language and grammar, but not as far as the learning of the writer himself, who, had he been a literary man, might have written his work in the ancient tongue and the Mandean sued for it; as it is, the text is written in Arabic, and the learned writers of the proto-Mandaean time—perhaps more than once—circumstances arose in which they thought it better to be regarded as Christians. As, however, besides the name of 'Mandāy', they had also adopted that by which the Christians were known, viz. 'Naṣūrāy'—in the Genāz the latter is actually used more frequently than the former—it would demand no great effort on their part to say that they were Christians. If, e.g., they no longer wished to be regarded as akin to the Śabians dwelling in the marshes, or if they hoped to evade a tax imposed specifically on the Sabians, they properly assume the Christian name without negotiating. According to Ignatius a Jesu (Narratio, i., a chapter written by himself), the Mandaean of Bāra believed that Muhammad had granted them a document with guarantees that his successors had not respected it. Ignatius also states that the Mandaeans were formerly united with the Chaldean Christians, but that, about one hundred and seventy years before his time, they had renounced the authority of the Babylonian patriarch and abandoned the name of 'Christians.' If we qualify this statement by saying that the Mandean community had at one time joined hands with the Church—though only for a while—it will be quite correct.

The Arabic writer, Hanna Isfahrī (belonging, like the two above, to the Marzūka-Шāhī Subs.), who had not received a formal schooling, and who, after the instance of the true Śabians, i.e., those whom the Qur'ān has in view, were heretical Christians, 'living between the desert and the swamp.' This opinion may have arisen from a confusion of vague reports about the Mandaeans and the Mandaean, and it might possibly be taken as direct evidence that the early Christians, i.e., the Śabians and the Mandaeans, of Sarā'in, and that the Mandaean desires to be regarded as Christians. On the other hand, Harīdū might quite well think of all the Śabians, by reason of their baptismic practices, as belonging to the Christian body.

40. The Mandaeans as 'Christians of St. John.'—The Portuguese missions of duarte and those that have since then brought no new reports the existence of the Mandaeans was first made known in Europe asserted that they were descended from the disciples of John the Baptist (cf. a letter from Pietro della Valle, dated June 1622), and
from that time, in treatises and textbook of Christians, especially St. Ignatius, it has been referred to and regarded (on the ground of Ac 18:10[39]) as Christ-
ian S. Ioannis, 'Christians of St. John.' It was not without some support from their own side that this designation grew in currency. A number of Mandaeans who had transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church visited Rome in the period between 1652 and 1669, and Abraiam Echeleemis, who cultivated a most friendly intercourse with them in order to gain the fullest possible information regarding their characteristics and doctrine, was told by them that their people called themselves Nasareans of Yahaya—which was in Arabic only, the qualifying phrase perhaps meaning that they did not call themselves so in their own religious language, or among themselves, but that they adopted the name only in their intercourse with people of a different faith; at all events the phrase implies that they did not speak of themselves as krisifidiné (R 55. 14, 282, 12).

John the Baptist is mentioned in a single tractate only (cf. § 11), which long lay almost unnoticed by the Mandaeans, and at length, when the final additions and a number of titles to the writings of the Genzâ came to be formulated (R 57, 25, 188, 26, 229, 23, 210, 10), a section in which the Mandaeans turned to the figure of the Baptist with intense interest, and it is worthy of note that his old name Yoḥanân (which they pronounce Yahaḥa) was now expanded to Yahya-Yoḥanân, or was sometimes simply superseded by Yahya. Yahya is the Arabic form of the name—the form by which the Baptist is mentioned and highly ex-
tolled in the Qur’ân (III. 34, vi. 85, xix. 15-15). We may not, therefore, venture to suggest that the reason why the writers of this period bring John into such prominence and make him a hero of their people was that they had already begun to refer to him, in the presence of the Muslim authori-
ties, as the prophet of their religion? Henceforth they could claim, whenever and wherever they thought fit, to rank as Naṣrayâ d’Yahya—a name which, to all except themselves, could mean nothing else than ‘Christians of John.’

Finally, they are said actually to have introduced the name of Yahya-Yoḥanân into their baptismal formula, and to have done so, in fact, by speaking of himself as having been put under the auspices of St. John, by Mandâ d’hâyyâ, and by John (cf. MI., p. 225, on Siouli’s authority). This innovation would seem to be best explained as a result of the lesson constantly impressed upon the Mandaeans by Roman Catholic missionaries during the 17th cent., viz. that their baptism was only the baptism of John mentioned in Ac 18:10[19], and as a counter-
stroke to the attempts to bring them within the Roman Catholic fold.

41. In the period of the Portuguese ascendancy in the Persian Gulf.—In the 16th cent. the Portu-
guese dominated the Indian Ocean, establishing themselves securely at Goa on the Indian island and at Muscat on the Arabian coast, and in the harbours of Ceylon. They forced their way into the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of Persia made the island of Hormuz the base of their military forces; and with the pasha of the district of Baṣra they reached an agreement by which, in return for annual gifts, he permitted them to have a trading-station in Baṣra, and promised to protect it. The Portuguese soldiery were verv so numbered by the Jesuits, who founded missions, and secured the government of such settlements as ‘Christian territories’ according to the regulations of the Ignatian Order. The Jesuits then came to Baṣra, where they obtained a house and made one of its rooms into a church, their hope being to win

for the Roman faith more particularly the schis-
matic (Nestorian) Aramaic Christian Church in the district. Their attention, however, would soon be attracted by the Mandaeans, for the number of the latter in Baṣra and its neighbourhood in the 17th cent. was estimated at 14,000—15,000, while in the city itself they are said to have formed the majority of the population (Le-Gouz). Decades may have elapsed, however, before the monks learned that the Sâbî was held John the Baptist in honour and beheldized by its children, and so it is to believe that this baptismic people were already semi-Christians, and needed only a little instruc-
tion in order to become good Catholics. The Discourse which Ignatius issued as a supplement to the Narratio provides the arguments to be employed in persuading the Mandean priests; but the latter were not to be won over by such simple means. Thereupon the missionaries, bent upon gaining their end, induced the pasha to order the Sâbî, under threat of fines or bodily penalties, to attend the Roman Catholic place of worship and observe Sunday according to the Christian practice of resting from servile work on that day. In this way the work of conversion was set on foot, sup-
ported, however, by doles of food and clothing to the children of the poorer Mandaeans.

About this time the communities suffered a considerable loss from another cause. In the early years of the 17th cent. the Portuguese found that their commercial monopoly on the Persian coast was challenged, and by way of strengthen-
ing their powers of defence they resorted to the employment of mercenaries. To the Portuguese cantonments the Mandaeans are said to have flocked in vast numbers from Baṣra, and, no doubt, from Persia also—people who, of course, had there barely managed to live. In their new capacity they were instructed in the Christian faith and received Christian baptism (Le-Gouz, della Valle).

The fortifIed inshore island of Hormuz, which commanded the entrance to the Persian Gulf, was invested by British merchantsmen and the military forces of the ‘Duke’ of Shiraz in 1621, and surrendered on the 1st of May of that year. The prestige of the Portuguese was at an end; their missionaries withdrew from Baṣra, and the Mandaeans once more enjoyed freedom in their religious services. Of this it is related by Gabriel, the Christian of Islam, while the rest reverted to their ancestral faith—‘et ne s’en conserva pas quatre Christéens’ (Le-Gouz).

42. In Baṣra in the time of Ignatius a Jesu.—

The place of the Portuguese Jesuits was taken by an Italian mission of Discalced Carmelites under the leadership of Ignatius a Jesu. Within a few years Ignatius came to realize that great or lasting results would never be secured among the Mand-
æans while they lived in Persia, and he devised the plan of persuading them to emigrate to Chris-
tian territories. From the Portuguese viceroy in the Indian Ocean he obtained a guarantee from the Mandaeans who so desired would receive grants of land in the colonies under the viceregal authority, on condition that they would give their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. The offer of settlements in Ceylon was accepted by many who were eventually rejected because they insisted upon being allowed to take their priests with them and to remain loyal to their faith; but, notwith-
sanding this, the number of Mandaeans, who emigrated, was relatively considerable. It is not, how-
soever, a great many who emigrated, and all that Ignatius himself says of it is that he had once sent to the
vicery of Goa a number of men who were to act as the spokesmen of their people, and also to look for suitable residences in Ceylon, and that at length other fifty Mandeeans, some of them with their wives and children, hastened on this mandate: it may be remarked that between 1633 and 1653 the Portuguese were gradually expelled from Ceylon by the Dutch.

43. Numerical strength of the Mandean communities in the 17th century. — Information regarding the numerical strength of the Mandeans and their diffusion in the contiguous provinces of Turkey and Persia is scanty, probably, in the first half of the 17th cent. — is provided by a map published in Paris by Melchisedech Thévenot in 1633. This map, which, unfortunately, bears no date, embraces the area throughout which the Mandean communities were scattered, and gives on its lower margin a list of the townships in which they were located and the number of families in each community. We find an aggregate of 3279 families living in 31 settlements. By far the largest figure, exactly 2000, is conjoined with Huwaiza, in Persia; 

next comes Tina with 500 families and Basra with 400, then one place with 50, two with 30, and so on. These names, while to four place-names a dotted line is attached, and to several others only a stroke. We shall thus hardly err in assuming a total of some 3400 men.

44. Reports of European travellers since 1650. — Ignatius a Jesu left Basra in 1650 or 1651, and the Christians no longer endeavoured to win the Mandeeans for the Church. It is true that the mission-house was not abandoned, and that a small number of families lived there; but, when Jean Thévenot lodged there in 1665, he found that it was attended only by a single Italian monk, and that the church stood open for prayer not only to Europeans, but to Nestorian and Armenian Christians. Shortly afterwards, when the station had more or less become involved into working order, its director, the Carmelite Archangeus of S. Theresia, was obliged to expend a considerable sum of money to procure Mandean MSS. for Robert Huntingdon, who lived in Aleppo from 1664 to 1686. The vendors were a couple of Mandean monks, one of whom had to be assured upon oath that his co-religionists should never hear of the transaction, while the other had to become a convert.

A long period then elapsed during which little or no information regarding the Mandeans reached Europe. Paragraphs devoted to them (and often referred to in encyclopedias) in J. Chardin, Voyages, etc. (Paris, 1756 ft.), and E. Kaempfcr, Amentatun, etc., fasc. v. (Lemgow, 1712), simply repeat accounts previously published. In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr visited Basra and found that only a few "Sabians" lived there; he had their alphabet transcribed for him by a smith. Naval Lieutenant Ormby, the friend of J. R. Wallstedt, stayed at Hiz for five days in 1833, and ascertained that the Mandean festivals took place in the month of Tashin, with sacrifice of a bull. In 1839, the Mandean Bani Zuq was in close communion with the Druze of the mountains of Baalbek.

45. The Mandeeans in the 19th century. — The looks of Petermann and Siouffi contain observations from which we may learn how the Mandeeans had fared in the long interval from the 17th cent., and it would seem that in this period, too, the vicissitudes of their ordinary life were due to suffering and want. About the year 1800 30 families in Shushter alone are said to have received a sum of money from France and surrounded by a certain number of people who had been converted to Christianity some years before, in order to help a boy who was sick. — The Fr. Murat, who visited the Mandeeans in 1847, says: "We found them in the midst of their tents, surrounded by a large number of Mandeeans professing the Catholic faith, and the little boy was cured by the priest called a "frère chrestien," and all the villagers were to be found at the mass."

The Mandeeans continued to be persecuted, and their numbers were diminished. In 1849, the visitor found only 25 families, but the authorities had been instructed to allow them to remain in the village. When, however, the Fr. Yalayé arrived at Shushter in 1850, he found only 12 families, and the village was attacked by the Persian government, who burnt the Mandeean houses and plundered the village.

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MANETHO.—This historian of Egypt was born at Schemnysus, the Theb-Neteret of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and lived during the reigns of Ptolemy Leg and Ptolemy Philadelphia. His name is probably the Gr. form of Amenophis, "Gift of Thoth"—equivalent to the Gr. "Ephrēforos." The following works have been attributed to him: some of them on doubtful authority: (1) Agiptiak, (2) Βιβλίον Σάθας, (3) Περί Βιβλίον, (4) Φοινίκισ τής τησώρος, (5) Περί τής Αρχόντης τής Φοινικίδος, (6) Πέρι Αρχόντης Τής Αρχόντης Φοινίκιδος, (7) Περί της Αρχόντης της Φοινικίδος. His reputation rests upon an alleged history of Egypt, of which he compiled at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphia. The first part of his work dealt with the mythological era in the history of Egypt, and the next eleven of the thirty-three divisions, or dynasties, of the second began with the XIlth dynasty, and ended with the XIXth; the third comprised dynasties XX.—XXX. The work was written in Greek, and has, unfortunately, perished, with the exception of the list of kings, which has been preserved in corrupt and incomplete forms by Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the Syncellus.

An examination of these king lists shows that in many particulars Julius Africanus and Eusebius do not agree in their rendering—i.e., in arrangement of the dynasties, in the lengths of the reigns, and in the number of the kings assigned to the various dynasties. According to Africanus, 561 kings reigned in about 5524 years, while, according to Eusebius, only about 361 kings reigned in 4480 or 4780 years. The version of Africanus closely agrees with the accurate chronology of the first, agreeing best with the monuments. It seems fairly certain that Africanus had access to the actual work of Manetho. The version of Eusebius was based on that of Africanus, and shows carelessness in the copying of both names and figures. It will thus be seen that the work of Manetho must be received with some caution, for his king lists have become very corrupt; and it is probable that the Christian writers who transmitted his system, being anxious to reconcile it with the accepted Biblical chronology, have curtailed his lists to some extent. Nevertheless Manetho's work remains the standard and most useful on Egyptian chronology, and upon it all attempts to restore that chronology must be based.

The chief original authorities with which his work is in detail, Abraham Ekechel's Physicus patris archa. Alexandrinus vindicat. ("De Originis nominis Pauz") Rome, 1600, pp. 330-336.; (2) The Tablet of Abydos, containing a list of 75 kings, dynasties I—XIX.; (4) The Tablet of Sais, and several others in papyrus by the same hand in the same order as (2); and (4) The Tablet of Karnak, containing a list of 61 kings—the cartouches are not arranged chronologically. The lists of Manetho are much more complete than any of these, and it is to him that we owe the accepted distribution into dynasties.

Opinions differ widely as to the value of his historical work. A period in which he was regarded as a mere fabricator, and his authority was considered practically unimpeachable. Thus Lenormant says:

"He is now the first of all authorities for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Egypt (Atf. hist. of the East, 1. 217.)

More modern authorities are sharply divided. Adverse opinion may be represented by Breasted's sweeping dictum: "A list, careless and uncritical compilation, which can be proven wrong from what has been supposed to be his book's nature; in most cases where such monarchs have survived, of the dynastic totals are so absurdly high throughout that they are not worthy of a moment's credence, being often nearly or quite double the maximum drawn from contemporary monuments, and they will not stand the slightest criticism. Their accuracy is now maintained only by a small and constantly decreasing number of modern scholars." (Hist. of Egypt, p. 25.)

This is so sweeping as to suggest bias at once; and, when it is remembered that an exactly opposite judgment is pronounced by authorities of such standing as Maspero and Filinders Petrie, its oracular tone begins merely ridiculous. Maspero's verdict is as follows:

"The system of Manetho, in the state in which it has been handed down to us by his contemporaries, has been so marred by later writers as to render, service to science; if it is not the actual history of Egypt, it is a sufficiently faithful substitute to warrant our neglecting it when we wish to understand and reconstruct the sequence of events. His dynasties furnish the necessary framework for most of the history of Egypt, and the monuments have preserved us a record." (Lives of Civilization, p. 255.)

Still more emphatically favourable is Petrie's judgment:

"An authority of the highest order. . . . The internal evidence is also strong for the care given to his work and its precision. . . . Manetho has been often accused of double reckoning, by stating two contemporary dynasties or kings separately. Every instance in which this has been supposed to be his book's nature; in most cases where such monarchs have survived, of the dynastic totals are so absurdly high throughout that they are not worthy of a moment's credence, being often nearly or quite double the maximum drawn from contemporary monuments, and they will not stand the slightest criticism. Their accuracy is now maintained only by a small and constantly decreasing number of modern scholars." (Researches in Sinai, p. 171.)

Possibly the truth may lie somewhere between the two extreme opinions, and Manetho may be neither so careless as Breasted alleges nor so immaculate as Petrie affirms. In any case, even his detractors cannot afford to do without him; for every reconstruction of the history of Egypt is based, and will continue to be based, on the dynastic framework which he has provided.

What system of dating we are to derive from its dynastic sequence is a different question. Here also there is fundamental disagreement. As far back as 1550 B.C. there is practically no difference between the various schemes of dating, and Egyptian chronology may be looked upon as settled with only a few years' margin of error up to that point. Beyond that lies chaos. The Berlin school, represented by Meyer and Breasted, dates the beginning of the 1st dyn. at 3400 B.C., and that of the XIlth, fixed by astronomical data, at 2006 B.C. Wallis Budge, still clinging to Brugsch's system, gives 4400 B.C. for the 1st dyn. and 2400 B.C. for the XIlth. Petrie gives 5510 B.C. for the 1st dyn. and the same astronomical data as the Berlin school, 3459 B.C. for the XIlth. Here it is most unlikely that the truth lies between the two extremes, and Brugsch's via media seems to lead nowhere. The gigantic gap between Petrie's dates and those of the Berlin school is due to the fact that Petrie holds that the advocates of the shorter system have dropped a whole Sothie period of 1600 years out of their standard reckoning. If they are right, then when one sound, the truth must lie either with the shortest or with the longest system, and only further
research can clear up the problem. Meanwhile the

tendency has been somewhat in the direction of the

Bebelian view, which according to Petrie, 'delays all

the history and the collateral facts which sup-

port it' (Ancient Egypt, London, 1915, pt. i. p. 57);

and Manetho's credit remains in suspense.

In addition to his second-hand, two interesting traditions of Egyptian history. These

are preserved in the Apion, which contains a

character nearly akin to the primitive Manichaes, and had every opportunity of becoming well ac-

quainted with them. Of course it is a little bit very little of their testimony has come down to us.

Apataiates, in the first half of the 4th cent.,

the earliest Syriac author whose works have been pre-

served in a distinct codex. The quantity of which

alludes to Manichæism as a dangerous heresy.

1 The children of darkness, the doctrine of the wicked Mini,

who dwell in mansions like serpents, and who practised Chaldeism (i.e. astrology), the doctrine of Babel.12

More information may be gathered from the works of a younger contemporary of Apataiates, the well-

known Ephraïm of Nisibis, commonly called

Ephraim Synes. References to Manichæism are found in several of his writings, especially in a

series of letters, entitled Lettres a l'Egypte.13

The treatise against Manichæism composed by

Gabriel, bishop of Hormizdshâr, in the 6th cent.,

seems now to be lost.14 Later Syriac writers, such as

Theodore bar-Khiom15 and Barhebræus,6 do not

supply much that is of importance.

Among Oriental Christian authorities we must also

reckon the Armenian writer Ezmik of Kobâ, who lived in the 5th cent.,15 and Sa'd ibn al-Bitrîq,16

generally called Patriarch, who was Patriarch of

Alexandria from A.D. 923 to 939.16

(2) Zoroastrian.—The evidence contained in

Zoroastrian literature is, if anything, scantier

than that which may be collected from the works of

Oriental Christians; moreover, it is much more
difficult to interpret, owing partly to the unsatis-

factory condition of the text and partly to our

imperfect acquaintance with the language. But

the vehement condemnations of Manichæism which

are found in Zoroastrian books bear witness at least to

the dread with which the Persian priesthood

regarded the rival faith.6

(3) Western Sources.—Accounts by Greek and Latin

authors exist in far greater quantity, but they are,

from the nature of the case, much less trustworthy.

Manichæism was so essentially Oriental (i.e. non-

Hellenic) in its character that the Christians of the

West would probably have had considerable diffi-

culty in understanding it, even if they had been

wholly impartial. That this was out of the question

hardly needs to be stated. The strangeness of the system

was doubtless an attraction to some minds, but

those who are attracted by mere novelty are usu-

ally uncritical, while the attitude of uncon-

1 On Apataiates see W. Wright, Short History of Syrian Literature,

London, 1894, p. 22. The Homilies and Letters in the Collection of

works, published in 1892, by G. W. Mitchell (S. Ephraëmi Prose

Refutationes), London, 1912. In Ephraïm's Carmina Viaevsa (ed. G. Bickell, Leipzig, 1890, no. xiv.), there is an

interesting passage which doubtless refers to the Mani-

chæans, though they are not expressly named: ' Fools in their

crude perversity have forged a tale, bow that the Darkness ventured
to disturb the Light,' etc.

1 See Wright, op. cit., p. 129.

2 Theodore's account of Mani has been published and

translated by H. Petri, who has translated his inscriptions manichæas de corpus of

Khanoubis, Paris, 1897-99. It is borrowed in part from

Ephraëmi, and therefore cannot be regarded as purely Oriental. Cf.

the Syriac translation also by F. Chabot (Zoroastrianism), Paris,

1898. 

3 The testimony of Barhebræus is to be gathered partly from

his Syri. Narrative History, partly from his Arab. Compen-

dium of the Zoroastrian Religion, partly from his Arab.

Compendium of the Cyrusian Religion, partly from his Arab. Compen-

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4 See Vigata, op. cit., p. 129.

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7 See V. Lang, Études de philologie comparée, p. 125; and the tr. by J. M. Schulz, Vienna, 1897. 

8 Euphorbis Annales, ed. E. Pecocke, Oxford, 1639-50, which

contain the original Arabic text with a Lat. tr. 

9 Perhaps the most important passage in this subject is that

which E. W. West has translated in his Philologus Text. iii. 243 f. 

10 See the edition of the Biskopis of the Syriac text: 2, 1900; 

11 Bruchstück manichäischen Schriftstücks im asiat. Museum.
promising hospitality, which was adopted by the great majority of Christian theologians, naturally proved less favourable to accurate scholasticism.

The foreign origin of Manichæism is duly emphasized by Eusebius in the brief notice which he devotes to this 'insane heresy,' Alexander of Lycopolis, that author of the short extant Life of Mani, was probably a contemporary of Eusebius. He deserves notice as being the only Western writer who treats the subject from a purely philosophical standpoint. He speaks of Christianity with a certain respect, it is doubtful whether he ever became a Christian. Of more importance is the testimony of a somewhat later controversialist. Titus, bishop of Bostra in Syria, who died about A.D. 370. In a geographical sense, Titus must be reckoned among Oriental Christians, but his Treatise against the Manichæans proves him to have been thoroughly Western in his education and habits of thought, deeply imbued with Greek philosophy, in particular with Stoicism, and full of contempt for 'barbarians.' He distinctly states that he derived his information from a Manichaean book, but he does not name it, and neither does he supply any definition as to its authorship. His words, however, seem to imply that the book was not composed by the founder of Manichæism himself, for in quoting it he attributes the errors and mistakes to it that were made against the doctrines of that mania; and again, these are the very words used by him or else by one of his followers. He afterwards mentions a Manichaean work entitled The Treasure, but whether this is identical with the book cited previously cannot be determined. In any case it is interesting to observe that, according to Titus, the Manichaean made every effort to conceal from outsiders the particulars of their founder, apparently in obedience to his express orders. Another fact, no less significant, is that Titus professes to have softened down the expressions which he found in his source: these are not the words used by him, but this is what he meant to say, translated into more decent language. In estimating the evidence supplied by Titus this tendency must be constantly borne in mind.

A more popular but a much less respectable authority is the Acta ARCHELAI, a work which professes to record a dispute between Manes and Archelaus, bishop of Carchar 10 in Mesopotamia.


Of the four books into which this work is divided only the first two and the beginning of the third have been preserved in the original. The first four are extant in Syr. tr., which must have been made very early, as it is contained in a Brit. Mus. MS written in A.D. 415. The Gr. text was first published by J. Rasmussen in 1725; the best edition is that of F. A. de Lagarde (Berlin, 1859), who also edited the Syr. version. It is to be noted that the Gr. text has a long insertion (printed as an Appendix by Lagarde, pp. 69-103) which is absent in the Syr. In 1849, 1850, Auguste Brünckmann endeavoured to prove that this piece is a fragment of a book against the Manichaees by Severus of Thonis, a friend of Athanasius.

11 See Euseb. Hist. 39. 21; Phot. Bibl. 38. 1136. The penning use of oura, etc., in allusion to the name Manes, is extremely common.

12 See e.g. a τον μανιαν ιερογλυφιον θρηνει (ib. l. x. 21).

13 Photius states that the source used by Titus was the one preserved in a copy of a manuscript: Πάλαι μοι κυρίως ουκ εδεικνύτον τον Αρχέλαιον, ἡ δὲ καθηκόντων αὐτοῦ ἀκριβία (P.G. 832, 388).

14 Syr. sinchou (ib. l. x. 9). This is probably the work called Φασιαδας by Epiphanius, and σὁ προς τὸν μανιαν κυριολέπιον, which is cited in the Greek, Formula of Arianism. Both al-Yaqubi and al-Birdini ascribe to Manes a work entitled Παρακολούθησις φήμης διδασκαλίας, Theodor. 191. 410. This is a Life-giving, but it is to be noted that the list of Manes's writings in the Friede (p. 339, line 8 ff.) does not include this title, although it mentions a work written under that name, being the "Life-giving of Manes," which is translated into Syriac, but which is not extant. See 9th ed. of Euseb. Hist. 39. 21. 13. 14.

15 Phot. Bibl. 38. 1136.


17 άλλα μάχη τού πάντα αὔτον καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρωτότατον τό χρώμα εύρη μεγάλον Αρχέλαιον (ib. l. x. 21).

18 The name is doubtful. Possibly the author, or a later scribe, may have confused the two places Karcha and Raskbar; the latter form agrees with that given by Ephiphanios in his version of the story.

Here for the first time we meet with the remarkable theory that Manichæism originated in the 5th century with its reputed founder, but with a certain Stylilius, from whom the system was passed on to Manes. These Acts are extant in a Latin translation, made from a Greek text of which we possess some long fragments. 1 According to Jerome, 2 the book was originally composed by Archelaus himself in Syriac ('Syro sermo'), and afterwards translated into Greek. But it has been clearly proved that Archelaus is nowhere quoted, either by himself or others, and the whole motive is to a large extent, if not entirely, fictitious. Nevertheless, some modern writers have endeavoured to show that, though Jerome was mistaken in ascribing the Acts to Archelaus, he was right at least in believing them to have been composed in Syriac. The arguments which Kessler has advanced in support of this theory have been shown by W. Nöldeke to be worthless. The author of the Acts, whoever he was, was evidently possessed of no accurate information about the country in which he placed the scene of his story. For example, he represents the river Strangas as the Western boundary of the Persian Empire—a notion which is derived from the Greek Romance of Alexander the Great (pseudo-Callisthenes), as Nöldeke points out. A writer who was capable of falling into such mistakes must have had any definite knowledge as to the early history of Manichæism. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that his statements were readily believed by Western Christians. With some variations, the story contained in the Acta Archelaei reappears in Epiphanius, 3 Socrates, Theodoret, and several later writers.

By far the most celebrated of the Western authorities on Manichæism is Augustine. At first sight it might seem that his testimony ought to outweigh all others that have been mentioned, for during nine years (from A.D. 375 to 383) he was a professed Manichaean. Among the works that he composed on the subject, after his conversion to Catholic Christianity, are the following: Contra Epistolam Manichæi quem vocant Fundamenti, Contra Faustum, Contra Fortunatam, Contra Adrianum, Contra Secundum, De Actis cum Felice Manicheo, De Genesi contra Manichaes, De Natura Boni, De Duabus Animabus, De Utilitate Creatoris, De Moribus Ecclesia Catholicae et de Manichaeis, etc. According to Augustine, Manichæism came to Manichaee is to be found in his other writings, particularly in the Confessions. But, on the whole, the amount of positive knowledge which can be gathered from Augustine is much less than might have been expected. In the great majority of cases he confines himself to vague generalities, and, when he descends to particulars, his statements seem mostly to rest on hearsay. It may be doubted whether even his Manichaean informants were at all accurately acquainted with the history and writings of their founder. Faustus, whom Augustine represents as one of the ablest and most influential among the Manichaees, was a native of N. Africa, and it is therefore unlikely that he could read the sacred books of his religion in the original Aramaic. Nor have we any reason to believe that the other Manichaees with whom Augustine came in contact were better instructed.

One of the latest, but not the least important, of the Western sources is the Greek Formula of Arianism, 4 which repentant heretics were required to pronounce during their being admitted into the Church. 5

1 See N. J. Knoth, Religionen wereld, 1864-68, v.
2 De Vir. Illust. no. xxxi.
4 See F. Oehler, Corpus Hermeticum, 3rd ed. 1856-61, n. x. 238 ff.
Manichaeism

MANICHAEISM

manichaeism of the Byzantine Church. In its present
shape this document cannot be older than the 9th
century. It consists of a series of anathemas,
directed partly against doctrines and partly against
persons, put together without any definite plan.
Some of the doctrines are undoubtedly Manichean,
but some are from other sects, and it does not appear
to be a gross misrepresentation. Yet, in spite of
the unclear manner in which it is compiled, the
Formula of Absolution contains a certain
number of valuable evidences. In the first place,
the Manichean scholars to whom we owe these
descriptions wrote from a historical, rather than
from a controversial, point of view. Moreover,
some of them at least had access to very ancient
and trustworthy sources of information for
Babylonia, the political centre of the
Manichean Empire, was also the ecclesiastical
centre of the Manichean community, and accord-
ingly, in that country the text and the traditions
of the Manichean Scriptures were most likely to
survive. It is true that after the Manichean conquest
the Aramaic language gradually ceased to be spoken, but the knowledge of
Manichean, as preserved in the text of the
Formula of Absolution, is Catalogue,
the great storehouse of information respecting literary
works of various kinds; and (c) al-Biruni, who died
A.D. 1048, one of the most learned men that the
East ever produced, the author of a book on
Chemistry, in which he mentions the
principal chemical affinities, and the
most important chemical facts; (d) al-Shahristani,
who died A.D. 1155, the author of
a work on religious and philosophical sects. All
these authors wrote in Arabic, although the last
two were of Persian nationality.

The story of Mani in the Shah-namah of Ferdousi,
the well-known Persian epic poet, is almost entirely
legendary, and the same may be said of nearly
all the popular Manichean accounts, whether
written in Persian or in Arabic.

2. The founder of Manicheism.—With regard to
the history of the founder we are mainly dependent
on Manichean writers, for the
Western authorities either tell us nothing definite
or else repeat, more or less faithfully, the legend
contained in the Acta Archelai. The story there
related is briefly as follows:

According to the Acts of the Apostles there lived a man
named Scythian, who is described as coming from Scythia,
and also as being a Saracen by race ("ex genere Saracenorum.")

He settled in Egypt, where he became acquainted with the
"wisdom of the Ptolemies," and invented the religious system
which afterwards was known as Manicheism. Finally
he emigrated to Persia, and, when he had
opened himself to his sole disciple, a certain Tertullian. The
father bequeathed to him his knowledge, and, to propagate
his master's teaching. But he, like Scythian, gained only
one disciple, who was an old woman. After
Gundahar's death, he fled from the roof of a house, and the books he had
inherited from Scythian burnt, carrying the property of the man's
father. At the time of his death, bequeathed him to a young man named Cornicius,
who had been her slave. Cornicius thereupon changed his
name to Mani, and, in order to test the writings of the new
teacher, he added three discourses (of Aditha, and Hermas. About this time the son of the Persian king
fell ill, and Manes undertook to cure him; the prince, however,
died, whereupon Manes was thrown into prison. He succeeded
in escaping, but eventually fell into the hands of the king, by whom
he was tried, and his corpse was hung up at the city
gate. It is needless to say that this narrative, as it
stands, has nothing to do with historical
accounts. Some details, in particular the account of
the execution of Manes, are confirmed by more trustworthy authorities, but
not to the main point—the existence of Scythian and Tertullian
confirmation. The assertion that
Tertullian took the name of Buddha seems to be a
confused reminiscence of the fact that Mani
represented the Indian Buddha as one of a series of prophecies of Christ, and
far from tending to support the story as a whole, is rather an argument against it.

The accounts of the principal Manichean authorities may be shortly summarized thus: Mani, the son of Ptolemy, was born in Babylonia about A.D. 216. His father was originally a heathen, and frequented an "idol temple" near Ctesiphon, the residence of the king, and the other people were wont to do. But shortly before the birth of Mani he abandoned his former religion, and joined the sect of the Magi, alias Jews, those who practise abstentions. Mani at an early age became convinced that he had received divine revelations, and that he was chosen to preach a new faith.

1. As to this man, the authorities vary.
2. This name is also uncertain.
3. So the name is written in Arab. and the adj. derived from it is usually written (formed according to the ordinary rule in Arab.), but sometimes mezane, manandi, or maniti. In Syr. the name Mani seems to have been pronounced as in Arab., although the Syr. spelling does not enable us to decide positively whether the first vowel was long or short. In the case of rare proper names the vowel-points added by later Syrian scribes have, of course, no authority. In Zoroastrian writings the name appears with a final aspirate, as in modern moderni, and this aspirate accounts for the form Magi, or Mande, which Gr. and Lat. writers often use, not only as an adj., but also as the equivalent of the Syr. form. The meaning of the name Mande is unknown. But this very fact tends to show that it is a real name, not an honorific title like Christ or Buddha.

4. This is the form given in the Fihrist. The vowels are uncertain, but the consonants agree with those of Harware, who is expressly mentioned as the father of Manis in the Gr. Formula of Absolution. It is well known that the Gr. and Syr. orthography differ, and no sign for έ or ά or Π is used. According to the Fihrist, the Fihrist also bore the name of Mani (= Ptolemy), while al-Yaqubi calls him Hazam. The last name, which is
5. The statement of al-Biruni that Mani was born in the year 297 of the era of Alexander (i.e. the Seleucid era) agrees very nearly with what we are told in the Acta Archelai to the age of Mani when he came forward as a public teacher.

5. G. T. Seidl, in DCS, s.v. "Mani," states that Mani's father 'founded' this sect—an assertion for which there is no authority.

6. These details are given in the Fihrist, evidently from a Manichean source. What was the precise form of heathenism which Mani substituted for the prophetic system? What terms were used in the Fihrist point to some local cult rather than to Zoroastrianism. The religion of the Magi seems to have been a mystery religion, with very many elements. It was not identical with that of the Mandaeans in later times, though it bore some resemblance to the Fihrist, and a similar statement appears in the well-known historical work of Al-Marwazi, which dates about a century later than the Fihrist, and states that the name is there written somewhat differently (see Mad'lli, Les Précisions, or, éd. G. Barbier de Meynard and Travers
Before he was twenty-five years old he had privately gained a few disciples, but he began his public propaganda on the day when Shapir (Sapor 1.), the son of Ardashir, was crowned king, i.e. March 29, 228. He was enabled to succeed in securing the patronage of the king's brother Peroz, and through him obtained access to the court. While in the court of his sovereign, 1 however, he is said to have visited Central Asia, India, and China, but it does not appear that he ever penetrated into the Roman Empire. In addition to the monographs and commentaries in Arabic, and at least one book in Persian, probably the work known as the Shaiptr (Sapor), we have three other works ascribed to this king Shapir. "We learn from Ebram Syrus that Mânî illustrated his writings with graphs or figures, 4 and his tales as a physician he composed in ancient centuries in the East. He is also said to have invented the peculiar alphabet which the Manichâ- eans still use to-day in what they call their 'written language.' As the recently discovered fragments prove, Mânî was put to death by king Bahram (or, according to the older pronunciation, Warshârân), 5 who reigned from about a.d. 274 to 278. 6 Whether he was slain alive, as al-Yaqsib and some other authorities state, is doubtful. His corpse, or, according to others, his skin stuffed with straw, was hung up by order of the king on the gate of Gondâ-Shupir, a important city which lay a little to the east of the ancient Susa. In after times that gate was always known as 'the Manichaean Gate.' The execution of Mânî was evidently due not so much to the personal caprice of the king as to the enmity of the Manichaean sect. At the same time the Persian government made a strenuous, but wholly fruitless, attempt to exterminate the adherents of the new religion.

3. The Manichaeism system,—Manichaeism, like other forms of Gnosticism, professes to be at the same time a religion and a philosophy, inasmuch as it not only sets up an ideal of holiness, but also undertakes to explain the constitution of the world. It is to be understood as wholly a philosophical system, in the ordinary European sense of the word. It attempts to arrive at philosophical truth by means of a method which, to us, appears wholly unphilosophical. Thus the Manichaeans confidently appealed to human reason and were always ready to defend their conclusions by argument, they did not pretend that those conclusions had been reached by any kind of scientific induction on the contrary, they claimed, no less than the primitive Christians, to be in possession of a direct revelation from God. Thus Mânî himself says, in a passage which al-Birâni quotes from the Diatessaron: 

Wisdom and deeds 1 have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. 2 In one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zaradust [Zoroaster] to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Therefore this revelation has come down to us in this last age, through us, Mânî, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia. 

Such was their aim put forward by Mânî. We have now to consider the substance of his teaching.

The Manichaeism system is based upon the idea of the essential and eternal contrast between good and evil. This dualism was the basis of Gnosticism, and it is not correct to say, as Western writers have frequently done, that Mânî identified good with spirit, and evil with matter (69). Whether he ever attained to the conception of matter may be doubted; 4 at all events, it is clear that he represented evil, or darkness, as something capable of thought and volition, 7 in other words, that it was of the imaginative, or poetical, not of the philosophical kind. The following is an abstract of the account given in the Frîsthr

Originally the light was supposed to be bordered on one another, but were mingled, the light being limitless above and the darkness limitless below. The light is identical with God, who is called King of the Light; but the realm of light includes also an atmosphere and an earth which are co-extensive with the Godhead. Moreover, there are various other beings called gods, who are subordinate to the King of the PARADISE OF LIGHT. Out of the darkness arose Satan, the Primal Devil, who "did not exist from all eternity, although the elements of which he is composed are eternal." At first he did not have in his own domain, and then he took the form of light. 6 When he saw the flashes of light, he conceived a hatred for them, and reigned with his native element. He made a second attack, and the King of the PARADISE OF LIGHT, in order to repel him, produced a being called the Primal Man, who went forth armed with a fiery sabre—the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. Satan, on the other hand, arranged himself in the smoke, the consuming flames, the darkness, the scorching blast, and the cloud. After a long struggle Satan prevailed over the Primal Man. The heavenly powers then identified and rescued the elements of darkness which formed his panoply and mingled with the elements of darkness. Out of this combination the powers fashioned the actual world which we inhabit. Not only all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we call inorganic are regarded as being identical with the universe. The visible universe is, in fact, a vast and vasty place of the invisible; for the purpose of enabling the elements of light to effect their escape. When the light was first sent into the earth beside itself of darkness, it ascends in the form of a pillar, called the 'pillar of glory,' first to the moon, 5 thence to the sun, and thence to the higher regions. The light of day will be secured for ever against the assaults of the darkness.

The most singular part of the Manichaeism system is that which relates to the origin and history of mankind. Unfortunately, the statements of the Frîsthr on this subject are fragmentary and full of obscurities, which the other sources do not enable us to explain in an altogether satisfactory manner.

He is believed to have lived in his own domain, and then he took the form of light. 6 When he saw the flashes of light, he conceived a hatred for them, and reigned with his native element. He made a second attack, and the King of the PARADISE OF LIGHT, in order to repel him, produced a being called the Primal Man, who went forth armed with a fiery sabre—the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. Satan, on the other hand, arranged himself in the smoke, the consuming flames, the darkness, the scorching blast, and the cloud. After a long struggle Satan prevailed over the Primal Man. The heavenly powers then identified and rescued the elements of darkness which formed his panoply and mingled with the elements of darkness. Out of this combination the powers fashioned the actual world which we inhabit. Not only all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we call inorganic are regarded as being identical with the universe. The visible universe is, in fact, a vast and vasty place of the invisible; for the purpose of enabling the elements of light to effect their escape. When the light was first sent into the earth beside itself of darkness, it ascends in the form of a pillar, called the 'pillar of glory,' first to the moon, 5 thence to the sun, and thence to the higher regions. The light of day will be secured for ever against the assaults of the darkness.

The nature of the gods is not clearly defined; they are regarded as the offspring of the Supreme God.

It is introduced into the history of the Buddha with the parallel passage in Titus of Bostra, bk. i. l. 17. For 'the Primal Devil' Titus substituted 'the devil of man.'

Thus, for instance, the rain is explained as due to the perspiration of the gods (Titus of Bostra, bk. i. l. 17). The moon, as it is described is a bucket which alternately fills and empties itself (ibid.).

It is to be observed that Adam, Eve, and the Primal Devil (al-Dinawari) is wholly distinct from 'the Primal Man' (al-Dinawari).
As we learn from the passage of the Skhāpārangā quoted above, Māni held that a series of divine revelations had been promulgated in the world by Buddha, Zarathustra, Jesus, and finally Māni himself. He had divided the Mānichēan books, claimed to be the "Paraclete (al-Farāqli) announced by Christ," and this we learn from other sources also, both Christian and Mānichēan. The Muhammadans and others use the Greek word, it may be assumed that it was used by the Manichēans themselves, but we are not to conclude that Māni knew Greek, still less that he had been in the Orient. The term Paraclete was in common use among Aramaic-speaking Christians, from whom Māni doubtless borrowed it. Precisely what meaning he attached to it is a question not easily answerable.

From the statements in the Fīrīṣt that Jesus pronounced Jesus to be a devil (ibid. 1.4). The Fīrīṣt informs us also (p. 336, line 10 ff.) that one of Māni's works, The Book of Secrets, contained a chapter on the son of the widow, that is, to say, according to Māni, the crucified Messiah, whom the Jews crucified. How the strange phrase the son of the widow is to be explained, and how this passage is to be reconciled with that in which Jesus is said to have been called a devil, we have no means of determining.

But, whatever the Manichēans may have believed as to the origin of the historical Jesus, the nature of His body, etc., it would certainly appear that they denied the fact of His crucifixion. Hence, according to Augustine, they were in the habit of contrasting the unreal sufferings of Christ with the real sufferings of Māni, which they regarded as another of his tricks, as an interpolation, as a ceremony known as the Bāṣa. That the Muhammadan writers say very little on this Christological question may be due to the fact that here their own views of the universe as a whole. Since the visible world has as its goal the separation of the light from the darkness, practical religion must consist mainly in the furthering of this process. The divine element in man must be freed from all material goals and this is the reason of his heavenly source. With regard to this part of the Manichēan system much misconception has prevailed in the West, from the time of Augustine to the present day. The divine element in man is not to be identified absolutely with the soul, though the Manichēans sometimes used language which admitted of such an interpretation. Yet, if we examine a passage, we become clear that, when they spoke of the soul as divine, they meant only that it contained something divine; and even this was not asserted with respect to the soul itself, but only in so far as it was the part of the re-creation, due chiefly to Augustine's treatise De Duabus Animabus, is that man was represented as having two souls, one good and the other evil. In reality the passages which are cited as proofs of this theory affirm only the existence of two opposite tendencies in man. And, just as the soul is not wholly good, so the body is not wholly evil; for, according to the Fīrīṣt (p. 335, line 16 ff.), the Manichēans held in an allegorical sense that the righteous man the powers contained in his body, namely, the water, the fire, and the breeze, have to be extracted by the sun, the moon, and the shining stars, and that the rest of his body which is altogether darkness is cast into hell.

But, although it was the duty of all Manichēans to take part in the liberation of the light from the darkness, the degree of their cooperation varied according to their several capacities. First of all, a broad distinction was made between the ordinary Manichēans, who were known as "the Hearers" (al-Manīkān, the "Combitants," as the term is sometimes applied to them) and the teachers or ascetics, whom Western writers call "the Elect" (al-Balad, Electi) and Muhammadans al-Šidqīquān. The Elect again were subdivided.

1. It is well known that, according to the Qur'an (iv. 156), Christ was never crucified; but, when His enemies sought to slay Him, He was removed from the earth and a likeness was made to appear to them. This theory, it will be observed, does not imply any denial of the reality of Christ's body. That Muhammad borrowed the conception from the Manichēans is very improbable, but at all events there is a striking analogy.

2. See the very instructive discussion by Baur, p. 102 ff.

3. This expression means in Arab, "the veracious," but, as Kessler has pointed out (Māni, p. 318, note 4), it is here to be understood in the sense of its etymological equivalent in Syr.
into several grades and formed an elaborate hierarchy, at the head of which stood the representative of Mānī himself. But the position of the Elect differed essentially from that of the Christian clergy. They were not occupied as such until the shape was assumed by the system, since the Oriental authorities make no mention of them, unless, indeed, we apply the term 'sacrament' to such practices as prayer and fasting. Thus the main characteristic of the Elect was not that they had the exclusive right, or power, to perform certain acts, but rather that they possessed a fuller knowledge of religion and abstained from certain things which were lawful to the rest of the community.

This duty of abstention was called by the Manicheans 'the three seals,' which Augustine more definitely characterizes as signaementum oris, signaementum oculorum, and signaementum sinu. The first seal imposed restrictions with respect to food and speech, the second with respect to outward acts, the third with respect to thoughts and desires. Thus the Manichean asceticism implied a no thought on the part of an individual that sinned, as well as abstaining from sin—a view which is essentially an influence of some sects of the Christian Church—was quite foreign to the religion of Mānī. The prohibitions which have been issued are based upon the belief that certain acts, such as the destruction of life and the intercourse of the sexes, are essentially Satanic, and therefore require the abstention of the pious from them. In matters of detail the Manichean code naturally appears arbitrary to us; it is evident that in drawing the line between what is 'Satanic' and what is not Mānī was guided more by his fancy and by various casual associations than by any abstract logical principle. Thus, for instance, all Manicheans were forbidden to kill animals, but it would seem that the Hearers were permitted to eat flesh. The Elect abstained from both flesh and wine; they were also forbidden to pluck fruit or vegetables, so that the food on which they subsisted had to be supplied by the Hearers. Similarly the Hearers were allowed to marry but were restricted in worldly avocations, whereas the Elect might neither marry nor acquire property, 'except food for one day and clothing for one year.' It is remarkable that among the things most strictly prohibited by a Monothelite and mystic as in nearly all Oriental religions, fasting played an important part. Sunday was observed as a fast-day by ordinary Manicheans, Monday by the Elect; viz. Zaddīq, 'the righteous,' which we may assume to have been the form employed by the Manicheans themselves (see C. W. Mitchel, op. cit., 30). A Manichean who is called a Zaddīq. (137 R.) 'Those Idle women of the party of Mānī, those whom they call Zaddīqītāth.' Neither Kesseler nor any previous writer seems to have noticed that from the same Syriac word is derived sandīq, or sandīk, 'butter,' a term which was applied especially to the disciples of Mānī by the Persians of the Sassanian period, and afterwards by Muhammadans. Various other interpretations of this word have been proposed, but none that is in the least plausible. The substratum of it is probably the word for dīq, a phonetic change for which there are many analogies. That a term which was originally used as a title of honour should afterwards be reduced to an epithet of the commonest natural; e.g. the Germ. Ketzer, from cauhtpe. The Persian term for a dunghill' and the Sanskrit word prakāra are the derivatives. Mānī and Zaddīqī.

According to Augustine (c. Fortunatum, 1.), the Elect were supposed to celebrate a kind of Eucharist in their secret meetings. But, as Augustine himself admits that he knew nothing definite on the subject, we can determine much importance to his testimony.

(1) Ibid., p. 520, line 5; Filgelī, Mānī, note 217. (2) De Mort. Monarchi Manichaen. ii. io.

A-Bīrūnī, Chronology, p. 286.

4. The relation of Manichæism to other religions.—W e have considered the proposition that that of Mānī's teaching. It will not surprise us to find that very different opinions have been expressed as to its general character and its connexion with other religious systems. Until comparatively recent times it was the fashion to represent Manichæism, and Gnosticism generally, as a mere fantastic perversion of Christianity. When Zoroastrianism and Buddhism began to attract serious attention in Europe, the real or apparent resemblances between these religions and Manichæanism naturally gave rise to the theory that Manichæism is a combination with Christian Zoroastrism or Buddhism. For 'paganism' we should not doubt read 'jēsūt,' 'Hē, as Nöldeke and others have supposed.

That is, apparently, called into existence—the Arab. verb de'ēs means here the giving a new rendering of the Arab. ūfira, on the use of which see H. Pogson, Inscriptions mandaica, p. 116, note 4.

Here follows a passage which is excellently natural; e.g. the Germ. Ketzer, from cauhtpe. The Persian term for a dunghill and the Sanskrit word prakāra are the derivatives. Mānī and Zaddīqī.

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(1) De Mort. Monarchi Manichaen. ii. 10.
Buddhist elements, but whether Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or Buddhism formed the basis of the system was a disputed point. During the last twenty years the prevalent tendency to explain everything in the ancient world as due to Babylonian influence has led to the belief that Manicheism and all other forms of Gnosticism are simple modifications of the old Babylonian religion.

But to those who impartially examine the sources none of these hypotheses will appear satisfactory. Whatever elements Mānī may have borrowed from older Oriental religions, it is clear that the fundamental principles of his system are neither Zoroastrian, Buddhist, nor Babylonian. The relation in which Manichæism stood to Christianity was undoubtedly closer, but to call Manichæism a Christian heresy would be misleading. The characteristics which Manicheism and other Gnostic systems share with primitive Christianity are not necessarily derived from any Christian source; they are, for the most part, products of a general movement which, as mankind outgrew the older religions, spread over the civilized world and assumed various forms, according to the special circumstances of each case. The general movement in question has been described by H. Oldenberg as a shifting of the centre of gravity, in religious matters, from without to within.

The ancient conception of religion, as a sort of offensive and defensive alliance between man and God, a unitarian agreement whereby the worshipper secured for himself prosperity, success, and victory over his enemies, gradually faded away, or sometimes was violently shattered, and in its place there arose a new kind of belief, which held out the hope, not of earthly enjoyment, triumph, and dominion, but rather of rest, peace, and redemption (Buddhā, Berlin, 1897, p. 3).

In the time of Mānī the old heathenism was by no means extinct in Babylonia, though Zoroastrianism had become the religion of the State. Moreover, large Jewish colonies had long been established in the country. Of the early history of the Christian Church in those regions next to nothing is known, but there can be no doubt that before the beginning of the 3rd cent. Christianity had taken root among the Aramaic-speaking population which occupied the Western provinces of the Parthian Empire. It is also tolerably certain that the Christians of Babylonia were divided into various parties, and that their beliefs sometimes diverged widely from the ordinary orthodox type. In particular, the sect founded by the Syrian Christian Bar-dāsān (Bardesanes), who died in A.D. 222, seems to have had great influence. Ephraem Syrus goes so far as to call Bar-dāsān "the teacher of Mānī." It may not be improper to think that Mānī was a Bardesanist, but merely that he had adopted certain Bardesanist doctrines. In any case it is essential to realize that Manichæism arose in a country where several religions were competing with one another, and where, in consequence of this, various hybrid sects had been formed. Of such sects we have already had an example in the Mughchisla, the community to which Mānī's father attached himself.

The hostility of Mānī to popular paganism is sufficiently shown by his strict prohibition of idolatry. That he clearly distinguished between orthodox paganism and Zoroastrianism appears from his inclusion of Zoroaster among the messengers of God. He must, therefore, have regarded the Zoroastrianism of his own age as corrupt rather than false; but how much he actually believed that the Zoroastrianism did not become the State religion till after the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty (about A.D. 226) is uncertain. Mānī appears to have been closely identified with the Christian church in Persia, and to have contributed to the spread of its doctrines.

1. Astrological myths and speculations played a considerable part in some other Gnostic systems, notably in that of Bar-dasān.

2. F. C. Burkitt's Early Eastern Christianity (London, 1904) relates chiefly to the Christianity of Edessa and its immediate neighbourhood, but contains much that he says probably applies also to Babylonia.


The question of Mānī's dualism was due mainly to Zoroastrian influence would be an warranted assumption; for, though both systems are rightly described as dualistic, they nevertheless differ profoundly. The aim of the Zoroastrian is to banish evil from the world; the aim of the Manichean is to extract from the world that which is good. In this respect Mānī has more in common with Buddhism than with Zoroastrianism; but from the fact that Mānī represented Buddha as the communicator of a divine revelation we must infer that Mānī's acquaintance with Buddhism was of a very vague kind. It is manifest, however, that in matters of detail he appropriated freely elements derived from very different quarters. Thus we can attach no great importance to his adoption of certain ancient Babylonian myths—such as relate to the nature and movements of the heavenly bodies. In like manner he borrowed narratives, directly or indirectly, from the OT, although his general attitude towards Judaism was one of decided opposition. That he refused to recognize Moses as a prophet is abundantly proved; hence in Christian writings directed against Manichæism the name of Moses is given a prominent place. It is probable that Mānī's aversion to Judaism was largely due to his horror of a practice which Judaism notoriously has in common with popular paganism, namely, the sacrificing of animals.

Towards Christianity he was much more favourably disposed. Whence he derived his information on the subject is indeed uncertain, for, though it seems probable that the greater part of the NT had been translated into Syriac some time before Mānī was born, we cannot safely assume that he had access to it. Hence his peculiar teaching as to the personal history and miracles of Christ is the result of allusion has been made above, may he due in some measure not to perversion of the gospel narrative on his own part, but to the beliefs of his Christian informants. In any case it is clear that some of the most essential features of primitive Christianity, in particular the ascetic view of the present world, were thoroughly congenial to Mānī. But he had one great advantage over the Christians, namely, that he provided a much more secure dogmatic basis for asceticism than any previous teacher. The Christian ascetics, in condemning natural feelings and appetites, were constantly hampered by their theory of God as the ruler of the universe in general and of man in particular; the distinction which they were obliged to make between human nature as such and human nature in its present corrupt state gave rise to endless difficulties. On the other hand, the Manichean dogma that humanity is of Satanic origin, however shocking it may be to modern sentiment, greatly simplified the problem. In this, as in some other points, Mānī displayed a boldness and originality of conception which entitle him to be regarded as a genius of the first rank. To represent his system as a more patchwork of older beliefs is therefore a total perversion of the facts.

5. History of the Manichean community.—At the time of their founder's death the Manicheans were already a numerous and highly organized
sect, scattered over a great part of the Persian Empire and drawn from the ranks of various other religions. Some of them belonged to the Persian aristocracy; hence the bitterness with which the Zoroastrian priesthood opposed the new faith. Muhammad's immediate successors, as head of the community, was a certain Sisa (Gr. Συσσα). For many centuries Babylonia continued to be the headquarters of the Manichean organization, in spite of repeated persecution by the Christian governments. Now and then there was a king sufficiently powerful and intelligent to restrain the intolerance of the priests, but as a rule the Manichæans were treated even worse than the Christians. For this no political pretext could be alleged, since the Manichæans were politically inoffensive, whereas the Christians not infrequently brought persecution upon themselves by an ostentatious display of their philo-Byzantine sentiments. The principal result of these attempts to suppress Manicheism in Babylonia and Persia was that large numbers of Manichæans took refuge in Central Asia, where they established a successful propaganda among the Turkish tribes.

The precise date at which Manicheism began to spread in the Roman Empire is not certain, but it was undoubtedly well known there early in the 3rd century A.D. In any event it is difficult to account for its prevalence in N. Africa, two or three generations later, Augustine furnishes ample evidence. The Christian emperors, as we might have expected, showed themselves no less intolerant towards Manichæan than the kings of Persia. In the persecution of the Manichæans Pope Leo I. played a specially prominent part. As to the later history of the Manichæans in Europe very little can be discovered with certainty, on account of the vagueness with which the term 'Manichean' is used by Catholic writers. Thus the charge of Manicheism was brought against the Bogomils in the Byzantine Empire and the Albigenses (q.v.) in Provence, but how little these accusations prove may be gathered from the fact that even at the present day the religion of the Russian Molokians has been described as a modified form of Manicheism.

On the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Muhammadan Arabs, about the middle of the 7th cent., the followers of Mani in the East enjoyed a period of relative safety. Strictly speaking, they had no legal claim to toleration, for the Qur'ân, which expressly recognizes Jews, Christians, and Sabians 2 as capable of deserving the favour of God (ii. 58, v. 73), does not mention Manichæans. Nevertheless, it would appear that in the early days of the Muhammadan Empire no penalties were inflicted upon the Manichæans. The extreme simplicity of their cult, and in particular their abhorrence of idolatry, may for a while have served to protect them from molestation under Muhammadan rule. At length it began to be rumoured that some Muhammadans in high positions had secretly adopted Manichæism. In many cases these reports were certainly false; thus, for instance, the Khalîfa al-Walîd II. (A.D. 743-744), whom Muhammadan historians depict as a monster of iniquity, is accused of having said that Mani was the only prophet whom God ever sent into the world. 1 If al-Walîd really uttered these words, they would prove not that he was a Manichean, but that he knew next to nothing of Manicheism. It is, however, impossible to deny that secret conversions to Manicheism actually took place among the Muhammadan clergy. A passage from Islam is notoriously a capital offence according to Muhammadan law (see art. Apostasy [Muhammadan]). Hence we cannot wonder that in the latter half of the 8th cent., when under the 'Abbâsîd dynasty the spirit of religious intolerance became dominant in the Muhammadan world, a systematic attack should have been made to extirpate Manicheism. 2 The organizer of this persecution was the Khalîfa al-Mahdî (A.D. 775-795), who instituted for the purpose a State Inquisitor, with the title of 'Inspector of the Zanâdik.' 3 The term zanâdik (plural sindik) 4 was used primarily to denote the Manichæans, though Muhammadan writers often employ it vaguely in the sense of 'heretics' or 'atheists.' 5 That al-Mahdî did not make a very clear distinction between Manicheism and other heresies may be inferred from a passage in which he is represented as elaborately justifying his policy of persecution; 6 the accusations here brought against the Manichæans include, e.g., the practice of carrying the 40 new-borns (as alleged al-akhdawî wa-l-bandâ), which was characteristic of the Zoroastrians (see art. Marriage [Iranian]), but seems to have been altogether foreign to Manicheism.

The religious policy of al-Mahdî was generally followed by his successors. The number of persons put to death on the charge of Manicheism certainly amounted to many thousands, while Christians and Jews, though subject to various disabilities, were usually tolerated. But, in spite of all, the religion of Mani long survived even in the heart of the Muhammadan Empire. Some two centuries after al-Mahdî, the author of the Fihrist tells us (p. 337, line 26 ff.) that he had been acquainted with about 800 Manichæans in Bagdad alone. But the region in which they were most numerous was Central Asia. In the territories of the Turkish tribe Taghazghaz the majority of the population professed Manicheism; a Muhammadan traveller who visited that country describes it as flourishing and civilized. 7 When, in the reign of the 'Abbâsîds, the Muhammadan emperor of Samarqand condemned to death a large number of Manichæans, they were saved, it is said, by the intervention of their co-religionists, the princes of the Taghazghaz. 8 This is the only known case in which Manicheism became the religion of a political community. We do not know how long this state of things continued, or when Manicheism finally died out; but we may conjecture that it was swept away, like many other beliefs and institutions, by the great Mongol invasion of the 13th century.

The Manichean community in the course

1 See ibid. 2 See the very interesting paper by I. Goldscher, 'Abîl-i Kûndis and das Zoroastrismus des Zoroastrismus des Chalîf-iv, in Trans. of the Ninth Intern. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1883, ii. 104 ff. Goldscher is of opinion that the Muhammadan propaganda under the early 'Abbâsîds was somehow connected with the anti-Arabian movement of the Persian nationalists (the so-called Shiva'is). Whether there is any truth in this view may be doubted, for Manicheism had nothing to do with nationality. At the same time it is not surprising that it would often have confounded these wholly distinct tendencies.

2 See 3, note 5.

3 From the statement in Ibn Qutbah, Kitâb al-Jâfîrî (ed. F. Wulffen, Götingen, 1830, p. 290), it is very unsafe to conclude, with Leipziger, 'der Nachfolger des Chalîf en al-Mahdî in Trans. of the Ninth Intern. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1883, ii. 107, that there were Manichæans at Mecc in the time of Muhammad.

4 Al-Tahiri, iii. 588.


6 Fihrist, p. 337; Fligel, Mants, p. 100.
of its long history was not altogether free from internal dissensions might have been safely assumed. But the positive information which we possess on this subject is very scanty. We learn from the Fiburil (p. 354, Line 4 ff.) that at a date which is not specified, but in any case some time before the end of the 7th cent., a party among the Manipurans severed their connexion with the central authority established in Babylonia and set up an independent organization; whether this schism was due to dogmatic differences or to other causes it is impossible to say. A second division took place about the beginning of the 8th cent., when a branch-sect was formed and became known as the Miglašiya, after the name of their leader Miqlaš. The majority of the Manipurans, who remained faithful to the head of the community, a certain Mihr, were thenceforth called the Mihriya. The points in dispute between these parties seem to have been matters of discipline rather than of religious belief.

In later times,—in modern times, the first serious attempt to investigate the subject was made by the French Protestant theologian I. de Beaucare in his colonial work, Historie critique et des mœurs des Meithei in Amsterdum, 1734-1739; in dealing with the sources he shows considerable acumen, and his liberality conceals many irrelevant digressions. An admirable summary and examination of the sources as far as it was then possible, will be found in the treatment of F. C. Baur, Das manichaïsche Religionsystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht, und entwiekelt, Tübingen 1867. The best general account is F. Spiegel, Erdtheilische Alterthumskunde, Leipzig, 1871-78, II. 195-225. K. Mihrlya-Kessler—Manichaïsche Vorherrschaft über die manichaïsche Religion, i, Berlin, 1889, art. 'Mani, Manichäer,' in DHRE 8 and FRED—supply much valuable information, but the compilers use with extreme caution; the author's speculations are often fantastic and his linguistic knowledge is very restricted. A. H. Venn, Die Nachrichten der Kopenhagenerschule, 1861, 39owi (revied by F. O. Conbykere in EBR 10), is largely based upon Kessler. The same may be said of the work of A. Rochat, Doctrine, Genève, 1891. Very important contributions to the study of the subject are contained in a series of monographs by F. Camont and A. Kugener, entitled Recherches sur le Manichâisme, Brusells, 1898-1912.

A. A. Byvan.

MANIPURIS.—Officially the Manipuris are Vaisnavite Hindus. They cremate the dead; they receive the menstro from a recognized Hindu gour in many but not in all cases, they recognize Hindu festivals (but observe them a day later); they revere the cow; they are scrupulous in the matter of food, but, on the other hand, they do not practise child-marriage, they do not seclude their women, they permit divorce, they permit the remarriage of widows, they do not allow the supremacy of the Brahman, and only an ordained Brahman or deified ancestor applies to their social order. Knowledge of the Vaisnavite doctrines is spreading with the spread of education, but they are still the most backward of all Hindu groups in Assam. With them Hinduism, adopted as the State religion by royal edict (c. A.D. 1705), is of social and political value in that it separates them from the ruder tribes inhabiting the hills and from the subordinate peoples of the valley. It provides the rites and ceremonies of everyday life. It is, so far as externals are concerned, the religion of the Meithei. It exists side by side with the earlier faith to which in the hour of trial and trouble, be they Raja or rye, they turn unhesitatingly. The continued existence of this earlier faith in such vigour is a notable fact which enables the student of religious development in India to study at close quarters the process by which in Hinduism animism is tempered by metaphysics, and magic transformed by philosophy.

The official records of Manipur, Ningtahau, and Ningtahaul, are valid documents for at least five centuries. It is a settled State far removed from savagery. At the present time the population consists of two main divisions—the Meitheis and the Lois. The Meitheis consist of seven clans, each divided into numerous families, the principal clan being that known as the Ningthauja, or Royal, clan. The name Meithei now borne by all the clans is thought to have been the name of the Ningthauja clan before its hegemony was completely established. The Lois, or the conquered people, are not admitted into the Meithei confederacy, but are of similar stock to the Meitheis, and the Meitheis worship the gods of their former masters as long as they live themselves. The Meithei confederacy is an endogamous group in theory, although in practice the issue of mixed marriages is admitted. The principal order of divine beings is the simang lai. There were originally, as recent research has shown, nine simang lai, or forest gods, with whom were associated seven lairemas, or goddesses. There are now 364 such deities. The gods married with mortals, and their issue were promoted to divine rank. The deities have different names in different places, and there are cases where Rajas have been deified after death. The creator deity is identified both with the chief of the gods and with the snake ancestor of the royal family. Other gods are identified with the clan deities of clans still existing. Yet others are members of a special group, whose functions are not yet fully investigated, and who are therefore known either as maikeingka, watchers over or guardians of direction, or lamli, gods of definite areas. Here there is obviously a combination of local, clan, and other deities, and some definite areas were occupied by local groups each possessing a group deity. Then among the simang lai is the rain-god, and last is the god of the household (Sena-mehi), who is occasioned to be described as the son of ocean (Vaisnavism); in Rolden (revied by F. O. Conbykere in EBR 10), is largely based upon Kessler. The same may be said of the work of A. Rochat, Doctrine, Genève, 1891. Very important contributions to the study of the subject are contained in a series of monographs by F. Camont and A. Kugener, entitled Recherches sur le Manichâisme, Brusells, 1898-1912.

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pleasure. While the ceremony is in progress, social and sexual tabus, immediately paralleled by the customs of the hill-tribes, are strictly enforced, thus preserving intact the rite in its purity. The hindrances which were imposed on the rite in order to restore the solidarity of social life and to produce in the worshippers a sense of religious exaltation. The social divisions, resting on age and other lines of social cleavage, function separately on these important occasions. The society was formed into cells of one, or two, or more families, and the varied cases as to render the active participation of professing Hindus a matter of some difficulty, but the difficulty is surmounted by substituting a Loi, a male member of the male Hindu section of the community, for the Hindu believer for and by whom and on whose behalf the rite is performed. The Hindu may salve his conscience by merely sniffing the savour of the sacrifice, unmindful of the fate of the Pîr Alîs of Bengal, who fell from orthodoxy by mishance in that manner. In general, the tendency would seem to be to substitute offerings of fruit and flowers for animal flesh. Human sacrifice was undoubtedly practised, probably not at very distant date.

The priests of the ancient order are designated mabos and mabba, and are recruited by the admittance of the betters of the profession at one of the high religious festivals. Inasmuch as sickness and disease are attributed to spiritual beings, the mabba is also the doctor of the community. He is the priest, the magician, and the practical knowledge of the mabos is far from despicable. The wide-spread belief in possession as a token and source of abnormal power and religious authority is beyond a doubt at the root of much that is important in Hindu doctrine. There is no evidence forthcoming as yet from Manipur to show that the priesthood is hereditary or that the members of the order, like bhâkets and fojits, are regarded as jîvanmukta (g.v.), or that their funeral rites differ from those of ordinary people. On its practical side the religion ministers to the simple needs of an agricultural community dependent on the regularity, adequacy, and seasonability of the rainfall for their subsistence. There are rites to secure rain and rites to stop excessive rain. Not the least interesting of the numerous rites to secure good fortune for the State is the annual selection of the chabhitas, the person who gives his name to the year. Various means of divination are employed for the purpose of securing for this office a person who shall bring the good luck that is dependent on the person.

Beliefs in evil spirits, who accompany animals and fish, and are ever hurtful to mankind, in beautiful sirens who lure young men and make them insane, in vampires, in witchcraft, in the power of trees and of tree-spirits to cure or to cause sickness, and in the maleficient activity of the ghosts of those who die by violence or of women who die in childbirth are also notable features of their organized religious system. The rites which are performed for the purpose of protection and exorcism in these cases are full of interesting detail, but in general outline resemble the rites performed elsewhere on a similar level of culture for similar purposes.


T. C. Hodson.

MANITU.—Manitu, a word originally applied by the Eastern Algonquins to a spirit, is properly and technically an evil spirit, existing in any spirit or genius in the shamanistic devil-cult of the Indians, and also any genius loci without the implication of evil. In consequence of the teaching of the missionaries, the conception of one Great Spirit became current among the Indians, and this was expressed by the word kit or keht prefixed to manitu; thus Keht-manitu, or Kitani (Kitanit), to the Great Spirit, which was considered a mode of existence; hence Kitanitovit, ‘the existence (known as) the Great Anito,’ the paraphrase of God as taught by the missionaries. That the Indians themselves had evolved no such conception is also seen in the fact that, in any language of this people, the phrase was used in John Eliot’s Bible (Cambridge, Mass., 1663) and employed by the missionaries in the Mosanid,” Keht-anit, and Keht-manitu, being merely variants of this artificial compound. As such the conception was introduced in opposition to a spirit variously called Hobomoko, the Evil Spirit, or Malsum, ‘the Wolf.’ Another form of the latter appears to have been evolved in antithesis to a contracted form of Keitaminton, namely, Tan’tam, as opposed to Squamun, the Devil (‘angry god’). Manitu is, therefore, the general word for any sort of a demonium, good or bad, and it has reached a higher significance by purely artificial means.

Nevertheless, the missionaries did not invent the idea of a good spirit, or of an evil spirit, or of a spirit-creator. What they did was to seize upon ideas already current in another form, fuse them, and present to the Indians the fusion (really a combination) of a sign and symbol of Christian conception. The Indians believed that a spirit might be a good or good-natured power, and that it might be an immeasurable power, and they also believed that a certain ancestral spirit had always been favourably disposed towards his children, but it was far from the thought of the Algonquins that there was an ever good and supreme Great Spirit, creator and benefactor, opposed to a Great Spirit of Evil. Wherever such ideas are found, they reflect the thought inherited from forefathers who had been under Christian influence. Thus the Mandans painted upon one side of the tent a figure representing the Good Spirit and on the other side a figure representing the Evil Spirit, that they might be under the protection of both these powerful spirits; but this is merely the degradation of teaching originally strange to them. They recognized certain spirits who aided and certain spirits who opposed them, but not as in any case Great Spirits. They believed rather that the ‘medicine-man’ could control all spirits. Similarly, when the ‘epie’ or Dhulokap describes the Passamaquoddiess as the son of a divine unknown mother and antithetical to a twin evil spirit, as the principle of goodness opposed to a sort of Ahri-man, it must be remembered that the Passamaquodies have long been under higher religious guidance than that of their medicine-men. Even the ‘revised faith in a Supreme Spirit’ ascribed to them is derived from the same source. What is original is the conception of a superior being, who is father of the special tribe or race that reveres him as leader and helper. In general it may be said that worship is not paid to any evil spirit as such, but also that worship is not paid to any good spirit as such.

The Manitu is often confused with the wakan of western tribes. But the latter is often less a spirit than a power, like the mana (g.v.) of the Poly- nations, which lies inherent in certain objects as well as in certain men. Its possession gives power, not to the Indian’s thought, a supernatural power, but a perfectly natural, although unusual, power. Between the two there is the conception of the ordinary object which at bottom is one with wakan, but is conceived as sometimes a spirit and sometimes a spiritual power. There is some corresponding word to be found in most of the languages of the American Indians, and every one of them con
notes a power which may be called spiritual. Sometimes it is the purely shamanistic power contained in the medicine-bag, which is not really a medicine-bag at all, but a collection of objects of fetichistic nature, and sometimes it is a spirit, embodied or disembodied, such as the spirit of a waterfall, the spirit of thunder, the spirit of animals, etc. It is in this latter form which may inhabit in matter or may make itself felt as an expression of spirit. The powers of nature have it, generally winds, storms, producive earth, and animals all have it; though some in larger amount than others. Finally, men have it in certain cases.

But there is no sharp distinction between this power and that found in spirits proper, where it becomes individualized. It is this very power that is the 'medicine' of the conjurer and nature-subsiduing priest. Whether it be called manitu, oki (oki), wakan, or even ku (in Maya form), it is always the same thing under a shifting terminology, except that among certain tribes it is more apt to be conceived as impersonal and among others as personal. Manitu is generally personal, wakan is generally impersonal, but the alternate use of the two terms is frequently found by Brinton (Myths of the New World, p. 45) as 'supernatural in its etymological sense,' in that it means in the forms current among the Iroquois and Dakotas, namely, oki and wakan respectively, sometimes in the same sense, and sometimes in the 'super' in the sense of supernatural. But it is more probable that the word means super in the sense of superior. These Iroquois and Dakotas forms are etymologically allied, and a possible connection with Sioux oghye may be admitted; but it would be unprofitable to attempt, with Brinton, to connect these terms with the above-mentioned ku of the Maya culture. Tan'tum Missibizi is another form of the same word, the quaker gods being, however, not the higher but the lesser spirits. This word, like Tan'tum and Squatnum above, is an adaptation from approximately corresponding Indian sounds (Quaker is gu-toki, 'small spirits') and contains the oki of the Iroquois and Algonquins, but it is not probable that it is one with the southern wuca, ku, etc. The Algonquin oki means a spirit of any sort—e.g., the spirit of a body of water, or the spirit of winter—and expresses also the idea of a distinctly demonic power ruling the winds, but not in a devilish manner; for, especially among the Algonquins, the spirit of the winds regulates the winds for the benefit of the good Indian. It also implies a ghost, and, in this respect differs from the conception of anit (manitu), though in other respects it is difficult to perceive any distinction between the anit (manitu) and the oki; perhaps, as appears from the geographical distribution of the two words, the anit was confined to the East, while the oki penetrated from the West to the Eastern tribes.

The manitu of greatest authority among the Algonquins was Michabo, and an analysis of this peculiar being shows that he was far from being a supreme spirit. Like many of the Indian gods, he was a very superior animal, Michabo meaning 'great hare' (originally manibocho). This manitu was revered from the Northern line of the States to the Mississippi, and from the West as far as the Missouri. He was represented as the originator of all the system of conjuring and exorcizing which makes the real science of the medicine-man; he ruled the not only the great animal, but was as often tricked and deceived as he in turn tricked and deceived; he was for the most part a horridous bauble, whose exploits amused the Indians, as those of Dior Rabbit amuse the Negroes. On the other hand, he was respected and the hare the expression which means that he is the ancestor of the earth. But as creator he is not dignified, nor even serious. It is more natural to him to hunt, and, when autumn comes, to smoke his last pipe and vanish. But before turning to his arctic home, it is the smoke of his last pipe that makes the haze in the air of autumn. That he originally came from the East, and, according to the earlier accounts, seems (as) the 'great hare' and made out of the East, has led to the ingenious conjecture that Michabo has come from a confusion of webo, 'hare,' with wabi, 'light' (Brinton, Myths of the New World, p. 165). There is the greatest confusion in the form of the name now known as Michabo, which appears as Missibi and Messon as well as Nanibozho and Manibozho, apparently because the name was sometimes rendered miow ("great") and sometimes manitu ('spirit'), with webo, 'hare.' That is, Michabo was thought of as the 'spirit-hare' or as the 'great hare,' and this 'hare,' according to Brinton, is a later Indian mistake for 'light.' Although the words are alike, and wabi means 'white' (wopa means the eastern light), yet nothing is more apt to lead one astray than reliance upon such etymological chances.

We are, then, at last, on the threshold of the harem. He says that 'beyond a doubt this is the compound in the names Michabo and Manibozho which therefore means the Great Light, the Spirit of Light, the Dawn' (ib. p. 166). Much as Brinton has done for something, it is the dawn-myth influence of his day and probably laid more stress upon etymology than upon ethnology. The truth is that the 'great hare' is the interpretation best justified in accordance with Indian belief and tradition. Michabo was a demonic animal of kindly disposition and endowed with a great magician's knowledge and cunning, which, however, he was able to control in the Indian difficulties. He was not a god, still less a god of goodness, but, as has been said of similar Indian spirits, a spirit of good nature. He is the son of the wind, one of four brothers born at a birth, but he took command of them. As they were born North, South, East, and West, it seems as if he represented one of the four winds. Yet the early missionaries declared that he and the four winds were the chief Algonquin gods. As expressed in the account of the year 1616, Michabo and the four winds were the only gods that the Algonquins had at that time. Further, it must be remembered that Michabo was the Devil or Bad Spirit (New Jersey Indians) as a devil, while at others he is represented as the 'ancestor'—a term which has often led to the false conclusion that believers in an ancestor-spirit must necessarily believe in a creator-god. Other tribes also have ancestral or at least specially revered animals, such as the bear, deer, and wolf of the Mohigans. None of the Western or Southern American Indians had the conception of a Creator-God, but many of them derived their stock from certain animals. To this class of animal-gods Michabo, the greatest manitu of the East, appears to belong. The history of the brothers is told in various forms in various tribes, and has been interpreted as additional evidence that, when there is a good and a bad brother, we have a fundamental dualism, which, however, is unsubstantiated by the Virginia and the West as far as the Mississippi. He was represented as the originator of all the system of conjuring and exorcizing which makes the real science of the medicine-man; he ruled the not only the great animal, but was as often tricked and deceived as he in turn tricked and deceived; he was for the most part a horridous bauble, whose exploits amused the Indians, as those of Dior Rabbit amuse the Negroes. On the other hand, he was respected and the hare the expression which means that he is the ancestor of
The Iroquois. He destroyed the frog, which had made a fire by fiddling on his foot and he learned the wisdom of the tortoise, which supports the world, namely, how to make fire. The Iroquion gave this knowledge to man. Yet here is the brother is not represented as an animal; it is a spirit weapon of white, black, and red, or light and darkness, a culture-myth which the Algonquins kept in animal-form, while the Iroquions preserved or invented it without basing the myth upon anything resembling real animal characteristics (cf. art. DUALISM [American]). It is this myth that caused the belief in American Indian duality to receive wide acceptance, as it was thus originally interpreted by Brebeuf in 1626.

As the word manitou has been widely used by ethnologists, it has naturally lost somewhat its original signification and at the same time has gained a new connotation, so that it has come to mean special forms of spirit-power more or less unknown to the Algonquins. Thus it has come to denote the personal guardian-spirit of certain Western tribes which has occasionally arisen out of the personal guardianship of an individual. The mythical ancestor of a village at a certain period in his life retires into solitude, and after fasting and prayer is rewarded with the vision of a certain animal-spirit, which is then adopted by his clan; and, when the clan becomes part of a larger tribal organization, it still remains as the guardian of the clan, though with a marked tendency to become simply a totem-crest. The totemism guardian-manitou thus becomes a mere symbol. Sometimes such crests become merely the property of certain families. The ancestors who received the totem-manitou received with it the powers or privileges still retained by the protégés of the spirits, who continue to appear to the young men of the totem, and the possession of these secrets forms the basis for the secret societies widely spread among the Indians of the North-West. This is the 'individual totem' acquired by every youth at puberty, when, which the organization of the clan is in a decayed state, is no longer identical with that of the ancestor and is no longer inherited. The youth at this period wanders from his father's lodge and in a secluded spot fasts and cries to the spirits, inviting any one of them to become his spiritual patron (cf. art. COMMUNION with the Spirits). When, in his dream, he sees the animal, he is to fall asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile of which he dreams he considers to be the one designated by the Great Spirit of the tribe for his mysterious protector during life. He then returns home, kills such an animal as he has seen in his dream, and preserves its skin in his mystery-bag ('medicine-bag'). It is possible that the individual manitou, though in some cases a later development than the clan-totem, is in other cases, notably among the Eastern tribes, of independent origin and as antique as the totem-manitou. Even among the Eastern Algonquins the acquisition of a special manitou-spirit in animal form by the youth who fasts is not unknown.

LITERATURE.—G. Catlin, The North American Indians, London, 1841; Bram, 1846; A. H. Keane, Man, Past and Present, Cambridge, 1899; Relation de la nouvelle France pour l'an 1657 (and subsequent years); H. Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, New York, 1895. The earliest source of information on this subject is the early missionary, Brant and Webster (esp. cit.) give full biographies. The Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology are of course for modern materials.

E. WASHBURNE HOPKINS.

MANJUSRI.—Like the majority of Buddhist gods, Manjusri is represented under various aspects: as a Great Vehicle or Mahāyāna (q.v.), properly so called, he is a bodhisattva, an entirely Buddhist personage in definition if not in origin (his origin is obscure; cf. Avalokiteśvara); (2) in the 'T'antam Vehicle,' which is of very early date and is not always distinguished from the Great Vehicle proper, Manjusri becomes one of the names, and often the principal 'exponent,' of the Supreme Being; (3) the cult of Manjusri, originating in India, took root in China in 465 A.D. and is probably spread from China into Japan, where Manjusri is the mythical giver of civilization.

1. As bodhisattva.—The most ancient of his numerous names is 'light and deep silence' (Bhadrachārya), his wish to lighten and brighten the way of the Buddha. His epithet is kumarī, or kumarabhāṣa, 'young man,' or 'royal prince'; this title, whatever its origin, means technically a bodhisattva; at the stage when, having received concomitant (abhicakra) as a prince, he is associated with the power of a Buddha and becomes his right arm (see Bodhisattva, vol. ii. p. 748). He is named in the first rank of bodhisattvas, before Avalokiteśvara, at the beginning of the Lotus of the True Law (translated into Chinese A.D. 147-160), where he is represented (ch. xi.) as a great converter. The 'scholastic' sātres and devotional works give him as a type of bodhisattvas, relates his vow to his guardian-spirit (the abhiṣeka) to the conduct for the conduct of the Great Vehicle, and celebrate his power. Legend associates him with the revelation of the books to the people; his epithet and name (the Pārijat, god of the Word, he is the patron of the Great Vehicle, of the 'second dispensation,' and becomes the god of wisdom, a personage of high importance. According to Fa-Hian (see J. Legge, Fa-Hien, A Record of My Journey to the Buddhist Countries, London, 1886, p. 46), the followers of the Mahāyāna worshipped the Pārijat, Manjusri, and Avalokiteśvara. We have many images of Manjusri; the most ancient, with his characteristic mark the Pārijat carried upon a lotus. 2. As Tantān god.—It is in the Tantānic section of the Tibetan scriptures (Kangyur, Kanjur as well as Tanjur) that Manjusri takes his extraordinary development. Half a dozen Tantāra (Kanjur) bear his name; among them is The List of the true Names of Manjusri Jñāna-sattva. The last term, Essence-of-knowledge (3), is opposed to the name bodhi-sattva, and is more dignified. We find it again in one of the numerous magic rituals devoted

1 On this expression see H. Kern, in SBE xxi. [1884] 1; cf. Siddhampraparāgika, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanpje, Petropag, 1892, p. 53: 'The manjusri, a live twelve cosmic ages, not counting the time he is kumarā.'

2 Various legends are told of his former human lives, but they are not so developed as the legends relating to Avalokiteśvara. See (1) E. Chavannes, 'Le Sātra de la parol occidentale de l'inscription de Kin-yong Koon,' in Mémoires Académie, Leyden, 1896, p. 75 (this Sātra is a bhārata, sacred to Vairochana, the 'brilliant,' the Buddha whom Manjusri is sometimes subordinated); (2) the Mahāyāna-sūtra-prajñāpāramitā (translated into Chinese A.D. 360), where Manjusri tells how he took his bodhi-sattva vow; 'I do not wish to become a bodddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings'; 'In all my existences I wish to follow the example of Alikeyopa and be a monk' (Stākṣasthānagāthā, Petropag, 1892, p. 12); (3) the Manjusrīśrīprajñāparamitā (translated in SBE xxi), a book patronized by the Mahāyānists, giving the story of the conversion of a light woman by Manjusri in the guise of a handsome young man; the only real sin of the bodhisattva is the sin of lack of charity (śīcāra-sāṃskāra, p. 140). All these works are scholastic, as is the Rādjāyājñāpanidhāna, an account by Manjusri of the compilation of the Mahāyāna Nīyamatattva, translated into Chinese by Manjusri, the virtue of his name, which protects against all female birth, and his glorification as the hero (bīra) are to be noted. Manjusri is one of the savours and patrons invoked in the 'Stanzas of Good Practice' (Bhadraśrayavarghīthā), one of the classical texts of the Tantānic sect (cf. The Tantānic Principles, London, 1910, p. 256). In the Tantānic sect Manjusri is 'exponent, the voyage of the five vehicles (Śikṣāsāmanuṣaya, pp. 297, 307; Dādhipatīyakaraka, 147-186), cf. the prayers of the five vehicles, Paris, 1907, p. 84, p. 58.


4 Namamgog Howells, J. P. Mineyje, Petropag, 1887.

5 This term has been invented on the model of bodhisattva for the purpose of implying something more sublime, and yet more mysterious, than the word bodhisattva. This bearing up of terms is characteristic.
MARA

by the Tantrj to Mañjūśrī: ‘spell (śādhanā) of the Adibuddha, the Essence-of-Knowledge Mañjūśrī,’1 which begins as follows:

‘Homage to the Buddha of the beginning, the middle, and the end, free from every stain of sin, a body immaculate by nature, primordial Buddha.’

śādhanās (spells) are magical operations by means of which the worshipper brings the deity into his presence in order to identify himself with the deity—which is not difficult to accomplish, since every man is essentially nothing but deity, though particularized and stained. These operations include diagrams (māṇḍalas),3 geometrical figures formed of squares and circles, more or less ornamented, and inscribed within each other, upon which is ranged an endless succession of deities4 represented by magic syllables.5 Mañjūśrī often occupies the centre of these māṇḍalas.

Tāntrean gods have two aspects, a ‘right hand’ aspect and a ‘left hand’ (or erotic) aspect. Under the former Mañjūśrī is called Lord of speech of the ontological Universe (Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara); under the latter he is ‘Diamond-Love,’ ‘Thunderbolt-Love’ (Vajrānāga).6 His right-hand aspect is further described as follows:

‘Qu'on s'identifie à Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, qui a le corps tout blanc, quatre faces, huit bras; les cinq Bouddhas (qui représentent les cinq grands échoirs de la science, de la connaissance à laquelle Mañjūśrī est le synthèse) ornent sa couronne de joyaux . . . les deux mains (dées) protègent le front du dieu, parmi les trois autres droite tiennent la guerre, la hache, la hache; les trois autres de gauche, le livre de la Prajñā.’7

Thus, whether one goes on to say, the book, the four arms (the eight is simply a multiple), and especially the four faces, suggest representations of Brahma. Grīnvedel remarks that Mañjūśrī and Brahma share the favours of a common śakti (divine energy, feminine aspect, of a god), Sarasvati.8

It is noteworthy also that the Nāmaśaṃcāgaṇi (viii. 19) gives Brahma among the names of Mañjūśrī. As soon as the Buddhists and bodhisattvas became gods, they inevitably became gods after Hindu fashion: Avalokita has more likeness to Siva, and Mañjūśrī to Brahma. Mañjūśrī always occupies an important, and often the chief, place in Buddhist polytheism.

3. As developed in China.—E. Huber was the first to observe that one of the canons of one of the Buddhist schools of the Little Vehicle, or Hīnayaña (P.), contained a version foreign to India—a, e.g., the legend of a town of Khotan—and he wondered, therefore, whether this canon had not been consideredly augmented and modified in Turkestān itself.10 But he and later Khunawati suggested that, after 11 a Chinese translation of the Old Testament, brought into Central Asia by Bodhidharma, accords in some respects with the account of the Tāntras.11

The story of Mañjūśrī, who, according to the Chinese pilgrims,12 now dwells in China, who is represented in the miniatures of the Nepāla MSS as a god worshipped in China, and who, according to the Nepāla tradition, came from China to Nepal, is interesting from this point of view.13

MAN OF SIN.—See Antichrist, Eschatology.

MANTRAS.—See Charms and Amulets (in dian), Magic (Iranian).

MANU.—See Law (Hindu).

MAORIS.—See Polygenesis.

MĀRA.—It seems that during the so-called late Vedic period, new gods, gods of a new style, were created. They wear, on the one hand, an aspect which is popular and mythological, and, on the other, one which is sacerdotal and esoteric; they are the expression of a pantheistic and pessimistic philosophy; but they, nevertheless, appeal to devotion and worship. Brahma-brāhmaṇ is the most eminent among them. Kāli, ‘Time,’ creator and destroyer, Kāma, ‘Desire,’ a cosmical entity, and many others may be embodied in the figures of the popular pantheon. Our Brahmānic information on these gods is, as a rule, scanty, and, in many cases, we are largely indebted to Buddhist or epic sources.

This is the case with Māra, who is not unknown in the Aharavada, that aristocratic compendium of demonology and demoniac figures in Buddhism, and the Upaniṣads show the elaboration of the ideas which constitute his frame in Buddhism.

The Aharavada joins together Yama, the old Aryan king of the dead, Mṛtyu, Death, Agga Māra, the evil slayer or hateful murderer, Nirṛthu, the destroyer, and Sarasvata, the prototype of Siva (VI. xcii. 1). Elsewhere (xii. xvii. 19) it mentions ‘the deities called Misfortunes, or Ill, or Evil’ (pāpyamaṇa kāma devatāḥ) and has developed the invocations (xvi. xxvi. i–2, cxiii. 2, xvii. i. 29) to Misfortunes (pāpyam). Māra, or Mṛtyu, is Death personified, the god who kills, and he has already acquired his Buddhist qualification pāpyam, ‘the evil one’ (Pali, pāpim). With this dark figure may be identified Yama or Sarasvata, also a mythological god.

That is what we know of Māra from the oldest literature. He quickly acquired a metaphysical and moral significance. For the thinkers of the age of the Brāhmaṇas and of the Upaniṣads, who admit transmigration and are anxious to find the path to the other shore of transmigration, Māra, or Death, may be regarded as the sovereign of this subsonic universe; whoever obtains a passage beyond the sun reaches the realm of immortality. For the common people, the recurrence of birth and death is the rule; the sun is Death. The legend of Nachiketas in the Kathaka Upaniṣad is of importance for the history of Death: a young Brāhmaṇ descends to Hades, and, unfeignedly, all promises of transient pleasures, wrung from Yama, the god of death, the secret of which lies beyond death and the means of liberation from death, this only means being the knowledge of Brahman which confers immortality.

H. Oldenberg rightly compares this Nachiketas-Yama legend with the Buddha-Māra legend. Buddha also rejects the offers of Māra in order to obtain the supreme boon, but Māra is benevolent and himself reveals the liberating truth to Nachiketas with only the habitual jealous reluctance of a god, Māra is the evil one, the tempter.1

In the Buddhist scriptures all these premises are fully developed. Māra actually assumes the rôle of the sovereign of the world, both of men and of gods; god of death, he is also the god of the living, who are only won by a food of death; he is the god of re-birth. Māra is Kāma, ‘Desire,’ since desire is the raison d'être of birth and death; and, because

1 Oldenberg, Buddha, tr. Hoey, p. 84.

1 Dhanasattumahajanaśīlā-devadatta-nāthaḥ (Raynā-kṛṣṇī, vol. 71) (according to a transcription by P. Cordier).


3 To the best of my knowledge, ‘diamond,’ ‘admaṇḍu,’ ‘thunderbolt,’ etc., see art. Tantra.


6 Les Études de littérature bouddhique, viii., ‘La Destruction de Boccara’ (Bull. de l'École françois de l'Extrême-Orient, vi. [1906], 825).

7 From the Pamir mountains to the Great Wall.


9 Poujoux, Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique, ii, 42, 119.

MARBONISN

Buddha is the deliverer from death and birth. Mara is the personal enemy of Buddha and Buddhism, the evil one, the tempter of Buddha and Buddha's disciplines. The dogmatic position of Mara is clear in all our texts. From the very start, he is the universal fetter, the sensual life both here and in the other world.

In scholasticism three Maras—Dasaputra Mara, the mother Mara, and Kālakāriṇī Mara—are distinguished. In ancient times these Maras were confused. Mara is not an allegory in the Pali stories of temptation; he is a demon; he is spoken of as Namuchi, a Vedic demon killed by Indra.

It follows that mythological features are not wanting, even in the oldest tales of the Pali canon. They are not, however, predominant. We are actually confronted with the temptation of Buddha by Mara's daughters; but these daughters are Desire, Unrest, Pleasure (Taghā, Arati, and Rati). It has been said that these stories—the intervention of Mara in order to frustrate Buddha's ascetic efforts—are only poetical descriptions of the crises of conscience of Sakyamuni. This view is by far too rationalistic. Such stories, it may be, were looked upon in this light by some philosophers or modernists, but it is safer to admit that the Buddhists believed in a divine enemy of the eternal welfare of men, and embodied this enemy in the traditional god of death, Mara. It is probable that Mara may have been inspired by the Babylonian god of death, but it is by no means certain that he was

1 See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychology, London, 1914, p. 21; Satipatthāna, i. 223, ii. 124.

2 See art. TEMPTATION (Buddhist) for the comparison between the Buddhist stories of temptation and the Gospel.


Original sources, both Buddhist and Christian, have been studied by Senart and Windisch.

L. DE LA VAILLY POUSSE.

MARBONISN—1. The founder.—According to the earliest and most reliable accounts, Marcion was a shipmaster (manulcerus, or naviria) of Pontus, and may have been a native of Sinope. The story 1 of which relates how the son of a Christian bishop in that region, and declares that he was excommunicated by his father for corrupting a virgin, is, on the whole, improbable, and may have been based on a misunderstanding of some phrase about the corrupting the doctrinal purity of the Church. It is possible that he was born and bred a pagan, and was converted to Christianity about the time of his journey to Rome. But the fact that his system of doctrine has become entirely Christian Scriptures makes it, on the whole, more probable that he spent his youth in a Christian atmosphere.

Marcion arrived in Rome in or near A.D. 140—after the death of Hyginus, 2 according to Hippolytus (see Epiph. Htr. xiii.). Whether or not a recent convert, he at first became a zealous member of the Roman Church, to which, according to Tertullian (De Proser. 30), he presented the sum of 200,000 sesterces. But before long trouble arose through his falling under the influence of the Syrian teacher Cerdo, who had a certain connexion with the Gnostics, and whose distinctive doctrine was that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter was unknown; while the one was righteous, but the other benevolent (Iren. Htr. i. xxvii. 1). It is easy to see how Cerdo's teaching would lead Marcion into uncomfortable relations with the orthodox Church; and it is not surprising to learn that his gift of money was returned to him, and that he was placed outside the pale. This took place about the year 140. After that date, the Marcionite propaganda must have been active, since Justin Martyr tells us in his First Apology (c. 150) that Marcion 3 by the help of devils has caused many of every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that God is the maker of this universe, and to assert that some other being greater than he has done greater works (xxvi.).

Tertullian, who was writing his adversus Marcionem in 207 or 208, places the activity of Marcion in the reign of Antoninus Pius ("sub Pio Impio"). Irenæus (loc. cit.) says that Cerdo came to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus (c. 137-141), and that his successor Marcion flourished under Anicetus (154-160). In view of the different statements, we may conclude that Marcion became active as a teacher some years before 150, and that his activity ended before or about the time of the death of Anicetus. For Marcion's own death no date can be definitely assigned.

2. The doctrine.—The teaching of Marcion may be reviewed under five heads: (a) theology proper, or the doctrine of God, (b) Christology, (c) criticism

1 This account, which was unknown to Tertullian, may be traced through Sidonius to Hypatius. The Armenian version is thus given by Emil (5th cent.): *This Marcion was a native of Pontus, the son of a bishop. And having corrupted a virgin, he went into exile on account of his father's having expelled him from the Church. And going to Rome at that time to seek absolute and sincere penance and not obtaining it, he was irritated against the Faith* (Against the Sects, bk. iv.).

abode, no heaven of his own, in the official cosmology of the Sarnāvalins (see art. COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGICAL [Buddhist]).
and exegesis of the Scriptures, (d) the application of religion to practical life, and (e) the ritual of worship.

(a) Theology.—In theology Marcion's main assertion was that the just God of the law and of the OT generally was other than and inferior to the God revealed in Jesus Christ, the chief attribute of the latter being goodness or loving-kindness. The idea of a dual godhead seems to have come from Christian doctrine; the introduction of this false notion may be connected with the (otherwise doubtful) statement of Clement of Alexandria (Strom. VII. xvi. 107) that Marcion, 'being contemporary with Basilides and Valentimianus, was employed as an elder with younger men.' At all events, Marcion's theology differed from the Gnostic in excluding any doctrine of sons, and, indeed, any element which could not be derived from his interpretation of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. His teaching was not in any sense pegan. His last work named the Antitheses contained the proofs of his theology, which were attained by placing utterances by and concerning God in the OT side by side with opposed statements by Jesus and Paul about God in the NT.

He further differed from the Gnostics by abstaining from any attempt at a complete speculative system. The contrasts which he drew out were final, and he did not seek to harmonize them in a higher principle; for him the two θεοί were and remained fundamentally opposed, and the long division of the mental superiorities of the God of the NT. The logical weakness of the position is well shown by Tertullian. On the one hand, the introduction of number (plurality) was inconsistent with the essence of the godhead; on the other, the interposition of the good God—'the Stranger'—in a world which had been created by and belonged to another was an obvious stumbling-block.

(b) Christology.—The mode of self-revelation employed by the good God was, according to Marcion, that 'in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius He (i.e. Jesus Christ) came down to the Galilean city of Capernaum'—to which Tertullian adds the explanation, 'of course meaning from the heaven of the Creator, to which He had previously descended from His own' (adv. Marc. iv. 7). The relation of OT to this grace of the NT does not seem to have been otherwise defined than by the idea of sonship. Of the human experience and suffering of Christ, Marcion took a wholly Doceic view. Rejecting the Gospel accounts of a human being, he represented the real appearance of Christ in the year 29 as an entirely new phenomenon, without any root in the past history either of the people or of the human race. And, while he regarded the life of Christ on earth and His crucifixion as the means of salvation for men, he nevertheless believed that our Lord suffered only in appearance. On the other hand, he did accept the historical facts narrated in those portions of the Third Gospel (see below) which he believed to be genuine, and shared the belief of his time in other elements of the Christian creed; thus he laid great stress on the descent into Hades and His preaching to the men of former generations who were there confined.

Again, as he believed in two Gods, he also recognized two Christs. According to him, the Messianic prophecies of the OT were true predictions, referring, however, not to Jesus Christ but to another Messiah who was to appear later as the messenger of the just God of the OT. But his exegesis of the NT wove on this Messianic does not differ. In his view the Creator (i.e. the Just God or God of the law) was the ruler of the whole material universe.

(c) Criticism and exegesis of the Scriptures.—In his dealing with the Scriptures Marcion combined a high estimate of the objective truth of the OT as a historical document with a startling and audacious subjective criticism of the NT. His mode of handling each was largely dictated by the necessities of his position. Convinced of the fundamental discrepancy between the OT and of that which he regarded as the genuine kernel of the NT, he naturally laid stress on every narrative, discourse, or even verse in the Jewish Scriptures which seemed to him to set forth the Jewish as opposed to the Christian view. His treatment of the OT has at least one great merit—he rejected allegorical explanations such as were current among the Gnostics; he took the history literally, and laid full stress on its distinctive characteristics. In the NT, on the other hand, while he similarly preferred the literal to the allegorical exegesis, he proceeded ruthlessly in the way of cutting out such books or portions of books as did not fit in with his view of the facts, and in re-editing the text to any extent on subjective grounds. As the Third Gospel seemed on the one hand to rest on an inferior model in his theology, he adopted this, though in a mutilated and much altered state, as the only reliable portion of the historical writings contained in the NT. To another him Paul was an apostle of the man of the flesh, and he believed that the Third Gospel—which he did not call Luke's—had been written under Paul's supervision and expressed Paul's view of the life of Christ. This view is regarded as harmonizing with the ancient tradition which had grown up among the Twelve, and he therefore rejected their works in toto. In the rest of the NT he accepted only ten Pauline Epistles, rejecting the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles of Paul, and the rest of the NT writings so far as known to him. And in the ten Epistles he used considerable freedom in rejecting or altering passages which conflicted with his views. An understanding of his detailed treatment of the NT can be best obtained by reading the fourth and fifth books of Tertullian's adv. Marcionem.

(d) The application of religion to practical life.—It is easy to see that, however arbitrary and subjective was Marcion's attitude in relation to the Christian tradition and its literature, his main interest in the matter was not speculative or theoretical, but religious and practical. This is shown by the fact that he attempted no higher synthesis, but allowed what seemed to him the irreconcilable opposition between the Creator and the NT God to continue until the end of time. To him the means of salvation was faith in Jesus Christ and in His Father. This faith was to issue in an ascetic life which despised and rejected the works of the Creator, so far as the conditions of human life allowed. Thus the celibate alone were admitted to baptism. A further consequence of this attitude was that Marcion denied the resurrection of the body; the salvation thereafter was in the soul and spirit only. The moral earnestness of the Marcionite community was proved both by the zeal of its propaganda and by the large number of its martyrs.

(e) The ritual of worship.—The aim of Marcion was to found not a school, but a church. Accordingly, in points of ritual he for the most part followed the usage of the orthodox Church, but espoused some peculiarities in Church worship as baptized persons, and forbade the use of wine in the eucharistic service. Some

1 There is no definite evidence as to whether Marcion knew the Fourth Gospel.
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of the peculiarities of usage in the Eastern branch of the Church may be gathered from the statements of Eznik (bk. iv.):

'He allows not one baptism only, but three after (successive) transgressions, and in place of catechumens who have died he urges their heirs to be baptized to Sanctification, that women be admitted saying that the consecrated is under a second or a third baptism, or (does he venture) to admit women to be priests,' etc.

It is evident from this that the church of the disciples of Apelles seems to have been of the highest character. For Apelles, in his followers, seem to have elevated him (at least virtually) to the rank of bishop, and the constitution of the sect was probably episcopal, though on this point we have not much information.

3. Later developments. — Among the followers of Marcion some, like Pothius and Basilicus, followed their master in recognizing two principles or divine beings; but some, like Apelles, held only one ultimate principle, the God of the NT, while others accepted three independent principles — the Good, the Just, and the Evil. Of these different teachers Apelles is the most interesting. Starting from the Marcionite opposition between the God of the OT and the NT God, he seems to have regarded the former as 'an opposing spirit' who owed his existence to the supreme God. The material world, in the view of Apelles, was created by Marcion's father as an opposing spirit,' and so Apelles also taught an ascetic view of life. On the other hand, he rejected Marcion's Docetism, and held that Christ really felt anguish and sorrow, although he did not suffer as a man. He did not possess a truly human nature in the orthodox sense. But he maintained that in the Crucifixion lay the hope of man's salvation.

The doctrines of Marcion were for a time widely spread, not only in Asia Minor and Pamphylia, but also in the East — Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Cyprus, Egypt, and perhaps even Persia. After sharing in the persecutions inflicted on the Church, particularly under Diocletian, the Marcionites seem to have enjoyed a short period of toleration early in the 4th cent., to judge from an inscription of A.D. 318-319 discovered a few miles south of Damascus, which records the existence of a village community of Marcionites. But their worship was soon prohibited by Constantine. In the West they seem early to have succumbed to the more powerful propagandists of Manichaeism (g.v.), but in the East they remained active, and their influence exerted a stronger and more enduring influence. We infer from the attention given to them in the controversial works of Ephraim, and from the careful account of their doctrines which Eznik, an Armenian, wrote about the middle of the 5th cent., that they counted for much in Eastern Christendom. So late as the 10th cent., they are mentioned in Arabic by the 'Pharis.'

As the best illustration of the nature of Eastern Marcionism, we subjoin a literal translation of Eznik's Armenian account:

Marcion wrongly introduces a strange element (in strange's) in opposition to the God of the Law, positing with him also Hyle by way of essence, and three heavens. In the one (they say) dwells the Stranger, and in the second the God of the Law, and in the third his armies; and in the earth Hyle, and they call her the Power of the Earth. And he so orders the world and the creatures, as the law says. But he adds that in union with Hyle he made all that he made, and it is as though the aforesaid Christ had a wife. And after making the world, he went up together with his armies into heaven; and Hyle and her sons remained in the earth, and they are the inhabitants of the earth, and the God of the Law in heaven.

And in the God of the Law, saying that the world is beautiful, thought to make it a man. And going down to Hyle in the earth, he said, 'Give me of thy clay, and from myself I give spirit, and so make me a likeness.' On Hyle giving him of her earth, he moulded it and breathed into it, and it became a living soul, and it became a living soul and therefore was called Adam because he was made from clay. And moulding him and his wife, and putting them in the garden (as the law says), and ... —

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1. Early influences. — By birth and training, alike on his father, the philosopher-king of the Roman aristocracy, Aulus Verus, belonged to the official aristocracy of Rome. From boyhood he was inured to the

how he could deal with Hyle and appropriate to himself. Taking him as he said, "Adam, I am God, and there is no other, and beside me thou shalt have no other god. But if thou takest any other God besides me, knowest thou that the die is cast." And when he said this to him and mentioned the name of death, Adam, struck with fear, began by degrees to separate himself from Hyle.

And Hyle, coming to give him commands according to custom, saw that Adam was not following her, but was purified being aloof and not coming near her. Then Hyle, annoyed in her mind, knew that the Lord of Creatures had done harm to her. "From the source of the fountain its water is befouled. How is this? Before Adam is increased with offspring, he has stolen him by the name of Lord from me; and he has not kept with me the covenant, I will make many gods, and will fill with them the whole world, that he may enquire who is God and not find out."

And she made (they say) many idols and named them gods and filled the world with them. And the name of God, that of the Lord of Creatures, was lost among the names of the many gods, and was spread among all the peoples in the world. And Marcion, seeing that his father was like this to his God, was grieved for these fallen into the fire and tortured. He sent his son to go and save them, and to take the likenesses of a servant and associate them with the name of God, that of the Lord of Creatures. "Heal," he said, "their lepers, and raise their dead to life, and open the eyes of their blind, and make them great cures without price; until the Lord of Creatures see thee, and he jealously and cruelly thee. And when thou dost heal, they shall make an image of thee, and shall put a name to thee; for Hades is not wont to admit life within it. And therefore thou art gone on the cross, the dead, like the dead, and Hades may open not its mouth to admit thee, and thou mayest enter into the midst of it and empty it. And when he had found him (they say) he was sitting down into Hades and emptied it. And taking the souls in the midst of it, he led them into the region of the souls of the Lord of Creatures, being enraging, in aore to his garment and the veil of his temple, and darkened his son and clothed his world in blackness, and cast into grievous mourning.

Then Jesus, going down a second time in the form of his godhead to the Lord of Creatures, said to his Father about him, his death. And the Lord of the World, seeing the godhead of Jesus, knew that there was no other God beside himself, and said to him, "I have a suit with thee, and let none be judge between us but thine own law which thou dost write." And when they induced the law, Jesus said to him, "I did not write thou in thy law that which killeth shall die; and which shouldest the blood of a righteous man, they shall shed his blood?" And he said, "I was taught." And Jesus said to him, "Now give thyself into my hands, that I may kill thee and shed thy blood, and thou didst kill me and shed my blood, for I am indeed juuter than thou, and have wrought many benefits in thy creation." And he was about to reconcile the benefits which he had wrought in his creation.

And when the Lord of Creatures saw that he had conquered him, and knew not how to say because of his own laws he was not a man, and was condemned, and was finding no answer because he deserved death in return for the murder of his Father, he was driven to数量 to them. And they hand on the teaching to one another orally. The Stranger (they say) has bought us with a price from the Lord of Creatures; he has made us one with what the purchase has been made, that not all of them know.'

Literature. — A full list of authorities is supplied by A. Harnack, Gesch. der altchristl. Lit. (Heidelberg: 1905-1906, 1, 191-200); and a shorter list by G. Krüger, in PH Rav. xlix. 2001. The main ancient sources are Irenaeus, Tertullian (esp. in De haeresibus contra Marcionem), Tertullian of Alexandria, Origen,pseudo-Tertullian (Carm. nat. Marcionis), Adamantius, Ephraim, Ephraem, and Eznik. An exhaustive account of Marcion's dealings with the NT will be found in T. Zahn, Geschichte des NT (Amsterdam: Harnack, vol. 3, 1-285).
round of absorbing and ceremonial etiquettes which had marked the reign of Hadrian, made up the official life of the capital. Through his uncle Antoninus, whom Hadrian appointed Quatuor vir for the administration of Italy, he was brought from Rome into touch with official life, and the Emperor himself, and the playful 'Verissimins' accorded to him by Hadrian re-appears even in the formal address of the Christian apologist.

Another influence, which he himself attributes to his education, was the fascination deep into the fibre of his being. In the antique life of Rome, religio, dependence upon God, pervaded every turn and act; and from the simpler life of the home and farm the ancient piety and rituals had never died away. Under Augustus the historic festivals and shrines, the ancient brotherhoods and colleges and guilds, of Sullan priests, of Arval Brothers, of Vesta Virgins, and others were revived, and a profusion of new cults was introduced. Priesthoods became the dress of leadership and rank, and patriotism found articulate expression in the worship of the Emperor, whether in the incalculable forms of mystery worship. To this religious complex Marcus was acclimatized from youth. At eight years old he was enrolled among the Salli, the most primitive of all the priestly colleges at Rome, and at all times his heart.

At sixteen, as Prefectus feriarum Latinarum, he solemnized the fête upon the Alban Mount; and besides the formal dignities of Pont. Max., AV vir Secr. Pae., and VII vir Eyr., he wore the cowl of Master among the Arval Brotherhood. The prayer of the college is still extant which besought blessing for him and L. Verus in their conflict with the Marcumani. At the outset of his great campaigns he purified the people with the solemn ritual of the ludi terentiani; at Athens he was himself Initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and on the Danube he approved the casting of images into the stream at the bidding of the Eastern Magi. His Stoic monothelism lent itself to sympathy with cults of every kind, as witnesses to the divine power.

2. Life. His boyhood was given to wholesome and studious disciplines. At Rome he fenced, played ball, and engaged in the mischievous excitements of the circus and the amphitheatre; at Lavinium, hunting, walking, and shared the language of rural industries and festivals. The correspondence with Fronto, his master in rhetoric, shows rare docility of type. Boyish experiments in philosophy ended in complete conversion on the perusal of Aristotle, the influence of Rusticus, and the charm of Epictetus.

His life falls into three sections: A.D. 121–138, boyhood, ending with his adoption in 128; 138–161, apprenticeship to rule, as Caesar and lieutenant to his adoptive father, Antoninus; 161–180, Imperial rule, shared nominally in 161–162 with L. Verus, and from 167 with his son, Commodus.

Till 167, when the Danubian campaigns begin, the years are filled with unremitting administrative activities. The Edictum perpetuum of Salvius Julianus furnished the basis of the Pandects of Justinian; laws and Papae are immemorial themera, as master-builders among those who reared the great fabric of Roman law. Under the direction of Stoic principles the rigours of the patria potestas, the slave-owner, the slave, and the creditor were brought within control; protection was accorded to women, children, wards, minors, freedmen, slaves; educational and charitable endowments were multiplied; professorships were established at University and lyceum; and these institutions were liberalized for communities. Commerce, industries, and communications were literally fostered by pro-

vision of roads, aqueducts, bridges, and inns, while in the regions of earth, fire, famine, or inundation, State aid was ungrudgingly extended. The collection and distribution of taxes were vigilantly supervised, and vast extension given to public works, both for local and municipal government. Wealth lavished its resources upon the provision of temples, baths, gardens, colonnades, and other embellishments of city life, while among all classes of the community guilds, colleges, and confraternities under strict surveillance, multiplied to an almost incredible extent.

In his dealings with the Christians, Marcus followed the practice of his predecessors. First by Nero, then by the Flavian Emperors, especially Domitian, Christianity had been treated as a form of sacrilege (dissece, abhorre) and treason, that lay outside the province or protection of law and entailed the penalty of death. Like rebellion or brigandage, it fell under the summary jurisdiction of the Emperor or his representative. Trajan, setting his hand against professional or anonymous delation, and Hadrian, still further in discouragement of malicious information or assault, did much to arrest active persecution; but Christianity continued to be a capital offence, and the forms of tort, with all the terrors of the law applied, were prescribed by the Emperor himself.

Enforcement of the penalty rested with the Emperor's delegate, and was rarely exercised. But outbreaks of personal hostility, of local prejudice, or of racial or religious jealousies might at any moment bring it into play. The progress of Imperial consolidation, and the rapid social developments of Christianity, both tended to enhance the seeming dislocation of Christians to Imperial unity. In Pliny the note of condescension and compassion softens contempt for the perversé superstition, which seemed to invite and almost compel persecution; in Marcus the accent of irritation becomes prominent; to him Christian defiance seemed like the melodramatic pose which induced Procons Pergrinus, in the story of Lucian, to cast himself on the pyre as the finale of the Olympian festival. On the main merits of the case he shared, no doubt, the judgment of his contemporaries, the leading Hellenists of the time, and among them his own intimate associates. Yet the perusal of Celsus and the précis of Celcius do not stand alone; Fronto still credits the Christians with nameless crimes and immoralities; Aelius Aristides satirizes their mean and mischievous self-seeking; Galen questions Christianity as the type of impenetrate bigotry. The Emperor's political philosophy led him the same way. The Graeco-Roman unity of Empire was the World-Cosmos finding realization in the communities of men; the highest and best hopes of the world we were centres in that consummation of the civic bond about the person of the Emperor; and the self-willed isolation of the Christian was essential atheism, in its estrangement from the divine impulse immanent in man.

But, as a statesman, Marcus holds to the prescriptions of Imperial policy. The rescript, cited by Eusebius as the principal of which he is the author, is a formal statement of the Emperor's attitude to Christianity of any kind to any period, to that of Antoninus. Melito himself discards the persecuting edicts to which he refers, and bears witness to the clemency and philosophy of the Emperor in checking tumultuary acts of violence against the Christians. The decree, or rather rescript, uttered against 'denorrizing superstitions' may have been partly aimed at Christians; but the terms were general, and it was retained in force and reiterated under the Christian Emperors. Possibly under its terms Christians were sent to the mines of Sardinia, but the Edictum perpetuum of Salvius Julianus furnished the basis of the Pandects of Justinian; laws and Papae are immemorial themera, as master-builders among those who reared the great fabric of Roman law. Under the direction of Stoic principles the rigours of the patria potestas, the slave-owner, the slave, and the creditor were brought within control; protection was accorded to women, children, wards, minors, freedmen, slaves; educational and charitable endowments were multiplied; professorships were established at University and lyceum; and these institutions were liberalized for communities. Commerce, industries, and communications were literally fostered by pro-

1 Capit. 4.

1 HE iv. 13.

2 In Eus. HE iv. 15, 54.
in point of fact the penal provisions—deportation or those of higher rank, and death for humbler offenders—were mandatory, the penalties to which all avowed Christians stood liable. In their social organization the Christians remained as free as other sects. In Rome itself Church membership and jurisdiction, episcopal authority, and literary activity advanced apace. Apologists, such as Justin, Melito, Athenagoras, one after another addressed their pleas to the Emperor in person. Heinz, on the contrary, was unimpressed and interpretative of their antagonists. Christians served in the Imperial households and, as the story of the Thundering Legion proves, were numerous among the legionaries.

None the less, illogical as was the situation, the profession of Christianity remained under the Imperial ban, and Christians as such were judicially liable to death. In two of the most famous instances when the penalty was enforced, responsibility devolves directly on the Emperor. The first concerns Justin, apologist and martyr, who with six associates was brought before the bar of Antoninus, prefect of the city, on the charge of 'atheism and sacrilege'; each in succession adhered to the Christian confession, and, on refusing to abjure or to offer sacrifice, was ordered to execution. Marcus was at the time resident in Rome, and, no doubt, endorsed the sentence passed by the Stoic prefect, his close friend and ex-preceptor. Still more famous is the persecution recorded in that masterpiece of Christian martyrrology, the letter of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne to the sister churches in Asia and Phrygia.1 The outbreak, rooted in racial, even more than religious, antipathies, was fanned to fever heat by the frenzies of the amphitheatre, where the Christians were subjected by the mob to hideous and revolting tortures and indignities. When order was restored, and the martyrs, rescued from the fury of the mob, were remanded to prison, their sentence was referred to the Emperor Himself, whose ruling was that, if they still persisted in recalcitrance, the law must take its course. The incident was fresh in his mind when he wrote down his reflection on Christian perversity and bravado.2 In Asia too, and in Africa, sporadic acts of persecution took place, and martyrdom was judicially inflicted, though for the most part Christians were saved from outbreaks of popular fanaticism or dislike. Of systematized persecution there was none, and to the Church historians and apologists of the next generation the era of the Antonines was an age of peace and toleration.

Marcus's latter years were clouded with calamities, public and personal. In 166 Italy was desolated by plague, from which it never recovered; in its track came famine, earthquakes, and inundations of unusual severity; then the yet more terrific inroads of barbarians, streaming across the Alps, and knocking at the gates of Aquileia. From that date onwards the legions of the West were locked in a life-and-death struggle with Marcomanni, Quadi, Jazyges, and other trans-Danubian hordes, sustained and carried to a triumphant conclusion only by the dogged and inspired leadership of Marcus himself.

3. The 'Thoughts.'—From these ordeals the Thoughts emerge. They are not the exposition of a system, but a criticism of life; reflections confided in the hours of loneliness and interstices of strain; a retrospect and record of experience; a manual of duty and endurance. In them a soul communing with itself, examines models of human conduct, and records conclusions, emits the sigh of weariness or the ejaculation of disgust, but perpetually renew resolve, unfalteringly clinging to the noblest hypothesis with which it is made; the almost random reminiscence, composition gave relief from strain, and became a substitute for company, and a pleasure for its own sake; and for Marcus Stoicism profoundly interpreted the whole fabric of conduct and creed that these self-communings shed clearer light upon the actualities of Roman Stoicism than the homilies of Seneca or the Memorabilia of Epictetus.

(1) Logic.—In his theory of knowledge and sensation he adheres closely to the terms of Epicurus. The panpsychia are in part sense-impressions proper, derived from things, in part impressions of aims, qualities, or attributes, moral or aesthetic, belonging to things, and conveyed to the reason.

It is for reason to sit in judgment on them, determine their true content and value, and firmly maintain its own prerogative. In the one passage in which he formally discusses the doctrine of assimt (συσκόρισθεν, v. 10) he drops the Stoic claim to final certitude—τα πράγματα οίκολογία. But there remains a tenacity of moral assurance, which suffices for conduct of life. Reason as part of the divine immanence attains a coherence, a consistency, and strength which give the indefeasable assurance of truth.

(2) Theory of being.—In Stoic monism matter, form, and forces are an inseparable unity. The life-power, self-determined from within, is embodied in the various forms of phenomenal and spiritual being. The variety of being is explained physically by the doctrine of τόσον, that is, of 'tension within the life-producing force,' present in ever-varying grades in all forms of existence, material or spiritual. In the successive grades inorganic, vegetable, animal, and human life each variation represents a different degree or kind of tension in the informing πνεύμα, or life-power.

Cohesion, life, and reason are resultant phases of embodied spirit, varying in the same way as inorganic substances are seen to vary under processes of rarefaction or condensation. 'Είσι, 'hold,' or 'cohesion,' is the characteristic property of being in its inorganic forms, φύσις, 'growth-power,' of vegetable life (vi. 14), ψυχή of 'soul' realized in the animal phase (ix. 9, x. 33), while the higher grade of 'reason'—λόγος, co-extensive, it will be noted, with the Stoic knowledge of the whole, has not arrived at the stage attained by man. The higher tension always includes the properties of the lower, so that the higher order shares the attributes of the lower, but with its own διάφορον superadded. Thus man shares with the inferior orders έίσι, φύσις, and ψυχή, but 'reason' is all his own.

Each type finds its guarantee of individuality and perpetuity in the seminal or generative principle, the συμβράκτων λόγος, which defines and reproduces the type. This survives immutably, until its final re-absorption into the 'seminal principle' of the universe, the primal reservoir of life (iv. 14, viii. 24). Thus of the universe at large, which is whole, and is likewise immanent in the cosmos individualized συμβιοσιολ λόγος, which determine, conserve, and reproduce life in all the several orders of being through their 'productive capacities of realization, change, and phenomenal succession' (iv. 14, ix. 1).

(3) Soul.—Man, the microcosm, within his individual range, is the counterpart of the macrocosm, in which he dwells in the hours of loneliness and endurance. In them a soul communing with itself, examines models of human conduct, and records conclusions, emits the sigh of weariness or the
from which it originated. As, in the individual, soul actualizes itself in physical energy, such as life, growth, sensation, and all bodily functions and appetites, in moral, such as impulse (δύναμις), inclination (φιλοστοιχία), aversion (αφίλοστοιχία), will (τελουρέναι), or perception (φανερόν), judgment (φανερώματα, καθάρισμα, προφανές), mind (νοῦς), or reason (διάνοια), so, too, the world-soul operates in energies no less diverse in operation, now as the mortal forces that fashion all inorganic or organic life, e.g., heat, moisture, breath, the flow, traction, expansion, or the like, now as the moral forces which we know as fate, destiny, necessity, the ‘laws’ of nature or of God, and now, as again, as those purportive or causative powers which, as design, providence, Zeus, God, direct the plastic movement of the whole.

For Marcus these conclusions are the key which unlocks all problems of life and thought. No Stoic thinker applies this key more resolutely and consistently to the whole field of ethics, personal and social. Every action, every relation, is referred to the cosmic test, by which the construes all the accepted formulas of the school, and resolves their ambiguities.

(4) Cosmic unity.—Cosmic unity stands at the centre of his thought, the pole to which his moral compass continuously turns. In a phase of microcosmic self-expression the unity of the cosmos was realized and reflected in that world-Empire of Rome whose vital activities centred in and radiated from Marcus himself. The Emperor was the indwelling god of the State, as earth was of the universe.

Unity is written large upon the face and in the heart of things. The idea that the world-order can result from chance, from the confused clash and welter of atoms, is impatiently dismissed. It would imply permanent confusion, moral and intellectual. The universe is unity, heights as interminable. Beyond all possibility of mistake, materially and spiritually, the cosmos is a perfectly co-ordinated unity, ‘one order made of all things, one God through all, one being, one law, one reason common to all things intelligent and live’ (vii. 9), as is shown by the ramifying bond of ubiquitons design ('απαντισίας ἐκολογος, iv. 45) and that unfulfilling rapport between the constituent parts (συντόνεια τῶν μεταφ, vi. 26, x. 9) which results from perfect interpenetration (κοινωνία εἰνάδω, and makes the whole inseparably one.

Design is everywhere apparent, in small— things in the universe, in the adjustment of means to ends, in the social life of animals, in economy of materials, in the entire concatenation of the web. Nature is a vast laboratory, in which there is no destruction and no waste, but processes of cyclic transmutation and repair. Divination, oracles, dreams, add their corroborative testimony to the providential plan that runs through all.

Without reserve Marcus embraces the Stoic explanation of reason immanent within the world, accounting for its unity, its order, and its constitution. The most general term employed for this pervading and directive reason is the unity of Logos, which the Stoic school derived from Heracles, ‘the reason and the ordinance of the city and commonwealth most high’ (II. 16), the all-permeating, all-directing, all-perfecting principle and power which animates and operates in all that is. Less frequently it is called nature, or ‘the nature of the whole’ (vii. 9, x. 6, 7). But the preference is for terms which associate it with these attributes: ‘in human consciousness on which the whole conception is based. Marcus speaks not only of the world-mind and thought (νοῦς, διάνοια), world-soul and moral sense (ψυχή, ἄγεια), but also of world-impulse and world-sensation. The living power, a common gravitation revealing itself in man as truth, beauty, and love, combines, constrains, and co-ordinates all to a common end (xii. 30). It finds its type or organ in the central sun.

‘Earth is in love with rain, and holy other loves—Yes, the world-order is in love with fashioning what is to be. To the wonder I look and the contemporary beauty of the cosmos, the blessed God of the universe, in whose name the whole—beauty and of value are part of the great scheme, but everywhere ‘things lower are for the sake of things higher’ (v. 16, 30, vii. 55, xi. 10, 18, etc.), and all is for the better which is in the Universe Beholds itself and knows itself divine’ (Shelley, ‘Ode to Apollo, vi. 11’).

But the splendid harmony invests common things and processes with an appeal and beauty of their own; they contribute to the advantage of the universe; the rational, not the discord, is of good the great accord. Not only the heavenly bodies in their orbits, sun and stars, rain and air, the living bees and nesting birds, the lustre of the emerald, and the bending of the corn, but even things unprepossessing in themselves—the cracks and crevices in bread-crust, the foam that flecks the wild boar’s mouth—appeal to him who is in unison with nature, and touch hidden springs of answering creation and desire.

(7) Evil.—The oneness of the cosmos is utilized to explain the mystery of evil. Seeming evil is good misunderstood or disguised. The course of nature is all good. ‘It contains no evil, does no hurt, and befits no harm on anything.’ Analyse the facts, suppress the hasty, ill-formed inference, and the evil ceases to exist, or changes its complexion (vi. 30, vii. 20). It is the discord that prepares and shapes the harmony; the coarse jest (as Chrysippus said) that gives the comedy its point (vi. 9). ‘Nothing is hurtful to the part which helps the whole’ (x. 6).

(8) Providence.—God the mind of the universe is social, ‘civic’ (συλλογικός) in all its aims. Fate, destiny, necessity (μοχρίδος, τὸ περιμένον, τὸ ειρήμενον, ἅμαγγελον), overrule all things for good; man’s free will is accord with the movements of the universal Providence, the object of his reverence, trust, regard.

(9) The round of being.—Everywhere there is the recurrent transformation of elements, a process whose continuous round is nature’s joy (ix. 35, iv. 36), the life of individuals, of nations, and of the universe at large. The ‘passage up and down’ repeats itself in history, upon the small scale and the great; always ‘the same dramas, the self-same scenes re-produced; the court of Hadrian, the court of Antoninus, the court of Philip, Alexander, Ceroes; the same stock rôles, only changed with changes’ (x. 27; cf. vi. 40). This is the depressing side of the Emperor’s philosophy, the resignation from which he would not deign to extricate himself by self-deception.

(10) Man a part of cosmos.—Man is by nature an inherented part, a living organic member—μῆλος, not μῆλος merely—of the whole. He draws from its organic life as vitally as the branch draws sap from the parent tree. His ‘nature’ is the nature of the universe, its self-realization and beauty. The basis of that nature is an instinct and a call as primary as that of self-preservation, attained by deliberate co-operation with its designs and ends, by loyal following
of law and reason, by active citizenship in the world-commonwealth.

(11) *Virtue.*—Moral obligation is fulfillment of function, active acknowledgment of reciprocal relations, in the measure that one is able to minister interior content, 'life with the gods,' 'citizenship in heaven.' The soul—a particle of *Zeus* (v. 27), the good genius or the God within (iii. 16, 76 of the law-giver (iv. 1, 12), the pilot reason (vii. 64), the fellow-citizen, the priest and minister of God—is the power within which makes for righteousness. The indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit in the Christian believer. Prayer is not merely communion with the inner self, but a true intercourse with God; the self-communings which the sage has left us are but part and sample of his habitual practice of the presence of God.

(12) *Littleness of man.*—Man is indeed part of the universe, but how immeasurably small a part—a morsel in the mighty sum, a moment between two infinities. Fame is as transient as it is brittle and precarious—a short-lived rattle of tongues, a bubble that bursts and vanishes (ii. 7, iii. 10, iv. 3, 19, viii. 20, etc.); gratitude is precarious and is itself. It is its own and sole reward; it consists in mastery of the will, ability to uphold and satisfy the instincts of reason in fellowship with nature and God. If over that is forbidden or barred, God sounds a signal for retreat. Unmurmuring and undispleased, we quit the rank. The exodus is quick and easy—a 'bare boddikin' is enough. The play is ended (xii. 36); ring the curtain down. Death is the natural end of man's ephemeral endeavour. Whatever be its physical analysis, extinction, dispersion, or transmutation (xi. 3)—alternatives which are passionately considered—the dissolution of the material elements ends the present resultants; they take their place in other compounds, while the 'sensational, or life-seeds, will either integrate new forms and activities of being or themselves be resumed into the central reservoir of the world-life.

(13) *Ethics.*—In ethics the eye is fixed upon the inner self, upon the duties, disciplines, and obligations proper to his own experience. But the Imperial position assumed general treatment and elevations of view, and the fixed sincerity of the writer atones for lack of form, or method, or variety. The commonplaces or the paradoxes of Stoicism—the insistent virtues of military training which, as the wise—are not discussed at large. The more developed casuistry of later Stoicism, with its scheme of conditional duties (οφικα, οί σβοιτοστια), its recognition of preferential moral choice (in ποιησις et &νεροναλογια), the admission of relative moral values (και δεσια), its belief in 'proliencey (φρονεσια), or progressive growth in philosophic grace, is everywhere assumed, though seldom in scholastic phrasology. The philosopher is on the throne, and passion is outlawed. Duties of inferiors, sins of the flesh, all vulgar viciss of the tyrant or the profligate, even the licences and the luxuries of city life, are not in view. The whole attitude is one of strained, insistent obligation, wrought out in patience Inexhaustible; men are the recipients, himself the dispenser, of benefits; in realization of the social tie, duties to equals and duties to inferiors monopolize the field. Against ingratitude nature has provided forbearance as an antidote. Of the four cardinal virtues courage seldom receives mention; truth is not protest or resolve, but that singleness of *Virtue.*—Moral obligation is fulfillment of function, active acknowledgment of reciprocal relations, in the measure that one is able to minister interior content, 'life with the gods,' 'citizenship in heaven.' The soul—a particle of *Zeus* (v. 27), the good genius or the God within (iii. 16, 76 of the law-giver (iv. 1, 12), the pilot reason (vii. 64), the fellow-citizen, the priest and minister of God—is the power within which makes for righteousness. The indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit in the Christian believer. Prayer is not merely communion with the inner self, but a true intercourse with God; the self-communings which the sage has left us are but part and sample of his habitual practice of the presence of God.

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MARKET.—I. Definition.—The term ‘market’ may be defined as a periodic gathering of persons at an appointed place for the purpose of trading by way of exchange or purchase and sale, subject to the special regulations which law or custom may impose. The term ‘fair’ is frequently used in conjunction with the term ‘market,’ and has been defined as ‘the meeting of a market recurring at more distant intervals.’ In either case, the essential element is the same—recurrence, namely, at a fixed time and at a fixed place.

In any case the lapse of time between the running of two fairs was the same as the lapse of time between the running of two markets.


3 See ibid., p. 35.


6 See authorities in F. J. Hamilton-Griffen, The Silent Sleep, Edinburgh, 1803, p. 64. See also § 4 below.

2. Geographical distribution of the market.—The institution of the market is not universal; in many parts of the world it is either altogether unknown or known only in its most rudimentary forms. In many of the more important geographical conditions and certain racial characteristics are more favourable than others to its establishment and development. Thus, the markets of insular regions, especially those which are situated on the coast, are in general considerably more permanent, perhaps because the necessity for an exchange of articles of diet hardly arises among populations whose economic status is the same, and whose daily needs are supplied by the bounty of nature, seconded by their own exertions. In such regions the occasion for a market arises only where different economic conditions come into touch—where, e.g., a tribe of fishermen have a tribe of agriculturists for neighbours.

According to J. G. F. Biebel, there are no market-places in China, while we have the market of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo; we are reminded by a high authority that, in many of the islands inhabited by Malay peoples, the institution does not exist, or if it did exist it was held three or four times a year, a thing that is more than twice as frequent as the small markets of the Mediterranean.

The market thrives best where, in addition to the geographical conditions, the natural bent of the population is in favour of trade. In the latter case, as in the case of the Negro and Bantu races.

In Asia we find only few and scattered indications of the existence of the market, and to the hunting tribes of S. America it is practically unknown; while among many of the peoples of the South Seas and of the Far East, it has become a common pursuit, as in the case of the Negro and Bantu races.
market spread from Massilia, from the north of the Italian peninsula, and from the cities on the shores of the Euxine to the curia of the countries of the Rhine. 4 The future of Ubida, Ubii, Boussana, and Demi Najasi 5 were visited by the Prophet, and there is no doubt that Mecca was known to them. 6 Not indeed; the resting-places of caravans are little markets, where the Bedouin may buy his amulets and trade in peace. They were also known to Thucydis, 7 Pliny, 8 and the natural position of the town at Tentyra, a city of the Delta, was devoted to commerce as well as to worship.

The antiquity of the market in China is vouched for by the Book of Rites, which contains elaborate regulations for its conduct. 9 The 'market' is the most picturesque and characteristic of Annam's spectacles; and the great feature of life in the Shan country is the bazaar, which is held on every fifth day in all the chief villages of the States. 10 The Ichids of Assam hold a market every four days. 11 Lasch 12 observes of India that in early times, fairs and markets were to be found at the holy places frequented by pilgrims; and that the Rigveda and the Upanishads refer to markets and fairs.

We know that markets were held on the boundaries of certain Greek States under the protection of slaves. 13 and that an active commerce found its home in the markets of Olympia and Delphi; and Homer and Herodotus tell us of the market of foreign seducers, and of the specialty of those of Phoenician viola. 14 In later times the institution of the natural of the Indus, Madrid, 1853, xxvi, 97, xxxii, 3; J. Roman and Zamora, Republicanas de Indias, in Colleosion de libros raros de la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1900, Vera Paris (J. Roman and Zamora, loc. cit.). Nicara (L. G. de Oviedo y Valdes, Historia de los indios de Nueva España, in H. Terrones, Notas para servir a la historia de la descubierta de l'Amerique, Paris, 1640, xiv, 70), and on the Pearl Coast (B. de las Casas, Historia della carta, 171, F. de Holanda, Navarrete, Coleccion de documentos ineditas para la historia de España, Madrid, 1845, 96, 99).


Garcielasso de la Vega, First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Indies, tr. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), London, 1865, 22, 36, 50; Pedro de Cima Zimmer, Altehilla, C. B. Markham (Hakluyt Society), do. 1864, 1, 390 fl.

A holy place of Hebraica, which was settled a town or a village, but merely a mosque near a saint's tomb, was visited on a certain pilgrimage from every quarter, and became for the time a great market, where all might trade in safety (L. W. van den Berg, Le Heiloomont en de kolonies arabes dans le Algeria, Paris, 1866, 14).


Muhl, ii, 181.

Stowe, vi, 174, 178.

The 'journeys caused by the pilgrimages to Mecca contain a market (sig) within itself (C. M. Doughty, Travels to Arabin Deserts, Cambridge, 1850, i, 262, 263).

At Malab the temple was visited in spring and autumn, and at the autumn festival at Salam, at the beginning of September, the last day of the autumnal sabbath of the Sabines. (P. P. Mover, Das philistinesche Allerheiligen, Berlin, 1536, iii, 129 fl.; Annals of the Missions, i, 325, xvi, 121, 122.)


Le Thomas, ou Rites des Tchouk, tr. L. Blot, Paris, 1851, xiv.

J. M. B. Caremo, 'The journey caused by the pilgrimages to Mecca contained a market (sig) within itself (C. M. Doughty, Travels to Arabin Deserts, Cambridge, 1850, i, 262, 263).

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A. H. L. Heeren, Historical Researches into the Poltites, Intercommerce, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Oxford, 1836, 313 fl. (Bures, Jenagamer, etc.)

Especially Bures, Zeus, Artemis, and Athene (O. Gruppe, Griech., Mythol. und Religionsgesch., Munich, 1900, pp. 1369, note 2; C. D. B. Caremo, Die altgriechische Religion, 1885, 215, note a), and with young women and children the worship of the god (ib. 392, 393, 400). These practices were once sanctified by the Cyprians in annual festivals of the city of Antioch, Eng. tr., 3 vols., Oxford, 1838, iii, 373 fl. (Bures, Jenagamer, etc.)

Especially Bures, Zeus, Artemis, and Athene (O. Gruppe, Griech., Mythol. und Religionsgesch., Munich, 1900, pp. 1369, note 2). See also C. W. B. Caremo, Die altgriechische Religion, 1885, 215, note a; and in the same place, Caremo, Die altgriechische Religion, 1885, 215, note a).


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from the silent trade seems to Lasch to be wholly unnecessary. His second objection rests on the nature of the goods brought to market, which are, he argues, the most perishable. They are supplied and produced constantly and they are in constant demand. Accordingly, market must follow market at a short interval, the times being fixed to suit the traders. The existence of such arrangements presupposes an exchange of views between those interested; and such an exchange involves a complete breach with the peculiarities of the silent trade. The best way of dealing with arguments such as these is to turn to what evidence we have regarding the market in its beginnings. We shall find that it is attended by men only, and that, in some instances, it exhibits features which are common to the present market.

S. Passage, e.g., describes a market on the Berme to which a river tribe resorted for the purpose of exchanging fish and goods for the salt and glass brought to settle it. The former left a man in each canoe to hold it in readiness in case of need, and the latter went about snatching weapons, etc., in front of his merchandise. On another occasion the boat people, the jungle, and the river men took to their canoes. Snails were buried, and arrows began to fly; and, in the end, after a few men had been killed on either side, they concluded a compact and lived in peace. Another example is supplied by Ellis's account of the trade between the Kikuyu, on the bank of the Nairobi river, and the Hapsi tribe. The inhabitants of the different districts into which the island was parcelled out, although frequently at war with each other, never exchanged goods or weapons, and occasionally even their women, without actual battle.

From bank to bank the traders shouted to each other and arranged the preliminaries of their bargains. From thence the articles were swallowed down in a large canoe, the whole thing being done in the middle of the stream. Here they were examined by the king's official, who demanded the presence of the king's 'collectors,' who stood on each side of the canoe, and were the general arbiters in the event of any dispute arising. The king was compensated with a heap of good corn during the fair; and they, of course, received a suitable recompense in the market. Again, we are told that at Somi-Somi, in the Fijian group, the market is held on the 2nd day, in the square, where each deposits in a large heap what goods and wares he may have. Any one may then go and select for what he wishes, and carry it away to his own home; the king then has the privilege of selling to the highest bidder, and selecting what he considers to be an equivalent.

This is all conducted without noise or confusion. If any disagreement occurs the chief is there to settle it; but this is said rarely to happen. It is reputed of the Eekins of Point Barrow that, in their intercourse with those of Desolation Point, they 'seem to be very wary, as if they constantly keep in mind that they are the weaker party and in the country of strangers. They describe themselves as having 'built a possible place of barbarism on a small island to which they can return if they are受害 from it. They also make signs of friendship. They say that great distrust was formerly more frequent, when their vessels were taken and which goods were snatched and concealed when a bargain was made; but in later years more women go, and they have dancing and amusements, though none of them are enough to impress the others.'

A very curious instance, in which women were the traders, and in which the method employed recalls that example of the silent trade mentioned by K. and J. Landor, is recorded by Torquemada in his account of the Mexican markets. He tells us that the Indian women made exchanges without a word being spoken. One held out the article of which she wished to dispose, another, who herself had something to barter. The latter took what was offered in her hand, and indicated by signs that it was worth very little in comparison with the value of her own article, and that something must be given in addition before she could consent to the exchange. If the additional required was made, the bargain was complete; if not, each retained her own property.

In these instances we have the mutual distrust, and, in some of them, traces of the strange methods, which marked the silent trade. Further, the evidence shows that, so long as the market may at any moment become a battle-field, it is, even if it be business confined to the exchange of provisions, entirely in the hands of men. So soon, however, as women can visit it in security, they assume the entire conduct of its traffic in perishable articles, and the men only attend as guards of its peace, or confine themselves to dealing in the objects of their special concern, such as cattle and slaves.

Two further points may be made in reference to Lasch's arguments. In the first place, there are many instances in which perishable articles, such as fresh fish and fresh meat, are exchanged by the methods of the silent trade. In the second place, many cases in which the places where the silent trade is to be found in operation are matters of common knowledge.

4. Situation of the market.—The primitive market was held, just as the silent trade was practised, at spots so situated as to secure the safety of the trader.

Thus, a river separated those who resorted to the market on the Wupe, the lake so tormented by being placed upon a flat rock in mid-stream. In many instances the market is held within a borderland, as in the Baluba country, in Somaliland, and in British New Guinea. We have already mentioned the border markets of Greece and Rome; and we are told by modern writers that the Bantus formed a vast zone of markets. In Uambara and in some districts in British New Guinea, the market is held in different districts; and the Batau markets in the virgin forest and those of Angola are generally equidistant from the nearest villages. This is the purpose of exchanging the specialties of their respective districts. These commodities are brought down to a large canoe, which stands in the middle of the stream. Here they are examined by the king's official, who demanded the presence of the king's 'collectors,' who stood on each side of the canoe, and were the general arbiters in the event of any dispute arising. The king was compensated with a heap of good corn during the fair; and they, of course, received a suitable recompense in the market.

In both cases the all-top is a favourite situation. Among the Gaurs of the Western Coast of the large country markets are usually held on the top of a small hill, near some big banyan; in the Gazzelles, on platforms, at the end of a journey from the coast; and, among the Lappas, sometimes in open fields, and sometimes on the ice. The Lappas, at

5. Another method employed by traders for this purpose was that of exchanging hostages (Voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres vues de l'orient, ed. L. M. Lomans, Paris, 1811, 146 f.). One of these was the hostage of the wife, which goods were snatched and concealed when a bargain was made; but in later years more women go, and they have dancing and amusements, though none of them are enough to impress the others.
7. As to the connexion of the market, the border-line, and the supernatural, see below, § 8.
11. See above, § 2.
20. Eugen, p. 95.
Markets are situated in uninhabited places, while in Zanzibar the two great markets are held on a wide plain, near some small villages adjacent. At Malindi, which consists of two villages, the market lies between them, and a somewhat similar account is given of it at Kilifi. At the port of Bora, the market is generally held at some distance from the town, and a little beyond the town walls. In some countries it is held near a principal town, as in Madagascar, or in an open space near a village, as in German New Guinea, or at a point on the town-wall and a river, as at the chief town of the Western District of New Guinea. In some districts, the market is held on an island, as in the Kwadore Islands, or on the seashore, as in New Caledonia and among the ancient Northmen. There are also markets held on islands near some great sea, such as the Victoria Yankee, and as at Guadalcanal, on a plain between mountains.

Many of these situations point to a time when the fear of attack was prevalent; and Schurtz suggests that the arrangement in the Mahezi country by which the weekly markets were held outside the walls, so that strangers might not enter the town, while the daily markets attended by the indigents held within it, is a survival of the old state of things. Where an established order exists, however, the market is generally held within the walls. Thus, at Kofun and Zaria the market-place is within the walls. It is generally held on a place situate on a hill or land stretching across a marsh, which narrowly intercepts the city. The markets at Heng-Chu are held in great squares within the city of the same name. At the market of a town which had its beginnings in a temporary market, in Java the markets are held under large trees on spots dedicated to the purpose. In the market of Horns the market is generally held at some distance from the town, and a little beyond the town walls. In some countries it is held near a principal town, as in Madagascar, or in an open space near a village, as in German New Guinea, or at a point on the town-wall and a river, as at the chief town of the Western District of New Guinea. In some districts, the market is held on an island, as in the Kwadore Islands, or on the seashore, as in New Caledonia and among the ancient Northmen. There are also markets held on islands near some great sea, such as the Victoria Yankee, and as at Guadalcanal, on a plain between mountains.

5. Day of the market.—In the Shan States and in Korea the market is held on every fifth day in all the chief villages. This practice prevails throughout western Yun-nan, and is found in Java and Aboakota, at Ighyhe and Onitshah, at Kong, and at Bolo, in the Mekko district of British New Guinea, and in many other places. At Ikorodu, on the lower Ogun, the market between the townsfolk and the bushfolk takes place every eighth day, and in the many of the country markets are generally held on an eight days' interval. In regard to the markets on the caravan routes between Mahata and Leopoldville, a distinction must be kept in view between those held daily by the neighbouring villages for the caravan passers-by and the weekly markets. The Fioi week is one of four days; but frequently the market is held every eighth day. In order to mark the week when there is no market, it is called "black day." The market is held every day. On the Lunga-lah the markets are held on the first day of the week. In the northern districts, the market is held on a day different from the one on which the market is held in the southern part of the country. This is the case in the northern districts of the country. This is the case in the northern districts of the country.
Market is held every fourth day, other markets being frequented in the interval. At Ambas Bay the market takes place every third day. There are daily markets at Loango, at Kanó, and at Mogelo. The chief town has now eight days in their week; but formerly they had four only. On each day there is a market in or near Benin city. Three markets are held at Kassa-Kanó; and two at a week at Timbuktu at Kanymar, and at Danjanilmara. Weekly markets are held in Morocco, 11 at Tapa- lahun in the Sherbro, 12 in Lega-land, 13 among the Oromó, 14 among the Kabylés, 15 and at Passumah in the southern part of Sumatra. In the Kuantan district of Central Sumatra each market has its own special day of the week allotted to it. 17 In Siilindong there is a daily market, but the place at which it is held varies from day to day. In this and in many other cases, the market takes place here to-day, there to-morrow, and in a different locality on each of the days following, until the round is completed. The order is fixed, and so the inhabitants of each district know where the market is to be held each day.

6. Hour of the market.—In Kékawa, Maséna, Kanó, and Danjanilmara the market is held in the hottest hours of the day. According to Clapperton, 21 the market at Kanó is crowded from sunrise to sunset. The Yo (Bornu) market begins about midnight and ends about 10 a.m., and the Congo markets commence towards 10 or 11 a.m. and cease at 3 or 4 p.m. 22 In some places in the neighbourhood of Harar the markets begin about noon, and at Gire in Adamamayah they are in full activity by that hour. 23 At Sarla the busiest hour of the market is from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. In Tshambé the market is held in the late afternoon, 24 and at Coësures the market is held at Aden two hours after sunset, 25 and at Bida and Ilorin 26 and in some parts of Malacca in the night. On the upper Ubangi it is held from 8 to 10 in the last instance. On the Inland Congo it is deserted after noon. 27 In the Padang district of Sumatra it

is little frequented in the early morning, but by 10 o’clock it is full. 28 Markets in the early morning are less frequent, for the obvious reason that they interrupt the day’s work of those who resort to them more as with the market, the markets close of the day, and also because those at a distance cannot attend them. 29

7. Frequenters of the market; market-women. —H. J. Jeaffreson, 23 in his book on the wild and savage, notes that both men and women make long journeys to sell their goods, the men always travelling furthest.

Among the Bondel, if the market be near the woman goes and her husband supplies the goods. If it be at a distance, the husband generally goes alone. 30 At Wydyak on the Gold Coast, 31 and among the Balak of Sumatra, traffic in slaves was confined to the men. Among the Balak the men bring goats and poultry to what in market, 32 and in the Mandinggo markets they trade in clothes. 43 At Wo Kau there are sell fish, and and butter, and men sell oxen, sheep, and slaves. 3 At the Harar markets the frequenters are grouped by sexes, i.e., according to the articles which they sell, 33

In many instances the business of the market is entirely in the hands of women.

Thus, in the districts near Kilimajaro, 34 the women do all the trading, have regular markets, and will, on no account, allow a man to enter the market-place. 35 At Koolin, the principal town of Nuga, nine women out of the 12 who receive the daily market are women; 36 and the Foulahs or Falies leave the market in their hands. 37 Here the market is divided into thirty-four quarters. 38 It is of interest to observe in this connection that, in the Congo area, when a thief is caught, his punishment—that of being stoned to death—is inflicted by the women. 39 In Nicaragua no name above puberty might enter the market-place of his own village to buy meat, until he had reached this distance. But men and women from other friendly or allied villages go to market. 40 The women selling at the market of Brussels in Bornoo are generally old slaves. 41 In the principal markets the women form a caste by themselves; they attend all the larger markets in person, and send their servants to the smaller ones.

8. Religion and the market; the market peace. —The market peace is sacred; and the market peace may be due to one cause or to a concurrence of causes. 42

1 Lasch, p. 763.
2 Schurz, p. 118.
5 Lasch, p. 767.
6 Von Wissmann, etc., Im Innern Afrikas, p. 249.
7 Anderson, p. 56.
8 Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 65.
9 Paulitschke, p. 314. As to the division of labour according to sex in primitive times, see R. Bücher, Die Entstehung der Familienwirtschaft in Afrika, Berlin, 1864, pp. 24, 25; H. J. Erzeiger, Glimpses of the life of the Abará (New Guinea); H. von Wissmann, Unter dem deutschen Dinge: 'Quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost,' Berlin, 1899, p. 596 (London); Schurz, p. 122 (Lower Congo); in the wide de la action du Mait independant du Congo, p. 69, it is stated that the women traders are more numerous than the men traders; vegetables are always sold by the former; Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 69 (Kokà, in Bornoo); Anderson, p. 54 (Borop, a market of the Western Mandingo); Lander, i. 108 (Egwa); J. J. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, London, 1875, ii. 25; G. M. Mair, Voyage en Congo in 1855, in Finken- teng, Voyages, xvi. 230 (Lund); Burton, i. 131, 204 (Tigga); H. Grubauerstein, 'The Luchu islands and their Inhabitants, Geographical Journal, v. (1869) 445 (Nago); W. G. Lewes, 'Notes on New Guine and its Inhabitants,' Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, new ser., v. (1858) 157 (New Guinea); Haddon, p. 260 (Meeko District, British New Guinea); Draper, p. 127 (Okan State); J. Brown, iv. 302, 303, 474 (Abysinnia); H. O. Forbes, A Naturalist's Wendings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1857-58, London, 1858, p. 450 (Timor); Raffles, i. 189 (Java); St. John, qui. S. (Brunei, in Bornoo); Moreau, p. 574; Atkinson, p. 245 (New Caledonia); R. Thompson, p. 245 (New Guinea); and the native Peninsular and Admiralty islands.
11 Oriol, Historia de Nicaragua, xi. 70.
12 St. John, p. 285 (Java); Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 70.
13 Paulitschke, p. 313.
several causes. It may be due to the nature of the relation between traders which the act of exchange creates, to the sacredness of the place where the trading takes place, to the consecration of the market at the time of its foundation, or to the magic or the power for the protection of a god, or is associated with a religious festival.

Later, held at different points on the Niger, are progressing regard as sacred ground, whatever was there may be in the kind; and, although this neutrality is not inexpressibly void of meaning; yet, it remains as a matter of curiosity to the Shilluk to enquire the Khartum traders to their camp by a direct route. The market-place is divided into sections, and then hallowed for their arms and ivory; at the close of a lackus market the chief allowed his bodyguard to plunder the market-women; and M’Lavrobe speaks of a massacre of many hundreds market-women by Arab traders.  

4 But, he observes, they have great tenacity and hopefulness. An old established custom has great charms for them; and the market will again be attended, if no fresh outrage is committed.

5 Violence kills the market. To "revive" a "dead" market, there must be an assemblage of the local magnates; a pig or pigs must be furnished by the town to which the market is established. Establishment of a market was the occasion for the sacrifice of a slave (Courtauld, "K., 1876."

6 The actual Wuttke, buried and the Each is fault, regarded to be.

7 See, p. 37.

8 The Guzuala society is a sort of Masons, its ideas are moralistic, its rituals are religious, and it is instituted, to teach young boys by the reading of its sacred books, its national history, and its code of laws. Its practical object is to induce the members to behave virtuously.

9 Cameron, p. 116.

10 Von Wissmann, etc., "Im Innern Afrikas," p. 250.

11 Von Wissmann, etc., "Im Innern Afrikas," p. 250.

12 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)

13 Allen and Thomson, p. 268.


15 Von Wissmann, etc., "Im Innern Afrikas," p. 250.

16 "Ib. ii. 130." It is for this reason that sellers prefer to do their business at the market. If an offer is made, the reply is "Come to market." (Cameron, "Among the K., p. 201; in Central Australian, in Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1883, p. 173.)

17 Hausen-Lange, p. 259.

18 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)

19 Havelin, p. 7b.

20 Cameron, p. 288.

21 Haymannsdorfer, p. 37. We may note F. P., in their statement ("Among the Indians of Outen, London, 1833, p. 61," that in the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.).

22 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)


24 January 23, 1902.

25 "The Congo markets, held in points equidistant from several villages, are noted for their magnitude, and the market-place is divided into sections, each of which is held within an enclosed space &c.  

26 Market-places on the banks of the Livingstone, at intervals of three or four mules, are resorted to on the last day of every week, which are regarded as neutral ground; and a similar privilege attaches to a fair held on the Lubuli, in the territory of the Kalulu, and to a trading-place which lies deep in the forest at a point where the countries of the Baluba, the Bambunde, and the Bantus.


28 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)

29 Allen and Thomson, p. 268.

30 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)

31 See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace. If it is said that, at Stanley Pool, some religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, it is alluded to the presence of many of those who frequented them, even in their passages through a hostile district (Havelin, p. 7b; see above, § 4.)
stones, he came to be regarded as the god of boundaries. In many cases the border-land consisted of tracts of neutral territory whither merchants repaired to exchange their wares; and thus the god of boundaries became the god of traders. People passed in all directions, and Germans used to raise poles at their public meetings, which were consecrated to the god of the public assembly. These poles were, in all probability, erected upon a stake, and it has been suggested that this 'truncus super lapidem', replaced in later days by a stone column, is the prototype of which Imrin-iston, Rolandston, perrons, and many of the market-croiss of Scotland are later forms. In view of the facts, it is tempting to conjecture that the stone which formed the base of the column, and which seems to have served as a seat of justices, was in many cases at all events, a boundary-stone.

In the Middle Ages the market-cross was not always fixed, but was raised at the commencement of the fair. It became fixed only when the temporary market became a permanent market, when the temporary peace became a permanent peace.

In China an official notified the beginning and end of the market, and this custom still exists among the Chinese. In British New Guinea a drum is beaten at the opening and closing of the market, and the drum beat marks the time of the passing of the goods between the people of the Kil and the Spanish garrison when they were besieging ceased on the ringing of a bell.29

Many instances might be cited of trading during a time of war, and by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over.30

1 See also Schnider, Ling.-hist. Forsch., pp. 97-100; Hamilton-Grierson, p. 70, 69.
2 Gold-Aldrich, The Migration of Symbols, Westminster, 1894, p. 116. This god was probably Thulguus, the Germanic equivalent of the Latin equivalent, but it is also possible, however, that Thulguus, the god (cf. Toutencq,) vol. vi. p. 345. According to Caesar (De bel. Gall. vii. 17), the Gauls worshipped a deity whom they identified with Mercury.
3 D'Aliville, p. 117.
4 D'Aliville Les Perrons de la Wallonie et les Marché-Croix de l'Espagne, (Brussels, 1914, pp. 27, 42, The Migration of Symbols, p. 105.) indicates his agreement with the view of M. Momont (Generalité littéraire du Piédestre de Saône, 3rd May, 1911). He observes that, before the diffusion of Christianity, the pole, to which we have referred, was at once the symbol of the god of assemblage (Thugius, the equivalent of Zeus Agoraios) and of the autonomy of those assemblies. It is not improbable that, for the purpose of ornament, a representation of the god in the likeness of an armed man was attached to the pole; but at that period, and that, when the meaning of these representations came to be forgotten, the popular imagination gave them the same of the Paladius most popular at the time, and thenceforward became Zeus Agoraios. When the Church established itself among the barbarous peoples, these public places served as the religious points of collective life. Sometimes they bore the emblem of Christianity; sometimes they were altered or transformed so as to serve the duties of a new or additional; and sometimes they were replaced by the crosses planted by the Church in sign of possession.

The resemblance which many of the market-crosses of Scotland bear to the perron has been pointed out by W. O. Black (Glasgow Cross, with a Supposition as to the Origin of Scottish Market-Crosses, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1915), and his suggestion as to their origin has been approved by D'Aliville in the latter of his two works cited above. At p. 39 of this work D'Aliville figures certain of the Scottish crosses, and it is certain to observe how close is the similarity of some of them with the image of Hermes figured by him on p. 184 of The Migration of Symbols.

1 See Hamilton-Grierson, The Boundary Stone and the Mariner's Cross, (J.I.Proc. R.I.B., vol. xiii. 34 E. As to the cult of the boundary in N. India see art. Brahman (North India), p. 34.
2 Huxley, p. 354, note 4, where the authorities are cited. See also Schnider, ibid., p. 69.
3 Le Tokwab., i. 309.
4 Hudden, p. 580.
5 W. Y. Staff and Anderson, ii. 32 (Birmansand); N.B. 1. 782 (Musco Court); C. F. van Marion, Von dem Rechtsstafe in Seram, (Arch. f. Ethnologie, no. 8), p. 47; and the Capitall of Hana Stade of Hoss in A.D. 1357-65, among the Wanka (K needing), by S. F. Kossellek, (Op. cit.), p. 65, and the Haltky Society, p. 89 (aborigines of Brazil); J. S. Polsack, New Zealand, being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures, London, 1825, li. 313; G. F. Angas, Savage Life and Scenes in

q. The law of the market and its enforcement.

We have already seen1 that acts of violence perpetrated upon the frequenter of a market may and probably will 'kill' it—for a time, at all events. The recognition of this fact appears to produce two results: first, the acts of the market authorities that are committed within the market are punished with exceptional severity, as imperilling its peace. In the second place, since offences committed outside of the market are not regarded as a danger to its peace, those who have committed them are in consequence not subjected to punishment so long as they are within it.

On the lower Congo every breach of the regulations of the market renders the culprit liable to death. He is either buried to his neck in a hole, in the centre of the market place, and his stick and a heavy stone are placed on it, until he is buried to his head with sticks, and his body is subsequently lashed to a pole, which is erected alongside a native path.2

Beautt tells us that in some of the Congo markets 'a man who brought a gun with him would be promptly buried alive, and the murderer of a man in a market was not punished in any way, not even the payment of a fine, but his head was placed on a large stone, or he was beaten to death with sticks, and his body is subsequently lashed to a pole, which is erected alongside a native path.'

Some instances might be cited of trading during a time of war, and by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over.3

1 Above, f. 6.
2 H. Ward, 'Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes, J.A.I. Afrik. (1905-6) 290.
3 Pioneering on the Congo, l. 299. Among the Ashanti no one may carry arms in or near a market (W. S. and E. Routledge, p. 106); and a similar regulation is in force at the markets held at San, and Kamalap, near Benne (Montiero, i. 385). See also Schurts, p. 119. In the largest town of the Wymar country, the sale of palm-wine at the market is forbidden (Anderson, p. 79; cf. T. J. Aldridge, Travellings in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone, Geographical Journal, iv. (1894) 121).
4 Hanoteau-Lentorneux, l. 91; cf. iii. 198.
5 Hagmischer, p. 37.
6 Huxley, p. 277.
7 W. R. Wilks, Das Strafrecht der Germanen, Halle, 1842, p. 257.
9 Torquemada, xili. 5.
10 Sabatini, viii. 38.
11 Hanoteau-Lentorneux, l. 305.
12 Hagmischer, p. 37.
13 lb.
14 lb. As to Scotland see Laws and Customs of the Four Parts, compiled by G. E. H. (Halsbury Society), p. 89 (aborigines of Brazil); J. S. Polsack, New Zealand, being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures, London, 1825, li. 313; G. F. Angas, Savage Life and Scenes in
of the common law which attracted not only the merchant but those in search of pleasure.\(^1\)  

10. Administration and execution of the law of the territory of the market. It has been observed that, where the market lies within the territory of a tribe, its law is administered and executed in part by those who resort to it and in part by officials appointed by the tribe of the district. Where, however, it lies on the territory of a king, chief, or feudal lord,\(^2\) it is his officers that act as police, and, in some instances, as judges.

In the Kabyle markets, e.g., an official—the chief of the market—acts as the leading family of the tribe which owns it—sees to the preservation of the peace, escorts those who fear attacks on the road, summaries the quarrel-some, and fines those who create disturbance.\(^3\) It is concerned only in those offences which occur public and civil and commercial disputes are referred to a marabout of the tribe.\(^4\) At the same time, it is the strangers in the market that execute its law by settling the disputes of buyers and sellers; and, if the market, there is no supreme authority to whom the enforcement of the law is entrusted. Its execution is in the hands of the market chiefs. An assembly of those belonging to the district is sole judge in disputes; but the disputants need not abide by its decision. If they ignore it, they may leave the market.\(^5\) But where the market lies within the territory of a king, he or his officer sees to the maintenance of order.\(^6\)

This, at a fair on the Lulakha, within the country of the Kalou,\(^7\) the chief kept watch in his greatest glory and grandeur, for he knew that no dispute might disturb his peace. His companions were all well-known by the broad axe which they carried and the dust of the oxen. Among the Laghania a chief appointed by the king performs similar duties;\(^11\) and these are directed against those who breaks the law by his king's collector,\(^12\) and among the Gallas by the local headman.\(^13\) At Maitugari—-the largest market of Borno—there is a market king in the chief seat of the tribe; and the men and women choose a market queen for their protection, through whose hands they enter into their business.\(^14\)

This last instance shows that, while, in some cases, the duties of the officers of the market are confined to the preservation of the peace,\(^15\) they are, in many others, of a much more varied character.

Among the Tuaregs the market king collects the dues and attends to matters of police.\(^16\) At Wairuku the king's collectors are the general arbiters of disputes;\(^17\) and those of the city of the Gallas, on the western Abyssinian plateau, the market is held under the superintendence of the local headman, who decides all questions arising out of broken contracts.\(^18\) At Whydah the chief constable of the market attends to its cleanliness,\(^19\) and a high officer named Consonghis sees that the strings of beads which serve as money are composed of the proper number. Those which are deficient he corrects.\(^20\) The king's officers are for his posts and his lands. Among the Gallas the duties of direction of the market are exercised by an inspector who acts under the conduct of foreign traders and the supervision of the exchequer.\(^21\) In the Congo markets there is, in most cases, a chief of the market, perhaps an important personage in all matters, but he is more a litigant so heavily that all are choir of invoking his assistance.\(^22\) At Kand the judge of the market all day to try disputes arising in the course of trade; and in the Loungh market an official is charged with seeing that no deceits are practiced in the trade between natives and Europeans.\(^23\)

The quality of articles brought to the market is, in general, a matter of consideration only when disputes arise.

The whole trade to the market of Jakoba, however, is daily subjected to examination; and in Morocco an officer is appointed to inspect the provisions offered for sale.\(^24\) He must constantly attend the market, that no goods may be overcharged; and, in view of the quantity or scarcity of the goods exposed, he must also fix the prices.\(^25\) At the market the price of each of the goods increases by the amount which the market fixes the price; and among the Bangash the price is fixed by the chiefs with reference to a standard.\(^26\) At Maroc the market authority has a public officer to fix a maximum price to all trading.

In some of the markets in Haiti the chiefs regulate the market prices and among the Siamese they were fixed by the superintendents of the market.\(^27\) In China the officer placed over the market was charged only with the maintenance of order, but with the supervision of the goods and measures, and with the administration of justice in more important cases.\(^28\) The Greeks appear to have executed similar functions in regard to the preservation of the peace and the use of weights and measures. They also fixed the hours of the market, and regulated its conduct generally.\(^29\) The Roman senate preserved order by means of his officers, and imposed fines upon the peace-breakers. He allotted their positions to the traders, and saw to the accuracy of weights and measures.

But it is the duty of these officers to fix the prices and to regulate the goods offered for sale, while the market was to study to exclude those who served only to create trouble and to assist in the market in such a manner as to be troublesome.\(^30\) Among the Hausa, while dues are levied, entrance into the town is granted to the merchants and to the canoe men. At Estelo men can enter the market and trade without charge, but every woman must pay ten cowries to the government.\(^31\)

When the trade took place in the temple of the sun, the priest collected dues on behalf of the divinity.\(^32\) At a fair on the Lulakha, in Kasmouna's country, each district whose representatives were assembled sent a sum of money to the king who decided disputes, and money which was required, and on that account it was impossible to sell merchandise in that district.

1. Huvelin, p. 439; see below, § 14.  
2. T. pp. 304 ff.  
3. As to the relative position of king and market lord in this matter see Huvelin, p. 347 ff.  
5. J. ii. 80 ff.  
8. Huvelin (p. 240) refers, among others, to the nations of Islam, the Slavs, and the Magyars.  
15. G. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, Berlin, 1878, i. 679 (Koela); Leo Africanus, ii. 252 (Guzemla).  
16. J. B. de Vaissiere, Acclimatization, p. 266 (Unnabara).  
17. Ellis, Polys. Rea. i, iv. 324 ff.  
19. According to Col. L. MacMotir, who informs me that Attabal is the market of the towns of the Western country).  
20. Le Canne, Convicts from the Prisons of the East, i. 243 ff.  
21. Cerdà, Louis de Brési, iii., Gom, Juma, Itaje, Torquemada, xiv. 14, and Ovidio (Historia General, xxii. 4) gives a similar account of the administration of justice in the Yucatan markets; on that compare A. Parra y Zancora, i. 258, and on those of Nicaragua see Ovidio, Historia y Costumbres, viii. 70.  
22. A. Perroux, vi. 96.  
23. A. Hunaud, Vie Navale, i. 229.  
24. A. Landier, i. 165.  
25. A. Lecomte du Noël, Plant. i. 4.  
27. A. Lecomte du Noël, Second Journal, ii. 3.  
MARKET

visious for the king, and levies a contribution for himself. Among the Huganda a chief appointed by the king collects a tax upon every article which is sold in his territories, and levies the people a tax on every article of food exposed for sale. In the Lango market the chief of police sees to the payment of the duties; and at Kajjansi, the town of which is sixty miles from Kampala, the tolls at the month, the rent forming a part of the governor’s revenue. In Choson the market-dues, which are collected by special officers, are levied in the following manner; 1 in those of the Middle Ages what determined the trader’s position was not only the character of his goods, but also their quality; and, in some cases, the latter was the sole determinant. 3

13. Modes of bargaining in the market.—One of the most characteristic practices of the primitive trader is haggling, or negotiating the terms of a third person. Dall 4 tells us that the Aulets never trade with one another directly; and we have suggested that some light is thrown upon the origin of this method by the inscription of the exercise of the silent trade reported by Lander. 5 It is said that, among the natives of Australia, children are made ngua-ngiange in order that they may act as the agents of their respective tribes in the business of haggling, and many cases may be cited in which the man who takes a stranger under his protection not only acts as his host, but assists him in buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct. 6 At Beers each stranger must choose a protector (abäm). He dare not trade without him, and must pay him one cent on the value of every article which he brings into the market. The abäm is his broker; he protects him against the exactions of the traders, and prevents disputes from arising, and in case they may have become involved. 8 A similar account is given of the part played by the protector at Dioulasou. 9 It was an article of law that an abäm should be present at the transaction; inasmuch as changes hands, the seller pays a commission to a third party, who is supposed to have facilitated the purchase. 10 In the markets of many Africans a curious practice prevails by which traders, when bargaining in the presence of others from whom they wish to conceal their business, drive and conclude their bargains by touching the points of each other’s fingers, without any word being spoken. It has been found in use at Mecca, 11 at Calicut, 12 among the Somalis, 13 at Jidda, 14 at Pega, 15 in Malacca, 16 in Mongolia, 17 and elsewhere. 18 Torquemada 19 notes a curious practice which prevailed among the Indian women in the markets of ancient Mexico. They exchanged their wares without a word being spoken. The one party held out the article of which she wished to dispose; and the other, taking it in her hand, made signs that it was not a fair equivalent for what she had given in exchange. If the first party refused to add anything, she ran the risk of losing her customer; if she added what was demanded, the bargain was concluded.

14. Methods of securing attendance at the market; its place in public and social life.—In some of the Congo countries it is penal for a woman to go to her farm on a market day. 20 To the desire to induce the stranger to come to market Heeren 21 ascertains certain Lydian and Babylonian regulations. 22 Cortes, 23 Lasch, 24 Schuver, 25 Barth, 26 and many others, who have written on this subject, refer to the prevention of monopolies.

In the markets of ancient Mexico each class of merchandise had its allotted place, the more common kinds being stored in the niches or niches of the walls. In those of the Middle Ages what determined the trader’s position was not only the character of his goods, but also their quality; and, in some cases, the latter was the sole determinant.

1 Lang, p. 235. Similarly, at the market of Bobo Dieloulou, a man carrying a grigs-gris staff, accompanied by a drummer and a crowd of urchins, sets down his stall before each merchant ceremoniously, and, unopposed, helps himself, by means of a small calabash holding about a litre, from the merchant’s stock (Binger, l. c., 371).
2 Renus, J. A. VIII, 58.
3 Duonce, H. 116.
4 Bastian, Die deutsche Expedition, H. 40.
5 Deniam, Clapperton, and Oudsey (Capt. Clapperton’s Narrative), p. 83.
6 Hulvord, p. 54.
7 Ib. p. 75.
8 Ibid. p. 103 ff., 575 ff.
10 Von Wissmann, etc., Im Inneren Afrikas, H. 173.
11 Dale, J. A. xxvi. 231.
12 Schuritz, p. 150.
13 Th. 25.
14 Ellis, Narrative of a Tour, H. 290.
15 Ezazz, H. 211.
16 Ellis, Hist. of Madagascar, H. 333.
17 Camoer, 238 ff.
18 Hagemanncher, p. 361.
19 These regions belong to the trade-caravan, and, when over, form a part of the market (projector).
20 Leopoldville, p. 206.
21 Leopoldville, p. 233.
22 Lacq, p. 776.
23 Lacq, p. 25.
24 Barth, II, 51.
26 Yole, p. 261.
27 Torquemada, xiv. 14; Sabugn, p. 59.
28 Passarge, p. 54 (Adamaan); Hagemanncher, p. 59 (Barth) and Paulitscheke, l. c., 334.
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The institution of marriage may be regarded as
1 E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London, 1894, pp. 79-75; Yale, Book of Sea Marco Polo, l, 144, 190, 210, 212; ibid. 54, 56, 63, 73; A. H. Poas, Geschichte der ägyptischen Jurisprudenz, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1869, t. 28; E. Wiltisky, Forschungen des Rechts, Berlin, 1882, p. 451; K. Weinhold, Almuthlichen Leben, do, 1898, p. 447; B. Birkh.und, Die Aromota in ihrer Belehtung für Religion, Sitzen, Gebräuche, Handels und Geographie des Althell, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 61; W.lescher, System der Volkswirtschaft, Stuttgart, 1890, iii. 58. In the charter of Brunswick in Dauphiné, b. 1558, it is stated that the special privileges and acts causes in dictis conciliulins (sic) existentes quiet et immunes a crimina adulterii (sic) resulted in 1432. 2 Marot. fo. 374, 380; Hagen, Eine Heim nach dem Tode. See in Zentralblatt, p. 172. The gameing booths which are found in the most populous part of Europe seem to be the only centres of trade (Snoeck Burggreeno, p. 27o). 3 Marot. fo. 384, 383. According to Buchhardt, p. 449 it was the custom among the Assyrs, Arabs, before the Wahabbi conquest, to bring their marriagable daughters to market, and it was only through the medium of the market that marriage could be consummated. 4 P. W. Joyce, A Social History of Ancient Ireland, London, 1894, pp. 612-13. According to Rodwell, p. 149, it was the custom among the Assyrs, Arabs, before the Wahabbi conquest, to bring their marriagable daughters to market, and it was only through the medium of the market that marriage could be consummated. 5 Joyce, loc. cit. 6 Th. ii. 441. 7 O'Corry, ii. 259, 260. 8 Th. l. pp. 62, 63, cccxxiv, ii. 192. is there that the public announcements of the sovereign is made. 3 In the Kabul market foasts and feasts and all matters that affect the community are proclaimed. It is the place of news, group, and friendly intercourse, of planning, and of plots. 4 The Papuan markets last all day, and are enlivened with feasting and feasting; and similarly some of the Eskiibe markets. These who resort to the Congo markets go not only to buy and sell, but to meet friends, to drink makonfan and enjoy a gossip with them, to settle thorny questions, to help neighbors, to arrange disputes between clans and villages, to decide the law and peace, to bargain about the purchase of a wife, to describe slaves lost or stolen, and to give publicity to transactions such as the release of hostages or prisoners of war, or the payment of the price of blood. It is there that the man who is robbed gives information about his robber, and that the creditor, if he cannot get payment, claims the inherency of the debtor. It is there, too, that oaths are administered and criminally executed. Under the trees in its vicinity the drinkers of palm-wine, the politician, and the news-wogener hold rendezvous. 1 LITRATURE.—The authorities are cited in the course of the article; but special references must be made to three works, to which the writer of the article owes a special debt: Lamartine, Das Marktwesen auf den primitiven Kulturungsstadien, Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft, lx. (1890) 619 ff., 770 ff. F. Huvell, Einzel historische u. der recht der marriage und des fiares, Paris, 1897; H. Schutzi, Das afrikanische Gewerbe, Leipzig, 1890. P. J. Hamilton-Grierson. MARQUESAS.—See POLynesia.

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Buddhist.—See FAMILY (Buddhist).

Burma.—See BURMA.

Celtic (G. Dottin), p. 432.


Greek (W. J. Woodhouse), p. 444.

Hebrew.—See Semitic.


MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive).—Marriage has two main functions: it is the means adopted by human society for regulating the relations between the sexes; and it furnishes the mechanism by which means of the relation of a child to the community is determined. Owing to the preponderant importance which has been attached to the former function, and the more stringent and rigid social functions of marriage have been largely overshadowed by its moral aspect, and it has not been sufficiently recognized that the function of marriage as the regulator of social relations may be of the most definite kind where the institution is of a very lax and indefinite order when regarded from the moral standpoint of civilized man. The institution of marriage may be regarded as

1. Regulation of marriage.—In all forms of

1 Ellis, Hist. of Madagascar, l. 381.

2 Hancorne-Lacournaux, ii. 771.

3 Hagen, Untergang des Papuas, p. 219.

4 J. Simpson, p. 396.

5 Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo, p. 80.

the central feature of all forms of human society with which we are acquainted. It stands in an especially close relation to the family—using this term for the group consisting of parents and children. This social group rests absolutely on the institution of marriage. Where marriage is monogamous, the group formed by the family will consist of the parents and their children; where marriage is polygamous, it will consist of a man, his wives, and their children; while in polyandry, the family will consist of a woman, her husbands, and her children by those husbands or assigned to those husbands by social convention.

The institution of marriage also underlies the extended family, this term meaning the social group consisting of all persons related to one another either by consanguinity or by those social conventions which so often take its place (see art. Kin, KNISHIP). It is the marriages of the members of the extended family that immediately determine the limits and functions of this mode of social grouping.

The relation of the clan and other similar social groups to marriage is less simple. While marriage is the foundation of the family, it is possible that the clan-organization has grown out of a state of society in which individual marriage did not exist; but, whether this has been so or not, the clan-organization as it now exists is intimately related to marriage, this institution being the means by which descent, inheritance of property, succession to rank, and other social differentiations are regulated.
human society there are definite rules regulating whom the members of the community may and may not marry. These rules are of many different kinds, but they all fall under one or other of two main forms; regulation by genealogical relationship; and regulation by some form of social mechanism, consisting of clans or similar social groups. The rules may also be distinguished according to whether the marriage is endogamous or exogamous.

Among all those peoples who have the family as their main form of social grouping marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and the rules regulating marriage consist exclusively of prohibitions, forming the ‘table of prohibited kindred and affinites.’ Peoples whose social system is founded mainly on the clan or other similar mode of grouping do not, however, regulate their marriages solely by this mechanism, but this kind of regulation, in all cases of which we have any exact knowledge, is combined with the regulation of marriage by kindred, the two modes of regulation coexisting, and supplementing one another. Further, this double mode of regulation does not consist entirely of prohibitions, but, side by side with rules of prohibition, there are often definite rules which allow marriage with certain relatives.

The regulation of marriage associated with modes of social grouping assumes certain definite forms for which there are well-established terms, such as endogamy and exogamy.

2. Exogamy and endogamy. — Much confusion has been produced in the use of these terms through the mistaken idea that the processes which they denote are opposed one to another, this being chiefly due to an error on the part of McLennan, who was the first to draw attention to the practice of exogamy. According to this writer, exogamy is the custom which a person has to marry outside his tribe. There are a few cases on record, though even about these we need far more exact information than we possess, in which it seems that people have to marry outside their tribe or other similar social group, but in the vast majority of the cases for which the term ‘exogamy’ is used the exogamous social group is not the tribe, but that subdivision of the tribe for which the term ‘clan’ is generally employed. When we say that a community possesses the clan-organization, we mean that it is divided into a number of groups, the members of each of which may marry only with the members of their own group. If there must marry into some other group of their own community, we have to do with the practice of endogamy, the community as a whole being endogamous, while the clan within the community is exogamous. From this it will follow that exogamy and endogamy are not antithetical processes, but, where both exist, supplement one another.

Endogamy in this sense is a relatively infrequent practice, being most fully developed in the caste system of India, in which the caste is the endogamous group and the gotra (q.v.) or other corresponding sub-group the exogamous unit (see art. Caste). The social system of the Bushmen is another pure case of the division of endogamous social groups into exogamous clans. In other parts of the world obligatory endogamy is rare. There are many people who arenewValueed from that of the Hindu or Toda in that there is no definite prohibition of marriage within the community, and, if the opportunity arises, such marriages may occur. Often in Europe there are cases in which marriage within the village or other social group is so habitual and departure

from this custom meets with such social reproba-

tion that we come very near to true endogamy. It would seem that this tendency to endogamy is especially pronounced where the division of the village follows an occupation, and this association of endogamy with occupation is not only characteristic of the caste system of India, but is also found in one of the exceptional examples of obligatory endogamy, with a result only unusual.

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regulated exclusively by a genealogical relationship. Marriages with certain classes of relatives are forbidden and those with other classes allowed, while other marriages may not be strictly prohibited, though looked upon with more or less disfavour by the community. The chief explanation of this difference of attitude occurring in the case of first cousins. We do not know, however, of any such people among whom marriages with certain relatives are obligatory, and have not found their presence on the nomenclature of relationship.

The regulation of marriage solely by relationship is not limited to peoples whose system of relationship is based on the family, but occurs also among many peoples who form a more elaborate system of relationship. It is found in many parts of Africa and America; it is characteristic of Polynesia, and occurs in some parts of Melanesia; while, as already mentioned, the matrimonial classes of Australia are only a specialized form of this mode of regulation. Among all these peoples, however, the results of this type of regulation differ widely from those found in the cases in that the restrictions apply to the very wide circle of relatives involved in the use of the classificatory system. Among such peoples we have not to do with the prohibited marriage being limited only to brother and sister or between first cousins, but also between those whom we should call second and third cousins, or even more remote relatives. Sometimes the rule forbids marriage with a person with whom any kind of genealogical connexion, apart from relation by marriage, can be traced. More frequently the prohibition does not take this extreme form, but there are rules limiting the prohibition to certain classes of genealogical relationship, a frequent form of such limitation being the exclusion from the prohibition of those cases in which cousins are descended from persons of different classes. The peoples among the children of two brothers or of two sisters is strictly prohibited, but not only is the marriage of cousins who are the children of a brother and sister allowed, but, as will appear shortly, these relatives may be the natural consorts of one another. The people who thus regulate marriage exclusively by relationship have lost the clan-organization which their use of the classificatory system to limit endogamy. Even those who still possess this form of social organization do not rely solely upon it for the regulation of marriage, but marriages with many relatives are prohibited, and sometimes the exogamous group. Sometimes this prohibition takes the form that a man must not only seek a wife out of his own clan, but must avoid the clans of both father and mother, and perhaps the clans of all the grandparents. More often, however, the prohibitions rest more directly upon kinship, and do not involve all the members of the clans with which the man is related. Many gradations occur between people who regulate marriage solely by kinship and others among whom marriage is chiefly regulated by the clan-mechanism, but we know no people who have been carefully investigated and have been found to be wholly devoid of the mode of regulation by kinship.

6. Marriage with relatives. — Among many peoples, and especially among those who use the clan prohibited, outside the circle of the regulations of marriage by kinship is not confined to prohibitions, but there are often definite regulations which make marriage with certain relatives the orthodox union, and marriage with such relatives occur but are not especially frequent the influence which they have had upon the nomenclature of relationship shows that they must once have been habitual. The influence upon systems of relationship is so definite that it is possible to infer from their nature the existence of forms of marriage in the past which are no longer in vogue, thus affording evidence which makes it possible to trace the past history of marriage. (a) Parent and child. — We know of no people who allow marriage between mother and son. In many places, especially in Africa, a man may marry one of his father's wives, but in these cases his own mother is definitely excluded. Marriage between father and daughter is said to occur occasionally, though it is probable that in such cases the marriage is not that of a man with his own daughter, but with one whom he calls daughter in the classificatory sense. The marriage of a man with his brother's daughter would be a union of this kind, and such marriages certainly take place in some parts of Melanesia and in Australia. (b) Brother and sister. — The case in which we have the most definite evidence for this form of marriage is that of royal families. Examples of the marriage of brother and sister are known from history in the cases of Egypt and Peru, and occurred also among the Incas of Peru. In recent times the marriage of brother and sister is, or has been, the custom in Sinn, Burma, Ceylon, Uganda, and among the Veddas and Dusun of Malaya. In the case of brother and sister is, or has been, the custom in Sinn, Burma, Ceylon, Uganda, and among the Veddas and Dusun of Malaya. In the case of the highest kind of chief was one whose father and mother were own brother and sister, who were themselves the offspring of a similar union. In this case certainly, and probably in the other cases, this form of marriage is definitely forbidden to those of other than royal or chiefly rank, and the practice is due to the belief in the virtue of royal blood and the desire to keep this blood as pure as possible.

Marriage between brother and sister has occasionally been recorded as the general custom of a people. There are well-established cases where marriage is allowed between half-brother and half-sister, usually where they are the children of different mothers, more rarely by one mother and different fathers. No other cases are well authenticated, and some records of the marriage of brother and sister with such as the case of the Veddas, are now known to be mistaken. In general, not only is this form of marriage prohibited, but its prohibition forms the central and most definite feature of the moral code; and this applies to the marriage not only of first cousins, but of those relatives in the widest classificatory sense.

It has been supposed by Morgan and others that the marriage of brother and sister was once general among mankind, and that it formed a stage in the history of the institution of marriage, but this opinion is chiefly based on misinterpretation of the evidence. Thus, avoidance between brother and sister (see Kin, Kinship, III. 2) has been held to show the former presence of sexual relations between these relatives. This is probably correct; but in Melanesia, from which region some of our best examples of this form of avoidance come, the custom is almost certainly a relatively recent practice due to external influence. In all cases where marriage or sexual relations are allowed between brother and sister, they are probably of late occurrence, due either to relaxation of morality, or to the working of special ideas, such as that of the virtue inherent in royal blood.

(c) Cousins. — It is necessary to distinguish here between the marriage of cousins in general and the marriage of those cousins, usually known as cross-cousins, who are descended from persons of different sex. The marriage of females in which such marriages occur is sometimes allowed and sometimes prohibited, this prohibition being a necessary consequence of the
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classing of all or some cousins with brothers and sisters in different forms of the classificatory system.

The marriage of cousins is frequent among Mshumambians, usually with the daughter of the father's brother, and this custom has almost disappeared. It is also customary among some parts of the Kung, who marry their daughter's son. In some parts of Australia, marriage is allowed between cousins, especially between the brother and sister, and this custom has been widely practised in many parts of Melanesia, and is shown by the nomenclature of relationship to have been a common practice. This form of marriage also occurs among some of the Bantu peoples of Africa, and many systems of relationship of N. America have features which would be its natural result.

(f) Grandparents and grandchildren.—In Pentecost Island in the New Hebrides it is, or has been, the custom to marry the daughter's daughter of the father; and this marriage with one who, through the classificatory system, has the same status as the parent, has practised itself so deeply on the nomenclature of relationship that it must once have been the habitual custom of the people. This form of marriage has also been recorded among the Dieri of Central Australia.

A form of marriage similar to that just described, in that a man marries a woman two generations below his own, occurs in Ambrym, adjacent to Pentecost Island. It is not uncommon for a man to marry the daughter of his sister's son. Still more widely distributed is marriage with the wife or widow of the father's father. The occurrence of this form of marriage seems to be due to the complexity of the terminology of relationship in Fiji and in Bougainville Island in the Solomons, but the present writer has since found it in vogue in several islands of the New Hebrides, not only with the wife of the father's father, but with the actual grandmother. We do not at present know of marriage between grandparents and grandchildren outside of Australasia, but these are part of the African systems of relationship which suggest its occurrence at present or in the past.

7. Polygamy.—The forms of marriage so far described may be classified by the social status of the partners to the union. The varieties now to be considered arise out of the number of the persons who enter into union. The term at the head of this section is most conveniently used as a generic term to include all such cases other than monogamy. Its different forms are polygyny, in which one man marries more than one woman; polyandry, in which one woman marries more than one man; and communal marriage, in which more than one man marries more than one woman.

8. Polygyny.—Though this form of marriage exists, or has existed, in every part of the world, it is very rare, i.e., practiced by all members of the community, but is the special privilege of the powerful and wealthy. Polygyny can be universal only among a people which obtains women by capture or some other means from outside its own community. Sometimes the practice is limited to chiefs, sometimes, where large payments for a wife are in vogue, it is only the wealthy who can marry more than one wife. Sometimes polygyny is the privilege of those who have shown their superiority to the rest of their community in some way, as in Eddy Island in the Solomons, where a second wife is allowed to men who have taken ten heads in warfare.
Polygynous unions differ considerably in the degree of social differentiation accompanying the union. The different wives may live together in one household, or each may have her own establishment. Sometimes one wife is superior to the rest, and her children differ in rank from those of other wives in social status—a condition which passes insensibly into the distinction between marriage and concubinage (see below, § 11). Sometimes there are definite rules regulating the behaviour of the husband to the different wives.

The continent in which polygyny has reached its highest degree of development is Africa, in many parts of which the practice is so frequent and has so impressed itself upon the social organization that it has influenced the nomenclature of relationship, and special terms are used to distinguish from one another the children by the different wives of a polygynous marriage. Other regions where polygyny is well established are Australia and parts of Melanesia, where the polygyny forms part of an organized system of monopoly of the young women by the old men of the community.

It is sometimes the custom in polygyny that the wives shall be sisters, a man who marries a woman having to be the right one of her sisters also as they reach marriageable age.

9. Polyandry.—This custom is far less frequent than polygyny. At the present time its chief home is in the Himalayan regions, and it also occurs in a definite form in the Marquesas Islands and among the Babina and Baziha, Bantu peoples of Africa. In ancient times it has been recorded among the Arabs, Britons, Ficts, and Guanches, but our information about those and many of the recently-recorded cases is not sufficient to show whether the condition was one of true polyandry or a variety of sexual communism. Even in India there is a distinct tendency for polyandry to be associated with polygyny, thus producing one form of communal marriage. Two varieties of polyandry are generally recognized, in one of which the husbands are brothers, while in the other they are not necessarily related to one another. Following McLennan, these two forms are often called Tibetan and Nair (Nayar) respectively, but are better distinguished as fraternal and non-fraternal.

Both among the Todas and in Tibet and neighbouring regions, where polyandry exists in its purest form, it is of the fraternal variety. Usually the boy brothers grow up as a distinct group, and as his brothers grow up, they share his wife with him. Even if one of the younger brothers takes a wife among the Todas, she becomes also the wife of the other brothers. It is doubtful whether the recorded cases of non-fraternal polyandry should be regarded as polyandry at all. Among the Nayars, who furnished McLennan with his pattern of this form of polyandry, a girl goes through a form of marriage with a man, but then or later consorts with a number of men who need not be related to one another. It is a question, however, whether these men should not be regarded as eichist rather than husbands, yet it is difficult to decide, since the purely matrilineal institutions of the people make the fact of fatherhood of little social importance.

A variety of polyandry which may be distinguished is one which occurs among several peoples of India, in which a young boy marries a wife who consorts with the boy's father or maternal uncle. Several or some of the offspring are counted as the children of the boy-husband, and, when the boy reaches adult age, he will consort with the wife either of one of these children or of some other boy. The motive of the custom is said to be that the boy shall have a son to take him out of hell. A similar practice has been recorded elsewhere, as among the Ostanks and Ossoces. In Melanesia a man and his sister's son may share a wife or wives in common, but this was almost certainly part of the general possession of property, and it is probable that this is also the true nature of some or all of the other cases of this variety of polyandry. The polyandry of the Marquesas is peculiar in that the husbands are of different social status, one husband belonging to a more influential section of the community than the other.

We know very little of the social mechanism by means of which the status of the children is determined in cases of polyandry. In several cases it has been recorded that the children are assigned to the different husbands in order of age, but it is certainly not true of the Todas, who were once credited with this practice. Among this people there is no need for any special ascription of the children to the different husbands when these are brothers, owing to their common habitation and of their common possession of property. It is only when the husbands are not brothers that the necessity arises, and then fatherhood is determined by means of a ceremony at the seventh month of the pregnancy, which forms this ceremony becoming the father of the child for all social purposes.

We know little or nothing of the causes which have led to polyandry. Among the Todas and in the Marquesas Islands, and especially in Tibet, polyandry is associated with female infanticide, and it has been supposed that the polyandry is a result of the scarcity of women so produced. It may also be supposed that polyandry has been the result of inequality in the proportion of the sexes, due to scarcity of the food-supply, this either producing a small proportion of female births owing to physiological causes or leading to the practice of infanticide.

It is noteworthy that the only definite example of polyandry recorded in Africa should occur among a pastoral people whose culture possesses several features closely resembling that of the Todas.

10. Communal or group-marriage.—The question whether this form of marriage exists has been the subject of a long and controversial discussion by schools of sociologists for many years. If we define this type of marriage as a union of more than one man with more than one woman, no one doubts the fact, and, as it is the oldest type of marriage, which conforms to the definition. This form of union is found among the Todas, for instance, but there it seems to have arisen as a combination of polyandry with polygyny. It is when we pass from such cases to those in which large groups of men are held to be the husbands of large groups of women that doubt arises.

The solution of the problem turns largely on the sense in which we use the term 'marriage.' If this word is employed for relations between the sexes, there is no question that group-marriage does not merely exist, but is a widely distributed practice. If, on the other hand, marriage is regarded essentially as an institution by which the social status of children is determined, we are met by our very imperfect knowledge of the exact nature of the recorded cases from this point of view; and another difficulty is that of drawing the line between wife and concubine, between husband and eichist.

The recorded case which seems most to deserve the name of group-marriage is that of the Ngara-bana (Urhulunna) of Central Australia. It is stated that, among this people, no man has exclusive rights over any woman, and that we have
not to do with a confusion between wife and concubine; appears from comparison with an ad-joining people, the Dieri. The Dieri have a definite term for individual marriage, viz. tippa-
malku; this exists side by side with the pirra-
ure relationship, which is a group marriage, a term in which a group of men and a group of women have the right to sexual relations with one another. The Ngarabans have consort types pirungaru, who evidently correspond with the pirra-
ure of the Dieri, and the relations between the Ngarabans men and women who call one another nuja would, therefore, seem to correspond with the tippa-malku union of the Dieri, except that they are group-re-
lated unions, while the tippa-malku union occurs between individuals. The tippa-malku marriage, however, is associated with the custom of lending a wife, while men other than the husband have marital rights as part of the marriage ceremony. If the tippa-
malku union is regarded as true marriage, it is difficult to withhold this name from the union between nuja which seems to correspond with it among the Ngarabans. In order to reach a positive decision on the matter, however, we should like to be more fully informed about the exact social relations which exist between individuals and the male partners in the different kinds of union.

In some parts of Melanesia there is an association of definite individual marriage with the occurrence of sexual relations between the group of men formed by the husband's brothers and the group of women formed by the wife's sisters. Since these groups consist of brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense, they may also be of considerable size. This case, now at any rate, re-
lated to relations between the sexes, and it seems, therefore, better not to regard this as a form of group-marriage, but to speak of sexual communism associated with natal marriage.

Those cases may be similarly regarded in which all the members of a conventional brotherhood possess marital rights over the wives of other fellows. The most definite case of this kind of which we know is that recorded by C. G. Selig-
mann, who among the Massim of New Guinea, in which all the members of a brotherhood who enter into marriage have marital rights over the wives of the eriasum.

11. Concubinage and citizenship. -Reference has already been made to the difficulty of distinguishing these conditions from marriage. The conventional use of the word 'concubine' would be to denote a woman with whom sexual relations are permitted, although the union does not in-
volve fatherhood if there should be offspring. Similarly, the term eiselbeo would be most con-
veniently used of the male partner in a similar union. If the terms were used in this sense, the pirra-
ure and pirungaru of the Dieri and Ngar-
abans would be concubines or eiselbeos. The dis-
tinction would be especially applicable in such a case as that of the Todas, whose mokkhtha-
veid would be distinguished as eiselbei from the husband's brother, thus being the important difference between the two that the mokkhthavei partnership is not subject to the law of endogamy which regulates the polyandrous marriage. The man within the group of father to his partner's children except in those rare cases in which, being of the same endogamous group as an expectant mother whose husband is dead or missing, he is called upon to perform the ceremony which gives fatherhood.

The difficulty in using the term 'concubine' in the sense thus proposed is that in some of the cases, such as those of the OT, in which the use of the term is fixed, concubinage carries with it the social relation of fatherhood, sometimes even with full rights of inheritance and succession (cf. art. CONCUBINAGE [Introductory]).

12. Marital relations. -In this article marriage has been considered chiefly as a social institution by means of which the relations between parents and children become part of an organized society. But if the institution of marriage is a social institution of the most definite kind may vary greatly in its attitude towards the sexual relations of married persons. All gra-
dations can be found between peoples who regard any sexual relations other than those between husband and wife as a heinous offence and those who allow very great freedom in this respect. Of all the cases of which we have any knowledge, however, the extra-marital relations of married persons are subject to definite restrictions, the clue to the nature of these restrictions resting upon the conception of a wife as the personal property of her husband. Thus many peoples who will kill or make war upon the offender, if a wife is found to have transgressed, will nevertheless freely allow others access to their wives if their consent is asked, or will often impose upon extra-marital relations with other men form part of the satura-
malia or other occasions when relaxation of the ordinary moral rules is allowed.

The difference from marital chastity are exchange of wives, which is especially a feature of Australian society, and lending wives to guests, which occurs in many parts of the world. Allowing the use of ova for money or other kind of compensation is more rare, and is often only a feature of the relaxation of morality which follows contact with external influence.

13. Sexual relations before marriage. -In general, pre-nuptial freedom is allowed to men, but great divergencies are found in the views held about female chastity before marriage. Among many peoples the pre-
marital chastity of the wife is so highly valued that it may lead to such a practice as in the test leading to annulment of the marriage or depriving the relatives of the woman of the bride-money or other benefits which they would otherwise obtain.

Among other peoples freedom of sexual relations before marriage is regarded as a normal occurrence, and there may even be an organized system of payments for such relations, or prostitution in some form may be regarded as a regular prelimi-
nary to marriage, and those who have been successful in this career may be especially sought as brides. In other cases sexual relations before marriage may take place more or less freely, though they are not openly condemned. Among many peoples sexual relations are allowed so long as they do not result in offspring, and often, as in many parts of Sarawak, the occurrence of pregnancy forms the usual preliminary to, and occasion for, marriage.

In addition to the forms of marriage dependent upon the society of husband and wife and the numbers of partners who enter into union, other varieties can be distinguished according to the place of residence of the married persons, and the age at which marriage union takes place and the occurrence of pregnancy forms the usual preliminary to, and occasion for, marriage.

14. Patrilocal and matrilocal marriage. -These are terms respectively for cases in which the wife goes to live with her husband, and the husband goes to live at the home of his wife, the usual consequence being that in the one case the children
will belong to the locality of the father, and in the other to that of the mother. These two varieties of marriage have often been distinguished, especially by writers on Indian sociology, by means of the epithets "bride-wealth" and "scrota," but the above terms, first proposed by N. W. Thomas, are now coming into general use. Intermediate cases between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms occur in which the marriage takes place in the wife's home for the reason that the case is closely related to that mode of obtaining a wife in which a man has, for a period of months or years, to serve the parents of the woman he hopes to obtain as a wife (cf. § 19). Sometimes, as in the island of Tikopia, the wife's home to the wife's home is of short duration that it is probably only a survival in ceremony of a former condition of matrilocal marriage. Still another condition is that which occurs among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in which the wife turns to the home of her parents in order to give birth to her children.

15. Infant marriage.—It is necessary to distinguish between infant marriage and infant betrothal, though the line between the two is often indefinite. Children are often promised as husbands or wives even before they are born, but it is only when ceremonies are performed or transactions carried through which are of the same nature as those accompanying the marriage of adults that we ought to speak of infant marriage.

Even in this limited sense, infant marriage is a very widely distributed practice. It is especially prominent in India, where its combination with the prohibition of re-marriage of widows makes it a very important feature of social life. Infant marriage occurs as an established practice in Australia and Melanesia, but here, as in other parts of the world, it is a phase of betrothal rather than of marriage. Sometimes a girl married in infancy goes at once to live with her husband's people; in other cases she continues to live with her own parents until she is of age for the marriage to be consummated.

Infant marriage has probably had two chief causes. It is a means of promoting the chastity of the young, adopted by peoples who attach importance to chastity before marriage, and this is especially the case when the girl goes to live with her husband's parents, who are thus able to watch over her son's wife. It may also be the result of any social condition that it is difficult to obtain a wife, such as scarcity of women due to infantile or natural causes, or monopoly of women by one section of the community. A lowering of the age of marriage for these reasons only accentuates the difficulty in obtaining a wife, and the lowering of age thus tends to be progressive, producing, in course of time, the marriages in extreme infancy which are found among some peoples (cf. art. CHILD MARRIAGE [in India]).

16. Arrangement of marriage.—In the very rare cases in which the choice of a consort is absolutely free the arrangement of marriage is a simple matter, and the same is true of the condition which seems to occupy the other end of the scale, in which the marriage of a person is pre-determined by the social rules of the community, as in those cases in which a man has to marry a certain relative. Even, however, in cases in which the choice is largely free, it is often the custom to make use of an intermediary, or the transactions connected with the marriage are arranged by the relatives or friends of the partners in the proposed union.

An important difference in the nature of the process of courtship turns upon whether the initiative comes from man or woman. Among many peoples proposals of marriage should come from the women.

The part played by other persons in the arrangement of marriage largely turns upon the extent to which religious or social regulations are placed in pecuniary transactions which so often accompany marriage; but in many communities the consent of certain relatives is necessary, quite apart from these. Among those peoples whose social system is based on the family it is the consent of the parents that is chiefly needed. Among other peoples the place of the parents in this respect may be taken by some other relative, such as the mother's brother or the father's sister. In some parts of Melanesia the consent of the father's sister is essential. She usually chooses a wife for her nephew, and has the power of vetoing his marriage if he should choose for himself.

17. Marriage by purchase.—In most parts of the world marriage is accompanied by pecuniary transactions. In some cases payments are made by the husband or his relatives to the relatives of the woman, this payment being usually known as the bride-price. In other cases payments are made by the relatives of the bride, these being usually known as a dowry. In other cases again there are complicated transactions in which payments pass between the two parties, but often these are chiefly of a ceremonial nature, either existing alone or, more frequently, accompanying the transfer of the bride-price.

Sometimes the payments made for a wife or husband may be so large as to form a definite impediment to marriage. They tend to raise the age of marriage, or may even prevent some members of the community from marrying at all. In some cases, however, in which the payments seem to be very large the common ownership of the property or right of residence by the family is a large circle, making them more practicable than would be the case if they had to be given by an individual person. Sometimes the payments are made in different stages which may correspond with betrothal and marriage, and sometimes they do not cease at marriage, but continue for some time afterwards, the birth of each child of the union being an occasion for them.

Among peoples who follow the custom of marrying certain relatives it sometimes happens that the payment for a wife is made only in those cases in which a man marries some other woman.

The most frequent type of marriage by purchase takes the form of the bride-price; but in India, and in some parts of Europe, the dowry or payment to the husband is the more usual custom.

18. Marriage by exchange.—The most definite case of this mode of contracting marriage is that in which a man gives his sister to the brother of his bride, and, since this custom usually occurs among peoples who use the classificatory system of relationship, it may lead to the exchange of women between groups of considerable size. The motive usually assigned for this form of marriage by those who practise it is that it does away with the necessity of paying a large sum to the family of the bride; but there are some reasons to suppose that in some cases the practice may have arisen out of, or be otherwise associated with, the cross-cousin marriage.

19. Marriage by service. — In this kind of marriage, which has become well known through its occurrence in the OT, is probably not very common, and, as already mentioned (§ 74), passes insensibly into the matrilocal form of marriage.

20. Marriage by elopement. — Among many peoples elopement is so frequent and is so little objected to by the community that it may be regarded as a regular mode of contracting marriage. In some cases it would appear to be the result of
restrictions upon marriage which have developed to such an extent as to have become irksome to the community. In the absence of any social mechanism for the abrogation of these restrictions it has been the custom for them to survive at their in- 
tracultural settings by a tenacious and dogmatic 
In Australia and some parts of Melanesia where 
elopement is frequent it may be the secondary 
consequence of the monopoly of women by the old 
men, or the larger custom of elopement from 
the obstacles to marriage due to the bride-
price.

21. Marriage by capture.—This form of marriage 
bears out the social interest in which the term of 
the idea of McLennan that, at one period of the his-
tory of human society, it was the normal mode of 
obtaining a wife. The capture of wives is known 
to occur, and the marriage ceremonial of many 
parts of the world includes either a definite con-
lict for the possession of the bride or features 
which may be interpreted as survivals of this pro-
cess. It is very doubtful, however, whether any 
people habitually obtain wives from without their 
trie, though the Khonds of India are said to do 
so, and it is probable that the conflicts of wedding 
ceremonial are derived from other social processes, 
such as the simple form of marriage which gave 
certain persons a vested interest in the 
women of their own community. The vogue of 
the cross-cousin marriage in southern India makes it 
probable that a conflict which takes place 
between the husband and his wife's cousin in some 
parts of Malabar is a survival of that form of 
motherhood which the custom had a proscriptive 
right of divorce in each part.

It is probable that many of the other customs 
which have been regarded as survivals of the cap-
ture of women from hostile tribes are rather the 
result of the native desires to which the custom 
that women should become the wives of 
certain members of their own community.

22. Trial marriage.—Unions to which this term has 
been applied have been recorded among many 
peoples, but many, if not most, of these cases 
should be regarded as trials before marriage rather 
than as examples of marriage in the sense in 
which the term is used in this article. Temporary 
unions, especially those which are contracted with little or no ceremonial, and these 
cases shade off insensibly into trials before mar-
rriage on the one hand and into consanguineous 
of the other. In this way it is possible to 
cal a trial marriage only if there is a definite 
contract or ceremony entered upon when the 
condition that the union shall be annulled if it is 
unprofitable or if the parties to it wish to separate 
after a certain period.

23. Social functions of relatives by marriage.— 
Marriage brings the partners to it into definite 
social relations with large groups of persons in 
whom they had previously no special interest. 
Among some peoples, and especially among those 
who use the classificatory system of relationship, 
these social relations may take very definite and 
well-established form. Prominent among those 
is the custom of avoidance (see Kin, Kinship, III. 9) between a married person and his or her parents-
in-law. The restrictions on conduct are usually 
most pronounced in the case of a man and his 
wife's mother, and the avoidance in this case may 
be so strict that the two are not allowed to see 
one another or to be in the same house or even in the 
same village. A more frequent form of avoidance 
is that a man may not speak to his mother-
in-law or may not speak to her familiarly, and 
still more frequent is the custom that he may not 
use her personal name, but must address her by 
the appropriate term of relationship. A similar 
mode of conduct often accompanies the relation-
ship of a man to his wife's father, but usually the 
avoidance is less strict, and the avoidance between 
a woman and her husband's parents is also, in 
general, less rigid than that between her husband 
and her parents. Care certainly, and probably everywhere, these customs of avoidance 
are definitely associated with the idea of the likeli-
hood of sexual relations between those who avoid 
one another; and the absence of customs of avoidance is 
also shows that this is not the only explanation.

Similar customs of avoidance also occur between 
brothers- and sisters-in-law, using these terms in 
the classificatory sense; but they are usually less 
strict, and often limited to prohibition of the use 
of the personal name or of familiar conversation. 
Often these customs are combined with certain 
probabilities on the part of these relatives towards one 
other—dues which may be summed up as those 
of mutual helpfulness. This is especially the ease 
with the relationship of brother-in-law. Sometimes 
the duty of helping one another goes so far 
that a man may use any of the property of his 
brother-in-law. Sometimes the men must defend 
one another in case of danger, while the presence 
of the relationship in cases, which lead to a 
fight. Still another duty sometimes assigned 
to these relatives is that one must dig the grave 
or take the leading part in the funeral ceremonies 
of the other.

This combination of customs of avoidance with 
the obligation of mutual helpfulness may possibly 
be explained as having grown out of the relations 
which arise in the marriages in cases of elopement between hostile peoples, or they may be the result 
of the marriages which form part of the process 
of fusion of two peoples.

24. Marriages ceremonial.—The rites accom-
porny marriage vary greatly in duration and 
complexity among different peoples. Sometimes 
they are so fragmentary that they can hardly be 
said to exist, while in other cases the ceremonial 
may consist of rites of the most diverse and 
elaborate kinds, prolonged over weeks or months. 
In the lower forms of culture the ceremonial of 
marrage is, in general, scanty, especially where 
it is the custom for marriages to be contracted with little or no 
ery. And in these cases shade off insensibly into trials before marriage, 
which they are may be the result of the marriages which form part of the process of 
fusion of two peoples.

Another group of ceremonies which may have 
a motive chiefly economic is the conflicts and 
other features which are probably indications of 
interference with vested interests affected by the 
marriage.

A large group of ceremonies consists of acts 
symbolic of features of marriage. Such are the 
the joining of hands and the tying together of gar-
mets. Allied to these are the acts which seem
to show the superior status of one or other partner to the union. Thus the superiority of the bridegroom may be symbolized by presenting him with a whip or by his boxing the bride's ears, and possibly lying the toil in India and the use of the wedding ring of our own ceremony is only to impress the mind with the meaning. Elsewhere, as in Morocco, the bride may perform various acts, such as riding a pack-saddle, which are designed to give her power over her husband.

Similar to these are the many forms of rite in which bride and bridegroom eat together or march round a fire. Other rites, such as that of pouring rice on wheat on the head of the bride, probably have as their motive the desire to promote the fertility of the union, or to ensure an abundance of food for the household.

Another large group of rites seems to be connected with the idea that some danger is attendant upon entrance into the marriage state. It may be that rites of this kind at marriage form part of a general custom of performing ceremonies at any transition from one ceremonial to another— the 'rites de passage' of A. van Genne. Another motive may be the idea of the danger accompanying sexual intercourse to which so great an effect has been given by certain religious ideas.

Among features dependent on ideas of this kind may be mentioned the prolonged period which often has to elapse before consummation of the marriage. In Hindustan, and in frequent customs according to which husband and wife are not allowed to see one another before a certain stage in the ceremonial. The many rites of purification, the assumption of new garments, and such disguises as dress and colour, in the opposite sex may also be of this order. It is probable that some rites of marriage are designed to impart to others the spiritual sanctity which is supposed to attach to newly-married persons.

Many of the motives for ceremonial so far considered are of the kind usually supposed to underlie magic. Other features are definitely religious in that they involve specific appeal to some higher power. Such are definite rites of sacrifice and prayer, while the practice of divination to discover whether the higher powers are propitious also falls under this head. The most perfect people of rude culture no part is taken by any person who can be regarded as a priest, but, as definite religious motives come to actuate the ritual, its performance tends to pass more and more into the hands of persons especially set aside for the performance of this and other religious functions.

25. Marriage to inanimate objects.—In several parts of India it is the custom, under certain circumstances, that persons shall go through ceremonial marriages with such objects as a tree, a bunch of flowers, a dagger, a sword, or an arrow. One occasion for this kind of marriage is the entrance of a dancing-girl upon her career, the motive being apparently that, though the future occupation of the girl will render a husband superfluous, she shall, nevertheless, be married.

Another motive for this custom of marriage is the belief in the unlikelihood of certain numbers. Thus, to counteract the belief that a second marriage is unlucky, a widower may marry an inanimate object in order that his succeeding union with a woman shall be his third marriage. It is probable, also, that marriage to a tree may, in some cases, especially where this forms a part of the wedding ceremony, depend upon a belief in the influence of the tree upon the offspring, possibly in the future reincarnation of an ancestor represented by, or whose representative is present in, the tree.

26. Marriage after death.—In some parts of India the body of a girl who dies unmarried is the subject of marriage rites, while the marriage of a dead bachelor is a similar custom among other primitives. The Aryan practice seems to have been connected with the practice of killing the wife on the death of her husband, and has been had as its motive the desire to provide the man with a wife in the life after death. We do not know the motive for the modern Indian practice.

27. Widowhood.—In some parts of the world the re-marriage of widows is absolutely prohibited, and in others widows normally become the wives of certain relatives, while intermediate cases occur in which the marriage is allowed, but is not subject to any special rules. Among many peoples, especially in the case of chiefs and more influential members of the community, wives are killed as part of the ceremonial of their husbands, and there is no reason to suppose that there is any connexion between this practice and the prohibition of re-marriage, particularly as the latter practice is often found in the neighbourhood of places where the custom survives. For the law of the husband is or has been practised. Two places where the association occurs are India and the Solomon Islands, and the connexion of the two practices is supported by the fact that widows undergo a period of seclusion after death, with features suggesting that the seclusion is intended to represent a ceremonial death. It would seem that the prohibition of re-marriage is adopted when the more extreme measure has been given up.

Several cases in which a widow normally marries certain relatives have already been mentioned. Sometimes, especially in Africa, a son takes his father's widow, excluding his own mother. Elsewhere a widow may be married by the sister's son, or the son's son, of the deceased husband; but the most widely distributed form of union of this kind is that known as the levirate, in which a wife is taken by the brother of the deceased husband.

28. The levirate.—The best known example of this practice is that recorded in the OT, in which the custom is applied to the case in which the dead husband has no children, the motive of the marriage being to raise up seed for the dead brother. The term is now used for any case in which a man marries the widow of his brother's wife, and in most cases the Biblical limitation and motives are not present. The practice may be based on the idea that a wife is property to be taken by the brother with other goods, or it may form part of the duty of guardianship over the children of the brother and be designed to prevent the management of the children's property passing into the hands of a stranger whom the widow might otherwise marry.

In India, and in some parts of Melanesia, the practice of the levirate is subject to the limitation that the widow of a man may be married only by his younger brother, a man having no children of his own or his younger brother's wife. It is not easy to see how this limitation can arise out of the motives for the practice already mentioned. It was supposed by McLennan that the levirate is a survival of polyandry, and it is possible that in these Indian and Melanesian cases the practice is derived from either polyandry or communal marriage, the limitation being connected with the maintenance of the relationship between elder and younger brother of which at present we have no knowledge.

Though the OT motive does not wholly account for the custom of the levirate, it shows itself in
other forms among many peoples. In many parts of Africa a child born to a widow even many years after the death of her husband is held to be the child of that husband, and the Dinkas of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have a custom according to which a widow without male offspring who is beyond the age of child-birth will purchase a girl and pay a man to beget children by this girl for her by his husband. Indeed, there is a necessity for male offspring, especially to perform religious rites, a man without sons may call on his brother or some other man to beget children by his wife.

29. Re-marriage of widowers.—We know of no people who prohibit the re-marriage of widowers, and the chief point of interest in this subject is the difference of attitude towards marrying with the deceased wife's sister. It has already been mentioned that in polygynous unions it is often the custom to marry sisters, and among people who follow this custom and many others the wife's sister is the natural spouse of a widower. Other peoples prohibit this form of union. Among many of these peoples the wife's sister is regarded as a sister, a conventional relationship often shown in terminology, and the prohibition of marriage is definitely associated with this idea. It is an expression of the general repudiation of marriage between persons who stand in the relationship of brother and sister, even when this relationship has come about through marriage, and when the use of the term is only metaphorical.

30. History of marriage. —Widely different views on this topic are at present current. On the one side are those who regard monogamy as the original state from which the other forms of marriage have developed; on the other are those who believe that monogamy has come into existence by a gradual process of evolution from an original condition of complete promiscuity through an intermediate stage of group-marriage. Lewis Morgan, who has been the chief advocate of an original state of promiscuity, based his opinion on evidence which we now know to be fallacious, and at present not only do we have no knowledge of any promiscuous people, but there is also no valid evidence that a condition of general promiscuity ever existed in the past.

The problem of group-marriage stands on a different footing. Whether the communal unions of different parts of the world be regarded as marriage or not, the fact is that such unions exist and there is much reason to believe that they have been more general in the past than they are at the present time. The nature of the classificatory system of classification is naturally explained by its origin in communal conditions. Even if this view be accepted, however, it does not commit us to the position that this condition was once universal among mankind. It is possible that only some of the main varieties of mankind have been communal. Still less does it follow that sexual communism was the primitive condition of mankind. No people now in existence can be regarded as primitive, or even as a surrogates representative of primitive conditions. Even if it be accepted that sexual communism was once widely distributed or even universal, it would remain possible, if not probable, that it is not a primitive condition, but one which only represents a stage in the evolution of human society. If, as there is much reason to believe, mankind originally lived in small groups, perhaps consisting of only one or two of the same sex, or, according to original state would have been monogamy, and, if so, the wide prevalence of communal forms of marriage must be ascribed to some factors which came into action as the social group increased in size. Even if the classification be based on the assumption that communal forms of marriage can be founded in communal conditions, it has features, such as the clear recognition of generations, which are most naturally explained by its growth out of a still earlier condition in which the unions between the sexes were monogamous, or were restricted to such small groups of persons as to approximate to that condition.


MARRIAGE (Celtic).—1. Gaul.—Polygamy does not seem to have been customary in Gaul. In the only investigations (Cesara, de Bell. Gall. vi. 19) the plural uxor(es) is certainly due to the plural urbi. At the time of Gaul's last struggle against the Romans every Gaul bemoaned that the Roman conqueror would enter his house again not to see his children, relatives, or wife (uxorem, vii. 60) until he had ridden twice through the enemy's lines. We know that, as in other places, the wife (uxor) brought a dowry, but the husband usually shared an equal amount taken from his own property.

On the death of either husband or wife, the survivor received both portions, along with the revenues accumulated after marriage (vi. 19). Marriage was often employed as a means of securing political alliances; thus Orgetorix gave his daughter to Dumnonix; and the latter had his mother wedded to a noble of the Bituriges, and married his sister and other female relatives into other cities (i. 3, 9, 18). The wife's position, then, was very much superior to that of a slave. Plutarch relates that if a wife was found guilty of adultery the women reconciled the opposing parties after a terrible civil war, and ever afterwards the Celts continued to admit their wives to their council when deliberating on peace and war, and made the disputes with their allies be ruled by their wives' judgment. An agreement was made, later, between Hannibal and the Celts that, if the Celts had any grievance against the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian general would judge, and, if the Carthaginians had any complaints against the Celts, the case would be judged by the wives of the Celts (de Mili. Virp. 6; cf. Polyben, vii. 50). The numerous stories handed down to us from the ancients about the women of the Celts—Chlomara (Polyb. xxii. 21), Cauma (Plut. de Mili. Virp. 20), Eponins (Thuc. Hist. iv. 67), Gypsias (Athen. xiii. 38; Justin, xili. 5)—speak of the passive being that the wife has remained among most barbarous peoples. Caesar, who often gives her the title of materfamilias, relates nevertheless that, when a woman of high birth wished to die, his relations assembled, and, if there was any suspicion in connexion with his death, they cross-examined his wife like a slave; if any delinquency was proved, they put her to death by fire and all kinds of torture. If there was nothing more in this than the exercise of the power
of life and death which the barbarous Franks had over his wife as well as his children (vi. 19).

Among the ancient Britons the position of woman was quite different. The women were the common possession of ten or twelve husbands, especially of brothers, or of fathers and their sons; but from these unions belonged to the man who had married the woman first (Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. v. 14). Women were common property also in Caledonia (Dio Cass. xvi. 6). In Ireland, it is stated, it was quite a natural thing for men to have intercourse with other women, with their mothers, or with their sisters (Strabo, iv. v. 4; cf. Jerome, in Just. ii. 7), but we find a much severer class in addition to his lawful wife (ctiunntir, ‘first wife’). Kinship ties were not always an obstacle to marriage: Lugaid, king of Ireland, married his mother; and a king of Leinster had his two sisters as wives.

The rights of the woman after marriage depended largely on her personal status in the community. In cases of separation for serious offence or by mutual consent, the wife received either the part of her dowry which was left her; or she brought it on her marriage-day; in dividing the property, all that she had acquired by work and manufactured articles was taken into account, and the very smallest details were controlled by law.

4. Medieval Wales and Brittany.—The laws of Wales show in their archaic parts a similar social state. The woman brought with her a dowry (eguoddef) equal to half of what her brother would have (gwaddol), and articles for her own use (argyr-frend); she received from her husband a present proportionate to her position and payable on the morning after the consummation of the marriage (cenvyll). The conditions of separation depended on how long the union had lasted. If it had continued for a period of seven years but all three, the belongings were divided equally between the couple; but, if the wife left her husband before this time, and without good reason, she had no right to anything beyond her cenvyll. Polygamy was forbidden, and the postiere seems to have been less widespread than in Ireland.

The Britons who emigrated from Great Britain to Armorica in the 9th cent. called the dowry given by the husband to the wife enpriscut, ‘face price.’ It was common property in land. Cf. also art. CHIL-DEEN (Celtic), ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), POSTERAGE, II. 5-7.

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G. DOTTIN.

MARRIAGE (Christian).—1. The Christian ideal.—The NT does not profess to set forth any new law or theory of marriage. Our Lord’s answer to the Pharisees who questioned Him on the subject of divorce (Matt. 19:1-8, Mark 10:1-12) is the perfect ideal of marriage is sufficiently declared in the passage in Genesis which professes to record the original institution of the holy estate of matrimony (1 Cor. 7:3). The teaching and legislation of the Christian Church on this subject may, therefore, from one point of view, be regarded as a series of attempts to define more clearly and fully what is implied in the words of the original institution, and to enforce in practice the careful observance of the principles therein involved.

It is, accordingly, not strange that the subject of marriage occupies a comparatively small space in the teaching of the NT, and that part of this part confined to general rules as to the behaviour of married people such as might very well have found a place in the teaching of any heathen philosopher.

In the Gospels we have no direct reference to marriage, with the exception of our Lord’s deliverances on the subject of divorce, which probably represent sayings uttered on different occasions, but which are, at any rate, all the same in essence. Divorce is in itself unjust and inconsistent with the original divine institution of marriage. In the Epistles we have a number of a few exhortations in which the duties of married persons are clearly declared. The supremacy of the husband as the head of the wife is recognized, and the duty of wisely obedience declared. Mutual love and consideration are urged with considerable insight, while the perfect unity of husband and wife as ‘one flesh’ is duly emphasized.

The NT, in fact, deals with marriage as an established social institution as it deals with other established institutions, laying down broad general principles of conduct, and demanding faithfulness and uprightness in the discharge of all recognized duties.

It was not necessary for the first Christian teachers to condemn polygamy, for in both the Graeco-Roman and the Jewish world in their time monogamy was the universal rule. Polygamy is not expressly forbidden in the OT, nor was it uncommon in ancient Israel; but the Jewish teachers of the post-Exilic period had come to recognize that it was not consistent with the spirit of the original institution, which plainly demands the union of one man and one woman in marriage.

Extra-matrimonial connexions might not be seriously condemned in the Gentile world, but, for the begetting of legitimate children, it was the rule that there should be only one wife to one husband. While it is safe to say, however, that monogamy is assumed throughout the NT, there is perhaps only one passage which a lover of proof texts could quote as distinctly forbidding the concubine, viz. 1 Co 7:1 'Let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.'

Yet, although the NT does not profess to put forth any new theories on the subject, there can be little doubt that the religion of the gospel has done inestimable service, not only in restoring and preserving preci-
MARRIAGE (Christian)

((Christian))

ous principles which were being forgotten in an age of luxury and grievous moral laxity, but also in changing profoundly men's ideas of the marriage relation and of its duties and responsibilities. This result is the direct outcome of the teaching of the NT.

1. The spirit and teaching of the NT tend to put the mutual love of husband and wife in the foremost place. Marriage has been described as a provision, the provision of the race and the proper bringing up of children. The NT recognizes the importance of the Christian household and the rightful education of Christian children, but does not describe this as the main object of marriage. Again, marriage has been regarded as a provision for the satisfaction of a natural desire and a restraint upon unbridled indulgence. St. Paul acknowledges that marriage serves this purpose, but does not give it any great prominence (1 Co 7:9). According to the book of Genesis, marriage was instituted, in the first instance, to satisfy the need of man's social nature. Because it was 'not good that the man should be alone,' because companionship with his fellows was necessary for the perfect development of his nature, marriage was instituted to provide him with the closest interrelation for companionship. Thus the words, 'The twain shall become one flesh,' imply much more than a merely carnal relationship—a thought which is instinctively developed by St. Paul in 1 Cor 6:16.

2. It is not too much to say that our whole conception of the marriage relation has been changed, and changed for the better, by the high and honourable position accorded to woman in the NT, and the general improvement in the social status of woman which has been brought about under Christian influence, and which has not yet, perhaps, reached its final goal. A system in which 'there can be no male and female' (Gal 3:28) so far as all blessings, privileges, and responsibilities are concerned, under which husband and wife are taught to remember that they are 'joint-heirs of the grace of life' (1 P 3:7), must of necessity tend to elevate, and, if it may be so expressed, to equalize, the marriage relation.

When St. Paul compares the marriage-bond to that of the Jewish marriage, he is, no doubt, making use of a very familiar idea frequently expressed by the OT prophets, and applying it to the Christian community. It is easy to see that the substitution of Christ—our brother—for the awful Jehovah of the OT makes all the difference in the world, the essential difference, in fact, between the old world conception and that of the Christian Church. The ancient Romans had a high ideal of the sanctity of marriage—a ideal which, as the very bitterness of the satirists proves, was not wholly lost in the terrible immoralities of the times when Christianity made its appearance. Nevertheless, among Jews and Romans alike, as also, to a considerable extent, among the Greeks, the relation of the wife to the husband was, to all intents and purposes, that of a slave to a master, and the duties of obedience and reverence on the wife's part are put forth in the NT are too strong to be in harmony with our ideas to-day, and that we have rather possessed for the point of view of the NT. If so, this very advantage is the natural and necessary outcome of the gospel just as truly as the abolition of slavery—another social institution which is nowhere directly condemned in the NT. It may be argued on rational grounds that the natural characterisation of the sexes must involve a certain superiority and controlling power on the man's side in the nuptial relation; but such questions cannot be decided by the mere appeal to isolated texts of the Bible.

3. The union of the sexes has been purified, and the happiness of the married relation secured, by the absolute prohibition of every kind of extra-matrimonial connexion. Such connexions were regarded with the highest contempt, and, and, in consequence, the temporary connexion with the éroïs, or courtesan, came to be much more highly valued than the legitimate marriage, to the manifest injury of the home life and the status of the lawful wife. By this time, it may be said, such connexions, though not so lightly regarded as among the Greeks, were, on the whole, regarded with contemptuous indifference. Although the case was different, so far as the Jewish law was concerned, we cannot doubt that the Jews would be much influenced by the prevailing tone of thought in the Gentile world and would indulge in something of the very lax principles of morality current in their day. All such connexions are emphatically condemned in the NT, and it is expressly taught that the physical connexion of husband and wife is the obligation of the marriage-bond (see 1 Co 6:9).

4. The gospel emphatically condemned divorce as essentially sinful. In ancient Rome divorce was regarded as a common and therefore undesirable. For five hundred and twenty years it was boasted that divorce was unknown in Rome (Val. Max. ii. 1), and the very bitterness with which the satirists denounced the laxity of the times in this respect only shows that the old idea has not yet been wholly lost. Nevertheless, it is only too evident that, in the time of luxury and advanced civilization in which the gospel was first preached, divorce was to be looked upon with the utmost indecency as a commonplace fact in ordinary social life.

The Jews had no doubt as to the lawfulness of divorce (cf. art. 'Divorce,' in JEIV. [1903], 624—629), and it is probable that Mt 19:9 most truly represents the form of their question to our Lord. They desired to have His opinion, not on the question of the lawfulness of divorce, but as to the causes for which divorce might be legitimately instituted. Our Lord's answer declares the essential sinfulness of divorce as inconsistent with the original institution of marriage.

5. The teaching of St. Paul about marriage as the symbol and analogue of the mystical union of Christ with His Church (Eph 5:22-32) has had a profound effect on Christian thought, elevating and purifying the conception of marriage. Marriage for the Christian is something more than the ordinary social institution; it is, above everything else, 'a holy estate.' Man and wife are no longer twain, but one flesh. This, as has already been pointed out, implies more than a merely physical union. How much more? It may be said that it implies a perfect union of love and affection, and a perfect community of aims and interests, as also of worldly possessions, and a perfect mutual understanding. This positivist explanation may perhaps seem sufficient to the modern mind; but it is easy to see that the conception of the union between Christ and the Church might, to Hellenic readers, very naturally suggest something more, something in the nature of a metaphysical basis for the union of aims, affections, and interests. This basis may be an intellectual or, possibly, psycho-physical bond, uniting the two spirits so as to form a kind of single personality. It is quite conceivable—we may even say that it is probable—that some such idea was in the
mind of the Apostle. The idea may not seem altogether absurd to a modern metaphysician; but, if it should seem inconceivable, we are not bound to defend the infallibility of St. Paul’s metaphysics, and may be quite satisfied with the simple, positive, and practical view of the union.

It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that this idea of a mystic or psycho-physical bond formed in marriage is, essentially, that sacramental idea which constitutes the marriage bond as defined in the Middle Ages, which is still the accepted doctrine of the Roman and Eastern churches, and which has had important practical consequences for Christian thought and Christian life.1

2. Marriage rites and ceremonies. —The history of the rites and ceremonies accompanying marriage belongs properly to the sphere of the Christian antiquarian; but, inasmuch as these rites and ceremonies have been the subject of mystical interpretation on the part of Christian theologians, and have thus acquired a certain religious significance, a brief resume of them may well find a place in the present article.

Marriage-celebrations in all times and in all countries have been either essentially religious functions or, at least, have been attended by religious rites and ceremonies. The solemnization of marriage by a religious ceremony is, therefore, no new thing peculiar to the Christian Church. In fact, there is not a single feature in the marriage-service of the Christian communities that cannot be traced back to the sponsalia, or to the nuptial ceremonies, of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the forms of our Christian services, the ministerial benediction, and the clear expression of Christian doctrine in prayers and exhortations have helped to preserve a living sense of the peculiar sanctity of marriage as taught in the NT.

Marriage is, in the first place, an affair of the family. In the earliest period the Christian congregation regarded itself as a spiritual family, and the life and concerns of every member of the congregation were of intimate interest to the whole body. No member of the congregation ought to enter so important a step as the contract of marriage without the advice and approval of the whole congregation. This is implied in the words of Ignatius:

πρόσθε δε τε τας χάριν και τας γονιμοτήτας μετα γνώσει τον εύφορον την κυρίαν της συνέλευσθα, ἵνα μή ἐστιν μικρον και μή εἰπήσην υμῖν ἵνα μην ἀποποθῇς ὕμνους ἤ ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν θρόνον τουτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ (Ep. ad Polycarp. v.)

It is inconceivable, therefore, that the celebration of marriage should not have been accompanied from the very first with suitable acts of Christian worship, or that the accustomed marriage-rites should not have been celebrated as a solemn religious function. With the expansion of the Church and the consequent weakening of the close bond of social union between members of the same congregation, the necessity for ecclesiastical sanction for marriage would be less strongly felt, and marriages might be contracted without any formal benediction.

The testimony of the Fathers, from the middle of the 3rd cent. onwards, shows that what we should regard as civil marriages were not unknown, perhaps were not uncommon, but at the same time were strongly discontented by the Church. It is evident that the general feeling in the Church was very much the same as it is to-day. While a religious ceremony was not required as a condition of Christian communion, it was felt that the right and proper course was for all Christian people marrying honourably to seek the benediction of the Church.

From the 5th cent. onwards there can be little doubt that the celebration of marriage with ecclesiastical benediction was the almost universal custom. The inference which has sometimes been drawn from the fact that about A.D. 802 Charlemagne prohibited marriage without benediction (Greg. vi. 363) and that so late as A.D. 900 Leo the Philosopher issued a similar edit (Novel. 80), that purely civil marriages, without benediction up to the end of the 8th or 9th cent., is not borne out by anything that we know of those ages.

Nevertheless, marriage without benediction, though thus condemned by the civil law, was, if otherwise unobjectionable, regarded as valid in the Church up to the time of the Council of Trent. That Council (A.D. 1553, sess. xxiv.) decreed that henceforth no marriage should be considered valid unless celebrated by a priest in the presence of at least two other witnesses. The decree, indeed, expressly conveys the principle that the ceremony is not of the essence of the sacrament, the matter of which remains, as before, the consent of the parties; but it claims the right on the part of the Church to regulate the conditions under which a valid marriage can be celebrated. The decree holds in substance: that the civil law is good only in so far as the decrees of the Council of Trent have been published.

In the Eastern Churches the Confession of Peter Moglias of Klefl (A.D. 1616), in which the priestly benediction, the accustomed formularies, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, are declared to be essentials of marriage, is regarded as authoritative.

The marriage-ceremonies in use all over the Christian world for hundreds of years past contain elements derived from two sources, viz. the sponsalia, the ancient ceremony of betrothal, and the nuptias, or marriage-ceremony proper. The solemn troth-pilight, the joining of hands, and the giving and receiving of a ring or rings with certain gifts of money—the arka, pledge of the dowry—were the principal features of the betrothal ceremony. The veiling of the bride, the crowning of the bride and bridegroom, the formal handing over of the bride by her parent or guardian to the care of the bridegroom, the solemn declaration of the completion of the contract, and the bringing home of the bride in triumphal procession to her future home, were the accustomed nuptial ceremonies. The priestly benediction may perhaps be considered as the distinctive Christian addition to the ancient ceremonies, yet even this may have had only a special sanctification of the ancient congratulation of the family: it is even possible that in the Christian service there was some attempt to recall the ancient confarreatio, which had by Christian times become practically obsolete, but which, with its accompaniment of sacrifice and solemn benediction, was the only form recognized by Roman law for the celebration of an absolutely indissoluble marriage. The reference to the demand for ten witnesses in St. Ambrose2 would naturally suggest the confarreatio. Old customs are often preserved in an imperfect fashion even when they have become obsolete (see MARRIAGE [Historic]).

1 The following passages may be referred to as bearing out the view here presented: Clem. Alex. Ped. iii. 11, Strom. lv. 50; Tert. ad Ulp. ii. 9, de Pedigra, 4 (this passage is worth quoting in full: "ipsos enim, nuptiales ordinatum, id est non primum ecclesiasticum, sed ex antiquo, socieitate, nuptialis ordinatum. Includamus potestatem matrimonii, criminalis clandestini, quae de uxore potest assumpsit?"); Ambrose, Ep. xii. 7, condemning mixed marriages with heathen; St. Augustine, that but could not wholly prevail in the earlier centuries; Sylvest, bishop of Poitiers, Ep. ex. 1; Basil, Ep. xvii., canon ill, etc.
2 Salm. xi. 2, which expresses a feeling common to the East and West. St. Ambrose, Ep. viii. 8, contra lib. iii, etc.
There is no express evidence that the velling of the bride formed part of the Roman ceremonies of betrothal; it seems rather to have been confined to the nuptials proper. In Tertullian’s time, however, it was a betrothal ceremony amongst Christians, the bride continuing to wear the betrothal veil from the time of the betrothal to the wedding-day (Tert. de Virg. sex. 11.).

A passage in Tertullian would seem to imply that the giving of a ring with a harnessed heathen custom, was not practised by Christians in his day (de Idolol. xvi.). This may have been the case with some of the stricter or more old-fashioned Christians, but the universal custom of the Church from the 4th century onwards was to seem to show that the giving of the ring had always been generally practised.

The opening of the bide and bridgewoman was condemned by Tertullian as implying acknowledgment of heathen deities. Yet it continued to be commonly practised in the Western Church long after his day. In the Eastern Church it prevails to the present day, and is regarded as the most important part of the marriage-ceremony, marriage in the East being often described as the “crowning.”

That sponsastra and actual nuptials were still regarded as distinct events, an interval of time might elapse, up to the middle of the 9th cent., is evident from the letter of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians (A.D. 855 [PL cxix. 398]), in which he spoke of the marriage customs of the Western Church. It is, however, the etymology most probable that from much earlier times the two ceremonies had been generally combined in practice. Formal sponsastra were not required by Roman law, and as a partial result of this, it would be natural that the giving of the ring, the troth-plight, and other espousal ceremonies would take place at the actual marriage. The Anglican custom of celebrating “nowwards ward” of the marriage-service in the body of the Church, while the concluding prayers and benediction are said at the altar, is a vestige of the ancient distinction between espousals and marriages.

3. Asceticism and marriage.—The idea that there is something necessarily impure and degrading in the union of the sexes in marriage, or that, at all events, marriage must be regarded as a somewhat grudging concession to human weakness, finds no place in the teaching of the NT. Notwithstanding the strict inculcation of the general principle of self-denial, there is nothing to suggest that Christianity condemns or repudiates any union, however higher or holier than the estate of marriage. There is just one passage, in the Apocalypse of John (14), which, however interpreted, seems to imply a preference for the virgin state; otherwise the NT gives no support to the doctrine. If St. Paul prefers the unmarried state, it is on purely utilitarian grounds, because of the greater freedom from worldly cares enjoyed by the unmarried. If we may accept the Pastoral Epistles as his, or as expressing his mind, the Apostle thought it most desirable that younger widows should contract a second marriage; marriage to what we may call ascetic ideas were widely prevalent, not only among the Essenes (q.v.) in Judaism, but in certain circles in the heathen world, it is very likely that such ideas came to some extent prevalent in the Church from the very first. The utmost prevalence of vice and immorality, the consequent demand for a resolute fight against those ‘fleshly lusts which war against the soul,’ and a sense of the strength of spiritual influences, breathing, would necessarily create a feeling of repulsion against all forms of indulgence, even the most innocent, in those newly aroused to a desire for a new and higher life. It is not surprising, therefore, that from the middle of the 3rd cent. the ascetic view should have taken a firm hold on the Christian Church and should have speedily become the predominant and, in fact, universally accepted view. The rise of monasticism and the admiration aroused by the devotion of the monks, and the monastic spirit that has always been so strong, has doubtless been one of the causes that have drawn the waters of the 4th cent., the intensified worldliness of the now fashionable Church would naturally foster the growth of the ascetic ideal. The command, ‘Love not the world’ (1 John 2:15), was also, from the middle of the 4th cent., taken more generally to mean that the world was no longer a professedly heathen world, but a community of nominal Christians. The doctrine of the earlier Gautes, Basilidians, Saturninians, Encratites, etc., and of the Manicheans, of the essential sinfulness of conjugal union was, of course, formally condemned, but in the extravagant labors of virginity in the writings of St. Jerome, and even the more moderate uterances of St. Augustine, the disparagement of the married state sometimes approaches very closely to the views of those heretics. Throughout the Middle Ages the doctrine of the superiority of the virgin state firmly held its ground, and led to many extravagances. But the teaching of the NT and the constant witness of the Church served at all events as a safeguard against the worst results of the disparagement of the married state, and, at last, the rise, of the state of celibacy.

The objection to second marriages, which were discouraged by the Church and absolutely forbidden by the Monastists, was one result of the ascetic spirit. This we should now regard as a mere harmless eccentricity of no serious importance in the history of Christian thought; but it is far otherwise with another result of the ascetic movement—the elevation of the unmarried state above the married.

It is significant that it was in the course of the 3rd cent. that the question of the propriety of clerical marriage seems first to have become an acute one. Either and even, or virgins or virgins might marry, not necessarily tied to any special order or class. It is true that certain regulations existed with regard to the marriage of the clergy, but they were less severe than in the case of the laity. Even the bishops might, for instance, become married, if they so desired (Tert. Vel. 12). The doctrine that the closest possible relation to the Church and its teaching was the highest good, and this could be attained by a life of prayer, study, and, above all, of poverty, had clearly influenced the Church from the first. In the 4th cent., however, the movement toward the ascetic ideal was in full tide, and the idea that the clergy should not marry was strongly urged. The Council of Elvas (Iliebri; A.D. 306) laid down this rule under penalty of deposition. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 431) made an exception for the clergy who were called to orders. In the West, the Church tolerated the custom, while in the East it was insisted on as a rule. The Church of the East long regarded it as a sin to marry, except to a virgin (Theodoret 1.14.33; Marcellinus of Ancyra 1.11.6). The Council of Ancyr (A.D. 494) laid down the principle that the clergy, in order to avoid the scandal, should not marry at all. The 1st Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) expressly forbade the marriage of a bishop.

The marriage of a bishop was in full force at this time, and the Council of Ancyr (A.D. 494) laid down the principle that the clergy, in order to avoid the scandal, should not marry at all. The 1st Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) expressly forbade the marriage of a bishop.

4 In some of his homilies—e.g. Hebrews, sermon. 4, Ev. Sophocles, sermon. 1—Chrysostom strongly asserts the equal blessedness of the married state with the single.” The opposition of the bishops to marriage was a warm advocate of the same view, but the general consensus of Christian opinion was on the other side.
of Nicon (A.D. 325) was restrained from passing a similar ordinance only by the emphatic protest of the Martyr Confessor Papinianus, who pleaded earnestly in favour of the perfect sanctity of married life. From the close of the 4th cent. the principle that the clergy ought to be celibates was universally adopted in theory in the Western Church. Pope Siricius (A.D. 355) in his Epistle to Donatus (6th cent.) asks the question whether even H. H. Milman 1 as the first authentic Decretal, the first letter of the Bishop of Rome, which became a law to the Western Church, "absolutely interdicted the marriage of the clergy. Nevertheless, all through the Middle Ages, despite the zealous efforts of men like Boniface I., St. Gregory the Great, St. Anselm, and St. Dunstan, despite papal edicts and decrees of councils, the marriage of the clergy continued to exist in every part of Europe. It was regarded in general with indifference, sometimes with approval, by the laity, and was zealously condemned as a right by the secular clergy. Even after the vigorous crusade of Hildebrand (1020-85), the 'clerical concubinage' maintained its existence here and there, though it was probably never after Hildebrand's time regarded with the same indifference as before.

In the Eastern Church the rule of celibacy has never been imposed on the inferior clergy. By the 6th cent. (Theodosius Code; A.D. 438-450) the marriage of clerics after ordination was forbidden, but for those married before ordination, with the exception of the bishops, the continuance of conjugal relations was permitted; the wife of a bishop or abbot elected in a province was a duchess's jura, to be disposed of; or to retire into a convent. For all practical purposes this remains the rule of the Eastern Churches to the present day, except that marriage is not merely permissible but compulsory for the parish priest, who must, however, be married before ordination. The bishops are chosen from the ranks of the monastics, so that no parish priest can look forward to promotion to the highest position in his Church.

4. Ecclesiastical law and Church discipline.—The Christian Church from the very beginning was constituted as an organized society or, at all events, as a closely connected community claiming a right to exercise moral supervision and discipline over individuals. Church law and ecclesiastical jurisdiction are, therefore, intimately connected with primitive Christianity, but trace their origin to the earliest time, and even to the days of the Apostles. It was inevitable that in the Apostolic Age such questions connected with marriage should arise as would be considered suitable for the judgment of the community. In 1 Co. 7 we have an interesting example of such questions and of the apostolic method of dealing with them. The saying of Ignatius as to the necessity of submitting a proposed marriage contract for the approval of the bishop has already been quoted.

Nor is it at all surprising that matters connected with marriage should have, from the Apostolic Age until now, occupied an important place in ecclesiastical legislation. From the civil side, marriage is regarded as a legal contract which must be regulated for practical purposes by the State. From the Christian point of view, marriage is a holy estate which the Church may claim to regulate in the highest interests of religion and morality. Experience shows that there must ever be a possibility of conflict between the two jurisdictions, and that, consequently, difficulties in practice may often result.

1 Hist. of Latin Christianity, London, 1873, i. 97; see also A. P. Pius X., "Excerpta Ex Sponsi, etc., of the Eastern Church", c.p. 1901, lect. 5. and v.; H. G. Romanius, Leit. und Judemanen der Gere-Russan Church, do. 1888; Photius, Nomenon, Paris, 1811.

But, while in theory it is very simple to say that the Christian must at all events give the 'leges Christi' the first place in his obedience, in practice he may often find himself confronted with the question whether certain practices of the Church must really be regarded as a divine ordinance. So long as the Church was a small and unimportant body in the heathen world, it did not much matter what its discipline or its members came into conflict with generally received opinions or not, and, as a general rule, in the earlier centuries Christians were content to abide by the rulings of their ecclesiastical authorities, though even then we have reason to believe that Church censures were sometimes defied or evaded when Christians wished to avail themselves of some legal right in opposition to the rule of the community. The case of mixed marriages with Jews or pagans, which often took place despite the ecclesiastical prohibitions, is an example in point. In the Middle Ages the matter was settled by allowing marriage, for Christians at all events, to become entirely an affair of the Church. Much laxity of observance might prevail, and the law-abiding men of the realm (e.g., Trullo; A.D. 680) were enough restrained by the wholesome restraints of the law; the princes of the Frankish, Teutonic, and other new nations might decline to abandon their ancient right to have a plurality of wives; but, none the less, it was fully recognized that the Church's opinion in such matters ought to be respected as supreme. It is in the modern period, since the Reformation, that the question of the two jurisdictions and the proper relations of the one to the other has come into prominence and has given occasion to many practical difficulties arising from the conflict of two different ideals. The Reformers vindicated the claims of the State and of the civil magistrate as against the extravagant claims of the mediæval Church, holding that the laws of the Christian State must be regarded as Christian laws and must be obeyed, and that no law-abiding citizen should be subjected to ecclesiastical censure or other spiritual inconvenience for neglecting some ecclesiastical ordinance, so long as he did nothing illegal or dishonourable. It was, of course, understood that no law contrary to primitively established Christianity, or to the general conscience of the Christian, could be obeyed. The Roman Catholic party, on the other hand, while in general admitting the duty of obedience to the law of the State, held that it was the province of the Church to define what should or should not be considered lawful in the matter of marriage. Both parties would agree that the object of all marriage laws should be to safeguard purity and morality, and would probably admit that the Church had no right to impose anything in opposition to the law of the State, unless it were in some sort necessary for that object; but the Reformers would by no means concede to their opponents the right to invade Church censure or other spiritual powers by legislation which it pleased, whether in conformity with the laws of the State or not. The two questions which in modern times have given occasion to most difficulty have been the question of divorce and the question of the conditions of valid marriage.

(a) Divorce.—Divorce, in the strict and proper acceptance of the term, means the complete rupture of the marriage-bond, the persons divorced being left free to marry again. Canonists and theologians, however, frequently apply the term to what is more properly called 'separation' or, when sanctioned by legal process, 'judicial separa
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denied that, if the bond is broken, it is broken alike for both partners, but, as the guilty partner is, or has been, living in notorious sin, and can give no evidence of repentance except by abstaining altogether from further partner, such sinner could be necessarily refused the Church's benediction in the case of re-marriage. The latter principle has been invariably and universally accepted.

Although this principle respects the marriage relation more closely than any other offence, yet it may fairly be said that there are other things which may make married life so intolerable, and so far from being ideal, that, if divorce or separation be allowed at all, the grounds for such separation ought not in reason to be confined to the one offence of adultery. This difficulty was met by many of the Fathers by showing, on good Scriptural authority, that idolatry, covetousness, unnatural offences, etc., might rightly be classed under the heading of spiritual adultery. There is probably no more than a formal difference between this and the argument which appeals most forcibly to modern minds—that there are offences which make married life so intolerable that there can be no restoration of affection, that, where the tie of affection and attachment has been severed, the real vinculum has been ruptured, and that, therefore, such offences may rightly be put in the same category as conjugal infidelity in the strict sense of the word. 3

The passages in the Synoptic Gospels have been treated as they stand in the NT without any reference to the results of modern criticism; it will be generally admitted that such treatment is justified in dealing with ethical or doctrinal questions. It must, however, be added, that the criticisms of the Synoptic Gospels have thrown a new light upon the matter and, to a certain extent, strengthened the case of those who consider divorce absolutely. A large and increasing number of competent critics are of opinion that the qualification, except for the cause of fornication, which has been added by the editors to Mt 5:32, is nowhere to be found in our Lord's teaching (e.g. A. B. Bruce, H. Weiss, H. B. Wendl, P. W. Schmidt, B. W. Bacon, G. C. Monograph), that He forbids divorce simply and absolutely. The four passages are reduced to two. The passage Mk 10:12, probably derived from the source Q, may be regarded as the original and genuine form which has been edited by the first Evangelist in Mt 5:32. It is quite evident that Mt 19:9 and Mk 10:12 are but slightly different versions of the same conversation, while everything goes to show that the form in Mark is the original (see W. C. Allen, ICC, 'St. Matthew,' Edinburgh, 1912, ad loc.).

If the modern critical view is generally accepted, it will, no doubt, be admitted that the case of those who absolutely condemn divorce will be somewhat strengthened. It is not likely that the Christian Church will ever come to the state of opinion on the whole will be very much affected. The acceptance of the critical view will simply bring into greater prominence the fact that questions of this kind have never been decided on grounds either of exegesis or of authority pure and simple, but that our interpretation of our Lord's teaching has always been guided by moral and theological considerations. The saving clauses, ἐν σάλῳ πάντοτε καὶ ἰδίᾳ τις ἐν σάλῳ, may be admitted to be early notes of interpretation added by the Church—a reminiscence, perhaps, of instruction actually received from the Lord—but those 1 Augustine frequently expressed the idea of the wider interpretation of 'fornication,' ἡ νεκρικὴν σεξουαλίαν, et saecularis infidelis, et criminalis, subdulgitum avaricii formitionem esse' (de Serm. Don. in x. v. 49). See also several passages to the same effect in the de Conjugatione Montan. In contrast to the Augustinian positions, we may, as a more likely case, hold that the legitimacy of this exegesis (I. 19). Passages from Hermas and Origen are quoted on which the view is expressed with which the value of that great utterance cannot well be denied. Our Lord as a teacher was a prophet rather than a legislator. Hence it is maintained that the passages in Matthew and Mark cannot be taken as a fuller expression of the Lord's mind. In the brief passages in the other Gospels, that we have His express sanction for divorce in case of adultery, with consequent permission to marry again in the case of the guilty partner. It is not, of course, 1 ἐν σάλῳ πάντοτε καὶ ἰδίᾳ τις ἐν σάλῳ (197); ἐν δέι τις ἐν σάλῳ (199).
who plead for the right of divorce will still maintain that the interpretation was fully justified and quite on a level with many of our other interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount.

The only other passage in the NT where the subject of divorce is directly treated is 1 Co 7, where St. Paul appeals to our Lord's authority, repeating the general prohibition of divorce. There, however, is nothing, however, to indicate that, when he speaks of a separation between wife and husband, he has the special case of conjugal infidelity before his mind. The prohibition is rather the other way, and it would seem as if he were merely thinking of the case of separation for what we should describe as incompatibility of temper. The chief interest of this chapter centres in the rules and regulations laid down by the Apostle with reference to matters about which he could not appeal to any direct utterances of the Lord Jesus.

In the first place, he recognizes the possibility of separation "a mensa et thoro" (v. 11); if husband and wife are separated for any reason, they are to remain single or become reconciled to each other. Even though he were not actually considering the case of conjugal infidelity, we may feel sure that, if he had done so, the Apostle would have approved of the counsel given in the Shepherd of Hermas.

The Jewish husband who divorced his wife was forbidden by the Mosaic law to break his contract; but it is characteristic of the gospel to give prominence to the possibility of repentance; and so St. Paul, writing to the Christian husband who has caused his unhallowed wife to remain unmarried (διὰ τὴν ἀφοσίαν) so that the sinner might have an opportunity for repentance with consequent restoration of the marriage, says (v. 11):

In the second place, St. Paul deals with the case of a marriage between a Christian and an unbeliever—Jew or heathen. If it is desired that the union should continue, well and good; if not (v. 12), a brother or sister is not under bondage in such a case, and, if the unbeliever dissolves the connexion, the Christian is free. This must be taken to mean free to marry again (cf. Ro 7:2-4 for the use of the terms 'freedom' and 'bondage'). This passage was expressly cited in later times as the authority for the canon law of the Roman Church, which permits divorce by mutual consent in cases of mixed marriages between Christians and unbelievers (see Innocent III, Decretales Gregorii, iv. 19, 'De Divortiis,' ch. 7).

The canon law of the Roman Catholic Church undids the idea of vincula matrimonii, if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. In the Eastern Churches, on the contrary, divorce is permitted, not only for adultery, but also for other serious causes, as, e.g., high treason, designs by either party on the life of the other, insanity, leprosy, etc.; but no one is permitted to obtain a divorce more than once. In East and West alike, in the earlier period, and more especially after the ascetic movement became popular—i.e. after the middle of the 3rd cent.—the Fathers were strong in their denunciations of re-marriage, even in the case of an innocent partner. In some cases such unions were made the subject of ecclesiastical censure and at least temporary excommunication. Yet, while the civil laws permitted re-marriage, it is evident that all the eloquence of the Fathers could not entirely prevent it, and it is probable that the average lay opinion did not generally approve of the excessive rigidity of what we may call the ecclesiastical view. However, as far as the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, been at all times more dependent on the civil power, and, as a natural consequence, more to the influence of the lay opinion than the Church of the West, where the power of the ecclesiastical authorities was more unfettered.

In the matter in hand this difference is very well illustrated in the 5th cent. by the moderation of the views of St. Basil, who refused to condemn re-marriage absolutely, though, he could not approve of it, and of Lactantius, as compared with the Western teachers of the same period. Yet even up to the 12th cent., when the present canon law of the Roman Church was formulated, it is evident, from a careful study of the various decrees of synods and councils, that it was not possible in practice to enforce strictly the principle of the absolute impossibility of remarriage.

Re-marriage in certain cases is permitted implicitly or explicitly by the following Councils: Elvira (Illiberis, c. 365), Vannes (465), Agde (506), Orleans (533), Compiegne (756), and Bourges (1031); to these we may add the testimony of the Potential of Theodore of Canterbury, drawn up for the guidance of the churches under his control, which in some respects perhaps goes to an extreme in making allowances for the weakness of human nature, but in which very considerable liberty is allowed in the matter of re-marriage.

Civil legislation from the time of Constantine to Justinian had not influenced the ecclesiastical view, as we may see in the words of Theodosius the Second and Valentinian a wife might divorce her husband for adultery, (2) adultery, (8) homicide, (12) poisoning, (15) thefting from a church, (9) robbery, (9) cattlestealing, (10) attempts on her life, (11) introducing immoral women into the house, and (13) common assault. A husband might divorce his wife for any of the above causes, and also for (13) dining with men not relatives without her husband's permission, (4) going from home at night without permission or reasonable cause, and (15) frequenting of a church or theatre without permission; to which Justinian added (16) procuring abortion, and (17) mixed bathing.

It was very natural that the Reformers in the 16th cent. should call in question the rigid medieval views on the subject of divorce, regarding them as an outcome of the claims of the ecclesiastical authorities to supreme jurisdiction, made evident by the spirit of asceticism. The Protestant and Reforming divines held that divorce with the permission of re-marriage was justified in the case of adultery and, generally speaking, of cruelty or prolonged desertion. In the 16th and 17th centuries the same view was generally expressed by Anglican teachers, even by those who, like J. Cusin and H. Hammond, were generally considered as belonging to the High school in theology.

The Reformers rejected the sacramental theory of marriage, and held that the words 'the twain shall become one flesh' signified no more than a very comprehensive union based on common interest and mutual affections. The doctrine that marriage could be dissolved only by death, since husband and wife could no more cease to be husband and wife than brothers and sister to be brother and sister, seemed to them to be the natural outcome of the sacramental doctrine. This is not, indeed, wholly true; for it is quite possible to hold the sacramental view, or something very like the sacramental view, and yet to believe that grievous sin may rupture the mystic bond as really and completely as death itself. Still it is evident that rejection of the sacramental theory makes it easier to reject the strict doctrine of indissolubility.

In the next place, the Reformers maintained
MARRIAGE (Christian)

that, since separation 'a mena et thoro' was permitted, it was more conducive to morality and more in accordance with the teaching of 1 Co 7, that an innocent partner should be allowed the right of re-marriage than that temptations to a life of sin should be multiplied. Further, they pointed out that the strict enforcement of the canon law forbidding divorce had not succeeded in putting an end to the evil; that in the later period the multiplication of grounds on which marriage might be declared null and void ab initio, implying the continuation of the old idea of 'honourable' unions, had really made divorce easier and more common than before, and had become a grave scandal and the source of much immorality. Finally, with their profound reverence for the Scriptures of the OT, it was natural that the Reformers should urge that divorce could not in every case be morally wrong, since, if it were, it could never have been allowed by God under any circumstances. This last argument was put forward by John Milton with much power and eloquence in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1648). Probably no Christian writer has ever gone so far as Milton in advocating the utmost liberty for Christian men—he does not concede the liberty to women—in this matter. He is, indeed, wont to say that 'even if a woman be so wicked that no other man may not put asunder,' but he will by no means allow that a mere marriage contract or ceremony, though entered upon freely by mutual consent and duly consummated, must necessarily continue a life of mutual consent and mutual submission; that marriage is indissoluble only when there is complete and perfect unity of heart and soul between the partners. It may be safely said that the absurdities to which Milton's two contrary principles Diluted and applied to their logical conclusions are a sufficient refutation, nor does this work of his seem to have had much effect on English thought in his own or any succeeding age.

In most Roman Catholic countries civil legislation has conformed to the ecclesiastical ruling of the Council of Trent, and divorce has been forbidden. In Austria, however, it has been permitted to those who are not members of the Roman Catholic Church. France is an exception. The *Code Napoleon* (1804–10) restricted the unlimited licence which had been permitted in the earlier years of the Restoration; the grounds for divorce were somewhat simplified, including 'mutual consent.' With the restoration of the monarchy (1816), the older law was again adopted and divorce was forbidden. It was not until 1884 that the provisions of the *Code Napoleon* were revived, with certain modifications, serious injuries or cruelty being admitted as sufficient cause, but divorce by mutual consent being forbidden.

In America the laws vary from one State to another. In S. Carolina and Maryland, originally Roman Catholic States, divorce is not permitted; in New York it is granted only on the ground of adultery; while in Maine and Dakota it may be granted on almost any pretext.

If the report of the Commission appointed by Edward VI. (Reformation lupum ecclesiasticum) had resulted in legislation, it is probable that the opinions of Cranmer, Bucer, and Peter Martyr in favour of divorce would have become part of the law both of the English Church and of the English State. With the king's death, however, the prospect of any alteration of the old law passed away. The Commission appointed to report on the case of the Marquis of Northampton, who, having obtained a separation of the bed and board, desired to marry again, allowed the second marriage; but, as the marriage had already taken place while the Commission was sitting, its decision cannot be considered as absolutely unbiased. The Marquis, however, was advised to have his second marriage legalized by special Act of Parliament, and an Act to that effect was passed in 1548, but was repealed when Queen Mary came to the throne. This case is important, as it may be said to have ruled the English practice under the *Act of 1587*. The canons of 1604 (can. 107) confirmed the authority of the ecclesiastical court to grant judicial separation, but only on condition that a definite pledge was given by the parties not to contract another marriage; and proper notice of the marriage was so arranged that, if the privilege of re-marriage could be obtained only by special Act of Parliament. Between the time of the Reformation and the passing of the *Divorce Act 1694*, no law had been made which dealt with marriage under the *Act of Parliament in England and 146 in Scotland*. The Act of 1807 abolished the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial cases, and established a civil act. In Scotland and Scotland divorce can now be obtained through the court without special legislation, but the law does not apply to Ireland, where an Act of Parliament is still necessary. In Scotland a wife may obtain a divorce on the ground of adultery alone, but in England adultery or other serious offence on the husband's part must be proved in addition. It is therefore possible for a man to be as easy for the poor as for the rich; secondly, men and women should be placed on an equal footing, a wife being allowed to divorce her husband on the ground of adultery alone; and thirdly, the commissioners were in favour of extending the grounds on which divorce might be granted so as to cover cases of wilful desertion for at least three years, cruelty, inexcusable liberty after five years' confinement, and consistent refusal to proceed with the death sentence; but a strict minority protested against this proposal, and claimed that divorce should be granted only in case of adultery.

The resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, in which this difficult practical question was fully discussed, may fairly be taken as representing the authoritative ruling of the Anglican Church as a whole at the present time.

1. (2) Inasmuch as our Lord's words expressly forbid divorce except in the case of fornication or adultery, the Church cannot recognise divorce in any other case, in case, or give any sanction to the marriage of any person who has been divorced contrary to this law during the life of the other party.

2. (4) That in no case, during the lifetime of the innocent party in the case of a divorce for fornication or adultery, should the guilty party be regarded as a fit recipient of the blessing of the Church on marriage.

3. (5) That, recognizing the fact that there has always been a difference of opinion in the Church on the subject of divorce, our Lord meant to forbid marriage to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, the Conference recommends that the clergy should not be induced to refuse the sacraments and other privileges of the Church to those who under civil sanction are thus married. These resolutions were reaffirmed by the Conference of 1908, with an addition to the effect that when an innocent person has by means of a court of law divorced a spouse for adultery, and desires to enter into another contract of marriage, it is desirable that such a contract should receive the blessing of the Church, provided,

The increased wealth and luxury, and the growth of a spirit of self-indulgence so characteristic of the present age, together with the widely spread
intellectual unrest, tend to encourage the demands for a wider extension of the facilities for divorce. Impatience of old-fashioned restraints and a certain loosening of old-established bonds are the natural characteristics of an age like ours. The deepened sense of the supreme importance of the spiritual union and companionship in marriage which Christianity has fostered makes the bond more inviolable than it ever was. The counsel of Paul should not to us be an ideal. Those who realize how much the stability and sanctity of home life depend on the unbroken firmness of the marriage-tie, and who recognize that the frequency of divorce must have a degrading effect upon individual character as well as on society in general, naturally regard with some anxiety the tendency in the present day to make divorce easier and more common. It is undoubtedly necessary for the Christian Church to make resolute protest against this tendency. It is, however, certain that the effects of nineteen centuries of Christian influence can never be wholly shaken off. We shall never again be able to regard divorce with the same easy indifferance with which it was commonly regarded in the 1st cent. of our era. Christian influence will make itself felt on behalf of the Christian Church in the modern world in the way of conciliar decrees and authoritative edicts, but by the weight of Christian public opinion guided by the principles of the NT. The question of the Equality of rank or condition between the contracting parties, though required by Roman law, has never been regarded as essential in the Christian Church, however desirable in itself.

In Imperial times connexions were sometimes formed between slaves and free women, such connexions, though officially described as concubinage, being regarded as perfectly honourable and moral. It is not improbable that in the Christian Church, with the close relations of brotherhood prevailing between all classes and the excess of the number of free-born women over that of free-born men, such connexions would by no means uncommon—the fact that they were socially recognized as creditable would, of course, have considerable weight. Some references which have come down to us seem to show that this was the case, and that such connexions were regarded by the Church as essentially marriages.

'Si quis habens uxorrem Sodis concubinam haecet, non communicaeat. Cathem qui non habet uxorrem non possit pro uxorrem concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur tantiuis ut uxorrem est. Tantum autem ut non loco uxorrem sit conjux desit concubinam.' (Istcre, ap. Gratian, D.i. 4, quoted by Saaulis Alexander, Hist. Eccl., Leura, 1774, l. 29.)

(2) The question of mixed marriages between Christians and non-Christians was, as might have been expected, one of the earliest practical problems with which the Church was called upon to deal. It formed the subject of one of the queries proposed to St. Paul by his Corinthian converts. The Apostle's reply is clear enough so far as marriages contracted before conversion are concerned. A Christian ought to continue such a union so long as the unbelieving partner is willing that it should be so. The children born of such a marriage were holy subjects, i.e. Christian baptism. If the unbeliever decided to dissolve the union, 'the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases'—which must mean that the Christian would be at liberty to contract another marriage. Paul's use of terms 'bondage' and 'freedom,' in 1 Cor 7th the Apostle declares that a Christian is at liberty to contract marriage 'only in the Lord.' The general principles laid down in this capaper are to be regarded as the primary authority on this matter, though there has been much controversy as to the practical application, and even as to the exact meaning, of his teaching. Do the words 'only in the Lord' mean that any marriage contracted between one already a Christian and an unbeliever is unlawful? Does 'in the Lord' mean only with a fellow-Christian, and, if so, must the words of St. Paul be taken as a positive command or merely as holding out the counsel of Paul not to regard it as the ideal. Augustine expresses himself with some doubt and hesitation, but his opinion on the whole may be taken as expressing the general view of the Church in the preceding centuries. Mixed marriages with unbelievers were discouraged, and even declared, though with some hesitation, to be unlawful for Christians; yet such marriages could not be wholly prevented, nor was any penalty attached to them in the first three centuries, so far as appears. The Council of Elvira affords the earliest example of a specific penalty (five years' penance) being attached to such unions. From the beginning of the 6th cent. the decrees of councils are more numerous and more distinct, while the penalties are in general much more severe.

The civil law supported the ecclesiastical judgments, the Theodosian Code (438) decreeing a capital offence. In the Middle Ages the question of the exact interpretation of the Apostles's permission to convert to separate from unbelievers was the subject of controversy. The question being whether the separation should be the deliberate act of the unbeliever, or whether any circumstances making it impossible for the believer to remain 'wise contemnent' (Creator) might not justify the separation. The question was decided, on the whole, in the broader sense, by Innocent III. (de Divortia, 1198.)

In early times marriage with heathens and heathenwomen was generally brought under the same condemnation as marriage with Jews or pagans. It is now, however, generally recognized both in the Eastern and in Roman Catholic communions that all marriages duly celebrated between baptized persons are valid and indissoluble, though in the case where one of the parties is a heathen or heathensh the other may be subjected to censure. The decrees of the Council of Trent have been published, however, this ruling does not free those contracting mixed marriages from considerable inconvenience, inasmuch as 'due celebration' is defined to be celebration in the presence of a priest and of his laic helpers, the man being further obliged to guarantee that children born of the marriage shall be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. Marriage otherwise celebrated is declared to be null and void. The publication of these decrees, for all practical purposes, in these countries by Pope Pius X. in the well known 'Ne temere' decree (1907) has given rise to much controversy. Roman Catholic divines defend the decrees on the ground that the Church has a right to make any regulations she pleases as to the conditions on which she shall recognize marriages, and that it is desirable to prevent mixed marriages as far as possible, and is, further, the duty of the Church to take care that the children of marriages blessed by her shall be brought up in the faith. Their opponents urge that it is inevitable that mixed marriages will sometimes occur in a large mixed community; that, when this is so, and a marriage is lawfully performed, the Church has no right to cast a slur on respectable persons who have, sincerely, from following such conduct; that to insist on a religious ceremony to which one party may object is to put undue pressure upon conscience, while to demand a pledge for the future education in a church not regarded as the primary authority on this matter, though
natural rights of parents, and that such interference is unjustifiable. 1

(3) Kindred and affinity. — It was a common complaint with the Reformers, and those who sympathized with them, that the multiplication of grounds of prohibition of marriage, the custom of papal dispensations in doubtful cases or cases of illegitimacy, and the faculty with which decrees of nullity of marriage were obtained, created much uncertainty in the matter of marriage-relations and had been the source of grave scandals. This is forcibly expressed in the statute of Henry VIII. for the regulation of marriages (1535–34):

*Many persons, after long continuance together in matrimony without any allegation of either of the parties or any other at their marriage why the same marriage should not be good, had been divorced contrary to God's law on the pretext of precontract or some cause of other prohibition that God's law permitted.* Marriages have been brought into such uncertainty thereby that no marriage could be so purely knit or bounden but it should lie in either of the parties' power to prove a precontract, a kindred and alliance, or a carnal knowledge to defeat the same.

In the Roman Catholic Church three kinds of relationship are laid down as impediments to valid marriage, viz. blood-relationship or consanguinity, affinity or connexion by marriage, and spiritual affinity, the last of the connection between godparent and godchild, or between two persons who are godparents to the same child. In the Eastern Church the system is even more elaborate, and the grounds of invalidity of marriage are many and different, though at the same time the custom of dispensation commonly practised in the West since the 5th cent. is unknown in the Eastern Church. In the East two cousins are not allowed to marry two sisters, and, in general, marriage between the members of two families debar the members of either from marriage with members of the other within the prohibited degree. A different method of describing relationships prevails in the two branches of the Church. In the East uncle and nephew are related in the third degree, first cousins in the fourth, and so on; marriage is forbidden within the seventh degree of kindred or affinity, natural or spiritual. In the West first cousins are related in the second degree, second cousins in the fourth, and so on, marriage being forbidden—since the Lateran Council (1215)—within the fourth degree. This is in practice almost the same as the Eastern rule. The Lateran Council, however, abolished all prohibitions on the second degree within the prohibited degree according to the Western reckoning. No trace of these somewhat burdensome restrictions is to be found before the 5th century. In the earlier centuries Christians would be familiar both with the Levitical Law of Holiness (= Lv 18) and with the ordinary Roman law, which were, to all intents and purposes, to the same effect—marriage being forbidden within the second degree according to the Western reckoning. It goes without saying that their marriages would be regulated according to the provisions of these codes.

The only question in connexion with this subject of prohibited degrees which excites interest or gives occasion to serious controversy at the present time is the much-vaunted question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Such marriages have been long regarded by civil law in America in the British colonies, and in several European countries. In England they were not unknown prior to 1835, though condemned by the canon law of the Church of England. Such marriages were held by the civil courts to be perfectly valid and unimpeachable in law, unless voided by special legal process undertaken during the lifetime of the parties; but Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1836 declared all such marriages within the prohibited degrees absolutely null. After marriage was null, and in face of very strong opposition, an Act legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in the United Kingdom was passed in 1908. A saving clause permitted the百花 to refuse to celebrate such marriages, but in the case of Bannister v. Thompson, in which proceedings were taken against a clergyman for refusing the Holy Communion to persons so married, it was decided that the clergy may not refuse the sacraments to persons legally married though within the prohibited degrees. Meanwhile the table of affinities in the Anglican Prayer-Book remains the law of the Church, and, in strictness, it would seem that the clergy are prohibited from celebrating a marriage between a widower and his deceased wife's sister, even if they do not feel themselves bound by the famous canons of 1804 to hold that such marriages are 'incestuous and unlawful and altogether null and void' (can. 99). The logical course might seem to be to revise the table of affinities, since this is an influential body in the Anglican Church is strongly opposed. Those who object to these marriages do not now, as a general rule, claim that they are expressly prohibited in the West, but, if or less ingenious have been made to prove that they are. It is held, however, that the general principle that near affinity is a bar to marriage is laid down in the Levitical Law. The greater number of cases of affinity than of consanguinity are cited in Lv 18, and that the case of the deceased wife's sister is so exactly parallel to that of marriage with a husband's sister that the same principle may be held to stand good. Further, it is said that the reference to the sin of the Canaanites (Lv 1829) shows that the prohibitions are regarded as matters of universal moral legislation and not national enactments applicable only to the Israelites. Again, it is maintained that the healthy moral sentiment which makes us regard with loathing and repulsion such unions as those between brother and sister and uncle and niece should also prevail between those who are brought into such close relations of affection as brothers and sisters by marriage. The same sentiment ought to prevent a degree according to the Levitical Law of Holiness (Lv 18) from being voided as morally injurious and degrading. Those who hold the sacramental view of a mystic spiritual bond formed in marriage urge that this bond creates as close a relationship between a man and the members of his wife's family as exists between blood-relations. Finally, it is pointed out that marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been expressly forbidden by the Church, at all events since the 4th century. It is most inadvisable, therefore, it is said, to tamper with so long established a custom or, indeed, with any well-established custom in connexion with a subject so delicate as the marriage relation. Such are the main arguments by which marriage with a deceased wife's sister may be opposed. It is now worth while to consider the arguments which have been brought forward on the other side.

It is very doubtful, it is urged, whether the Levitical law relating to a different state of civilization and society intended for the people of Israel can be regarded as a moral law binding on Christians; but, even if it be accepted as such, not only is there no express prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but, on the contrary, it is implied that such marriage is perfectly lawful (v. 19). The Jews have never regarded such
unions as forbidden, nor were they forbidden by the ancient Roman law. The very fact that an apostolic canon (date probably late in the 3rd cent.) forbids such marriages to the clergy shows that they were not generally regarded at that time as unlawful per se.

No injury has resulted, it is held, either to married life or to the general tone of social morality from the permission of such marriages in America and in England. It is evident from experience that such marriages are in very many cases desired, and in large centres of population among the poorer classes it is absolutely necessary as a safeguard to morality that they should be permitted. It is denied that any feeling of repulsion similar to that inspired by incestuous connexions exists, or ought to exist, in the case of one's wife's near relations. Affinity ought, in certain cases, to be a bar to marriage, but the true ground of prohibition in this case is what is known as respectus parentele. The marriage of a man with his step-daughter or with his nephew's widow is shocking to the moral sense because of the more or less paternal relationship involved in the connexion. According to old Eastern ideas, this relationship would also prevail between a son and his mother's brother, now become the head of the house. That marriage with a deceased husband's brother was not regarded with moral repulsion, in itself, is shown by the Dispensations of the Church in the case of a man dying without children. There is no reason, therefore, for thinking that any other principle than that of the respectus parentele governs the prohibitions of marriage within certain degrees of affinity in Leviticus, while, in the evident total absence of any sense of repulsion against such unions among the majority of modern civilized people, recently engrants dispensations for the former, notwithstanding her high sacramental blessing.

Some Anglicans, while not prepared to condemn marriage with a deceased husband’s sister and marriage with those closely connected by blood is evident from the fact that the Roman Church freely allows such persons to re-marry. It was formerly held wrong or immoral, yet consider it so undesirable that at least it should not receive the blessing of the Church by a marriage ceremony. Such an attitude has in most periods been taken up with regard to objectionable, but not absolutely forbidden, marriages. As pointed out above, it is the position taken by the Lambeth Conference with reference to the re-marriage of the innocent partner in a divorce case. It has, however, been said that such an attitude is not logical, and is at the same time unjust to Christian people. The majority of Christians have come to regard the nuptial beneficium as a right. If not absolutely essential, marriage is the right and of every Christian. If members of the Church are committing no moral offence, they may reasonably claim the blessing of the Church upon their union; if they are entitled to receive the sacraments, it is held that it is unjust to cast such a slur upon them as is implied in a refusal to hallow their union.

5. Conclusion. Poets and story-tellers have made the love and courtship which lead up to marriage a matter of such all-absorbing interest that married life itself may well seem, by comparison, to be utterly dull, prosaic, and uninteresting. At the same time, divines and canonists have generally directed attention to the sternest aspect of the matter, dwelling exclusively on restraints and prohibitions, and scanning with watchful suspicion every form of natural indulgence.

Nevertheless, the Scriptural ideal of marriage has maintained its hold on the Christian world and has been a mighty influence for the sanctification of family life and the development of character.

From one point of view, marriage is a restraint—a healthy restriction imposed on unbridled licence and excessive indulgence; it brings with it duties and responsibilities which must tax our powers and energies to the utmost and call for the continued exercise of patience and self-denial. It is well that, in a matter of so much importance, so intimately connected with our social and moral welfare, the restraints and responsibilities should be clearly defined and earnestly enforced. But there is another point of view which is, after all, the higher and truer. In this, perhaps more clearly than in any other connexion, we are taught by the gospel that restraints are imposed and self-denial demanded, not for their own sakes, but as a means to truer and more abiding blessedness.

Holy matrimony has been divinely instituted for man's good and happiness. In a very happy married life man is to find his trust and most lasting happiness, and to reach the fullest perfection of which his nature is capable.

Among the ancient Egyptians, Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman writers, and in the Anglo-Saxon period of England, we find the marriage law fully administered. And even down to very recent times in Europe, marriage holds a very high position, and the law is often considered to be one of the main pillars on which society rests.

MARRIAGE (Egyptian).—Amid the abundance of documents from ancient Egypt there is a singularly little to enlighten us on this subject. No representation of the ceremonial or festivities of marriage has been recognized among tomb or temple scenes; the scenes of the divine marriage of Ammon with the queen mother at Luxor and Deir el-Bahri can hardly be quoted for illustrating the human rite.

Written contracts of marriage are the oldest of their kind in the world (c. 600 B.C.), and first became common in the Ptolemaic period; and, notwithstanding the multitude of records preserved in tombs and on steles, it is difficult to ascertain what degrees of consanguinity and how many wives were permitted or usual.

To secure hereditary rights in a community with matrrialand tendencies and where women held property, polygamy was often convenient. This would especially be the case with the Pharaohs, who claimed the distinction of divine descent, and to them would be permitted acts which could hardly be allowed to their sub-

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MARRIAGE (Greek). — I. General. — The Greeks, as a rule, seem to have entered upon marriage without regard to religious or prudential motives rather than on sentimental grounds. The generation of children 1 was, in fact, the recognized main end of marriage, with which went also the desire to obtain a capable housekeeper. 2 Not again motive lies at the root of that long conversation of Socrates and Ischomaches on household management, which as reported by Xenophon, is our most illuminating evidence on Greek marriage life in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (see esp. Euc. vii. 19 f.).

The purely physical significance of marriage in relation to the State itself found, doubtless, its strongest and most logical recognition in Sparta, where in the Epit political. 3

Monogamy was the Hellenic rule, as among the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 92). Exemptions to the contrary, however, are not lacking; e.g., in Sparta King Anaxandrides kept a double establishment (Herod. v. 40). 4 It is doubtless true enough that no definite law of Athens nor reference to any law asserting the principle can be adduced, and, on the other hand, there is no evidence of bigamy occurring in Ath

MARRIAGE (Greek).—A. Erman, Aegypten und ägypt. Leben, Tübin-
gen, 1885, p. 687; W. M. Müller, Liebesgeschichte der alten Aegypten, Leipzig, 1889, Introduction.

There were, it seems, no other prohibited degrees of affinity, except between individuals in the direct line of descent or ascent (cf. Piat. Laws, 383); there is, however, some indication that law and public opinion were not in accord in this matter (Aristoph. Frogs, 1011).

It follows from the above that even considerable disparity of age cannot have been generally regarded as an obstacle to marriage. The common Athenian woman, who was, like the wife, formally betrothed (φυγραφεῖσθαι) by her énuoia, her children being therefore legitimate, but who nevertheless was not a wife, fail to the ground, as being simply the assertion of illegitimate bias.

Here also should be mentioned Müller's theory—that after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, probably in 411 B.C., changes were introduced into the Athenian marriage law, with a view to increasing the number of citizens. His theory is that another form of marriage came into existence by the side of the regular marriage. Marriage in the proper sense could be concluded only between a Greek man and a Greek woman, but the new legislation permitted a man to take, in addition to his Athenian wife, a foreigner as a concubine, or as a secondary wife. If the latter was a Greek, she would, if the man had, in fact, no prior valid title. This Nekyssia, or secondary wife, might be either an Athenian or a foreign woman; her children would be legitimate without reference to the father's φυγραφέα. If the father left no children by his real wife, these secondaries would inherit the rights of inheritance, but this was claimed only by the φυγραφεῖσθαι, a prescribed fraction of his estate, if he left legitimate issue by the real wife. This institution was abolished on the restoration of the old law.

2. Permissible marriages.—It was illegal for an Athenian citizen to marry a foreigner, the alien wife or husband being liable to be sold into slavery (see P. L. 18, 19); the latter was expatriated, if not a citizen, from the first time of Pericles, 451 B.C. (cf. Plat. Per. 37), and in 408 B.C. Such marriage, however, was legal if Athenian citizenship had been bestowed on the husband, or if he had been admitted to a community to which the Athenian assembly had granted rights of intermarriage (φυγραφεῖσθαι); but, in spite of the law and its penalties, Athenians not infrequently did contract such marriages and smuggle their issue into their φυγραφεῖσθαι. Legally, the issue of such marriages were illegitimate (οὐδέδολοι), the issue of ἀφενήν. 

Forbidden degrees were few, the practical working of the law of affinity and adoption (παραγωγή), being to encourage marriage between near relatives, and even to enforce it. Marriage of cousins was common (cf. Dem. xiii. 74); union of uncle and niece (cf. Dem. 55), and even of aunt and nephew (case of Demostenes, father of the orator, betrothing on his death-bed his prospective widow to his nephew [Dem. xxvii. 6]). A man might marry his half-sister by the same father, but seemingly not by the same mother. 

Recht hat die Polygynia gewiss nicht anderswohin verboten, aber wahrscheinlich auch nicht gernest erlaubt. Das Gesetz erhielt nicht Bestimmung, und damit war der Willen der Bürger freier Raum gegeben. The law of Charondas of Thriss, inflicting loss of political rights on a man who gave his children away, is a stepmother (Dem. xii. 12, 14), clearly implies universal adoption (cf. Dem. 21). 


3 Pollux, iii. 21, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐν τοῖς γυναικαῖς ἀδελφὰς καὶ γοναῖς

4 At Sparta King Alexandrides had his niece to wife (Herod. v. 29). 

5. Cf. Dem. vii. 204; ἀφενήν γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμοειδέως ἔργῳ σώματι ἐκ μεταφορῆς, Paus. v. 11, 7; cf. ἄνθρωπον ἀρχαίας ἑλληνιδίδας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐκ τῆς μεταφορῆς, ἀρχαίας μέντα ὑπὸ θεν, Puth. Thes. 2: 12, 8, 9; Paus. iv. 14, 9. 

6 Αὐτὸς ἓργον, ἐγγονός, ἐγγονοὶ, cf. χρόνιον μὲν ἐκ μεταφορῆς, ἐγένετο. Marriage of full brothers and sisters was, however, not outside the range of Greek ideas;
historical considerations. Primarily and originally, the ceremony of ἡγγασθαι was a literal putting of the woman by her κόρας into the hands of the suitor for price paid, the interval between the striking of the bargain and exercise of conjugal rights (γάμος) being purely ceremonial. So it was only when the newly-purchased bride. This home-leading, being that part of the entire transaction which was of a striking and necessarily public character, came to possess even greater importance, that the act of marriage came to assume its work done of the ceremony, and of the personal and social relations associated with the marriage ceremony.

5. Weddings. — The Greek γάμος was essentially a religious ceremony (πληροφ), covering the deportation of the bride from her parents’ house into that of her husband. The month Νοέμβριον (Jan.–Feb.) was generally selected, and Greek custom seems to have been prescribed in general the winter month of καλέμιον as pror for the bestowal of the bride. The speculations of the philosophers were in accord (cf. Arist. Pol. iv. (vii.) 14 = 1335a: τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν ὑπολείπεται ἡ νυμφή, ἡ γάμος, ὡς τῷ ἐπὶ τὸν νεότερον ἤλθεν τοὺς νύμφην γάμον ἐπιτύπωσεν). The most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of the ἄνεμοι (νυμφαία) at Athens the ceremony was that of the νυμφαία, to the name being suitively used for the purpose—which was also the custom to set up on the tomb of those dying before marriage. The order of the details of the nuptial ceremonies is not certain, and doubtless varied according to the locality. A feast was given in the house of the father of the bride, thus securing publicity of the marriage, and attention to the married party. It was usually held in the house of the bride's parents (Demp. xx. 21; Is. viii. 18). Associated with this was the unveiling of the bride (the ἀνάκλασία).

1. Cf. Pollux, iii. 88 et τὸς γάμος ἐκείνος κ.κ. καὶ τὸν γάμον τῆς γυναῖκος γένος—εἰς τὸν γάμον τῆς γυναῖκος (cf. Arist. Pol. iv. (vii.) 14 = 1335a: τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν ὑπολείπεται ἡ νυμφή, ἡ γάμος, ὡς τῷ ἐπὶ τὸν νεότερον ἤλθεν τοὺς νύμφην γάμον ἐπιτύπωσεν). The most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of the ἄνεμοι (νυμφαία) at Athens the ceremony was that of the νυμφαία, to the name being suitively used for the purpose—which was also the custom to set up on the tomb of those dying before marriage.
The procession accompanying the bride φοίνικας to her new home took place in the evening, by torchlight, the Hymnaios song being meanwhile sung to the piping of flutes (see the description of the scene on the Shield of Achilles in H. xvii. 401). It was a custom, very widespread, to make amends to the bride or her mother with a suit of clothes, giving her shoes of rare materials, and other sweetmeats (καρακίφυμα). 1

Spurious is the primitive capture of the bride by the escort of the bridge in the case of the bride from Athens, in the latter part of the 6th century, when the marriage of a young girl was often conducted as in the preceding centuries, but the bride was given over to the escort of the bride's father. 2

It is a common practice of the primitive capture of the bride by the escort of the bride from the mother's arms with simulated violence (Ptol. Lyc. 16; Dion. Hal. ii. 65; Strabo v. 165), 'Die Griechische Brautgefangnis oder die Anlagen des spartanischen Lehens' in R. o. xlii., 1201; E. Kroll, Der Brautgefangnis der Sparta, Berlin, 1894.

6. Bride-price. — In primitive times, remarks Aristotle, men bought their wives (Od. ii. 8 = 1280); cf. Plato, Lysis, 541 D). The Epic contains some instances of the bride-price (the dowry), normally calculated in oxen, paid by the suitor to the bride's father. It must sometimes have happened, even in very early times, and under a general system of marriage by purchase, that a father must give something to boot to obtain his daughter in order to secure the desired son-in-law. The economic factor, the relation between population and food-supply, may have contributed largely to the establishment of a certain scale of prices for the marriage of the bride in the bride-price. In historical times, at any rate, the bride-price has been wholly replaced by the dowry given to and with the girl by her parents.

The practice is supported by the evidence of the epigraphic tablets of Andromache. It is said that Hector took her from her father's house for the sake of her dowry (470); 3 of this claim lybidass is it said that he fell 3 from her rich of whom he had known no joy, and much had he given for her (H. xii. 287); he saw no return for his expenditure of 150,000 drachms, in order to appease Achilles, Agamemnon offers to let him have all her dowry (II. lix. 640). The argument, however, is open to question: In the Odyssey the two systems are both bound; e.g., in Od. ii. 5, vessels are c' sidered necessary to the marriage, the bride is 'given for the bride-price' (cf. Od. xvi. 77, 391, xiv. 529); but in Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 106 f. — Od. i. 284 f. — Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 284 f. — Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 284 f. — Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 284 f. it is a woman's right to claim a dowry from a man's father, as a dowry given to the woman is meant, just as by Pindar and Euripides dowries are used as equivalent to wages. 4

7. The dowry. — In historical times, in Athens, the marriage settlement or dowry (προδιος, φοίνικας) was made, and was sometimes distinguished from compensacion; for the freedom of divorce allowed by Athenian law to the husband made the position of a portlyness wife very precarious (cf. Is. lib. 28; τὸ πάντα τοῦ κοπροκατάσχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ φόντον της τοιαύτης ἁπάντημος κακιών. That is: the husband can deprive his wife of all her dowry if she commits adultery. In the Odyssey the two systems are both bound; e.g., in Od. ii. 5, vessels are considered necessary to the marriage, the bride is 'given for the bride-price' (cf. Od. xvi. 77, 391, xiv. 529); but in Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 106 f. — Od. i. 284 f. — Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 284 f. — Od. i. 277 f. — Od. i. 284 f. it is a woman's right to claim a dowry from a man's father, as a dowry given to the woman is meant, just as by Pindar and Euripides dowries are used as equivalent to wages. 4

2. The marriage was followed by some ceremony or act for which the technical and fixed phrase was γαμηθήσεσθαι της γυναικείας των διαφορετικών εὐαγγελίων (cf. Is. lib. 70, 18; Dem. 47). This has been variously interpreted by both ancients and moderns as an introduction or registration of the wife among the members of the husband's φαύρος, or as a banquet, sacrifice, or donation. (See Wysse, loc. cit., p. 262.)

3. Cf. H. xvi. 176, 120; Od. xii. 282. It is clear from Od. xvi. 282 that the gifts were given to the bride in the case of the dowry. Hence is explained the term used in H. xvii. 352, παρθένου διάδοτος, 'realizing a high price in oxen' (see G. Murray, Rise of the Greek Epich, Oxford, 1911, p. 185 f.). In Od. xii. 282 there is talk of getting the price of a 'bad bargain' refunded. In H. xvii. 176, 352 it is said (κόρας θανάτων διαδότος, doves, does, doves, doves, doves, doves) that was serves in war in lieu of bride-price.

4. Head in his note on this passage prefers to see in it an example of a dowry list, the gifts here given to the suitor to the bride herself, and may be increased by gifts from her parents, the word μαρίαν being the technical term for such additional gifts (cf. H. xvi. 351). The example quoted from Od. vi. 139 as an illustration of this intermediate stage ('loading the bride' with gifts, a phrase which is still current in the sale of women to others with offers, &c., to the parents of the girl. The dowry.

2. Lactant. 19, 45. 83. The word (cf. Thuc. i. 176, 352) is not explained by the authors. A 'match-makers', 'marriage-brokers', or (Lanc, Less, and Myers, tr., London, 1883) 'exactors of gifts of wool'. It means 'one who gives the dowry'.
MARRIAGE (Greek, passed into the hands of the eldest son as soon as he came of age.

Under the Gortynian Code, if the wife died before her husband, having failed to recover her dowry, with the half of its fruits and half of the work of it (on the husband's hands), she left with children, he had the management and use of his dead wife's property until he died or remarried, in which cases it went to his issue.

8. Dissolution of marriage.—Dissolution of marriage in Athens was easily effected. The husband's power of repudiation was unfettered by any legal check or restriction, and it was in the hands of the husband to repudiate the woman, with her dowry, to back to her father's house. A prudent man would, as usual, summon witnesses, but need not do so. (Lys. xiv. 22.) When the wife sought divorce, she must lodge with the Archon τῆς ἀποικίας γυναίκας (Plut. Alc. 8; Andoc. iv. 14; ἀποικίας, ηθοποιήσας πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιτάτον κατὰ τὴν γυναίκας; but nothing is known of the procedure. Against a wife proved guilty of adultery the husband was compelled by law to use his right of repudiation, conc Damnation of the offence being visited upon the άρτημα (Dem. pro Thuk. 75). On the other hand, there is no certain that adultery of the husband gave the wife no legal right of divorce,2 and it is probable that it was not generally regarded as sufficient ground of separation.3 It is evident that the possession, or even the property, of a husband to protection to the wife against a husband's caprice, and in many households must have made her virtually without of the situation.

Two special features are of interest in this connection. It was competent for husband and wife to agree to a mutual dissolution of marriage in order that another more congenial union might be made. Thus, if there is the issue, the children benefit, except when the widow (mother) exercises her option of going back with her dowry to her father's house. Thus the dowry follows the wife, or goes to her children.

The Code of Gortyn shows that there, as at Athens, the wife's dowry was not merged in the family estate, and it was forbidden to the husband to sell or mortgage her property; for in case of dissolution of marriage the wife returned to her own family, taking with her dowry, together with half the increase thereon, and half the fruits of her own labour, as well as five oxen if the husband was to blame for the separation. On the other hand, the interests of the husband's family were protected by the provision that he might not marry another woman until three years after his wife's death, if there be a son a maker a larger gift to his mother—the intention being the same in both cases, namely, to prevent abruption of the household property by the wife, to which such gifts belonged to her absolutely. If her husband predeceased her, she might, if there were children, take her own property out of his estate into that of her second husband; the existence of issue was only so far material that, if there were children, she was limited to taking her dowry and such donation as her husband might have made within the legal limit aforesaid, and in the presence of a competent witness. If there were no children, she might take, in addition to her dowry, half the fruits of her own labour, and half the produce in the house— the balance going to his dead husband's heirs-at-law. If she did not wish to remarry, her property remained in her own hands, but if she died and then was divided among her children; she enjoyed, therefore, a more independent position than the Athenian widow, whose property, in similar circum-

1 CIL. XIV. 280: Heteroτος της Κοινωνίας φυλης ζωης (liter. from ibyros).
2 Dem. Ret. 52: κατα τον ναυν ην ειλειαν ηλατον γαρ την θεσσαλικης τινα πορφυρας και σιουν εις ειλειας εστι δικαιατα της τον γυναικην τον εκ τον θεον, αν εστιν τον ναυν της ουκ εστιν στατατον κατα τον ναυν εκ τον θεον;—The case of the Antiochus was proved for Athens in the 4th cent. B.C., by inference from the Ephesian. in the 2nd century. (Dittenberger, Syll., p. 53.)
3 CIL. XIV. 283: Heteroτος εις τον καισαριον χωριον εκ τον σιουν εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντις ου χωριον εις ειλειας, εντ}
9. Widows.—The Athenian regulations concerning widows were as follows: if there were any children, born or adopted, the widow must return with her dowry to her father’s house; she must, as a rule, if of suitable age, marry again in accordance with the laws of the deceased husband or those of her hēgōs (Ls. viii. 57). If there were children, she might remain in her husband’s house, where she passed under the authority of her children, if they were still minors, and under that of her oldest son when he came of age—her dowry becoming the property of her children, subject to her right to support (Dem. xlii. 27, xlv. 20). She might, however, return with her dowry to her father’s house, and be given again in marriage (Dem. x. 6 f.). The same option was open to her if, on her husband’s death, she declared herself pregnant (Dem. xlii. 75), in which case it was the Areopagis’s duty to protect her interests (Arist. Ath. Pol. 56. 7). It is clear that here again the existence of the dowry secured on mortgage put the final decision completely into the hands of the widow and her hēgōs.

10. Marriage law in the papyri.—In Egypt, under the Ptolemys, Hellenic legal ideas and principles came in contact with those of another, in some respects more highly developed, type; latterly modified by influence of legal conception and practices of the Romans. In the Papyri we have, therefore, to distinguish between the enochial marriage, in which the parties are Egyptians, and the Hellenic marriage, the regulations concerning which are partly derived from the older Greek law and partly developed under the influence of native models.

The technical term for marriage in the Papyri is phoros or evanagevos. Division of marriage (and probably therefore entry upon marriage) is no longer a purely private act, but requires an licence, a h̄ap̄e (by which is meant, in the older law (cf. T. 26. xlvii. 19: ἀπροκαταλήπτησις ὧν ἐποιεῖ). In the case of Christian marriage (after the middle of the 3rd cent.) the licence became more formalized, though it was not compulsory. The law of marriage was very difficult to apply in practice, because the Greek language is not well understood. The marriage contract itself was by no means clear as yet.

The exact marriage-contract exhibits, when taken together, the following elements. (1) Statement of the giving or receiving of the woman in marriage; e.g., Mitheus-Wilckes, Grundzüge, ii. 317, 329: ἔγγαμος ὠς ἡ ἐνδομοτικὴ ἐναρξία γεννησθείσης παρὰ τοῦ ἐνδομοτικοῦ, as in the older Greek law (cf. T. ix. 57: ἐνδοφαίρεσις). (2) Acknowledgment of receipt of the dowry brought by the woman. (3) Mutual marital obligations; the husband had to support the wife, to treat her property with care, to provide for her maintenance in sickness (εἰς ὑπομονήν ὑπόκειται), and engaged not to repudiate her unless she was guilty of adultery or of ἀποφύγεσις (ἀποφύγεσις), and to look after their joint interests in the household (ἐν τῷ ἀκομάντῳ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐντόκτῳ). (4) The consent of the mutual obligations; the husband guilty of breach of his promises must repay forthwith (ἀποκαταστάσει) the dowry with addition of half its amount (ὑπὲρ ὑπομονῆς ὑπόθεσιν); the wife so guilty lost her dowry entirely. Apparently the ordinary courts settled disputes so arising. (5) Divorce on the man’s side (ἀκοπασία), was tantamount to breach of his promise ἐκθέσεως, and rendered him liable to the aforesaid penalty; separation on the woman’s part (ἀλλοτρία) was not regarded as breach of promise, but provision was made for reparation of the dowry within a stated time. That is to say, the husband had entirely lost that unsecured power of repossession, under condition of simply repaying the dowry, which belonged to him under the older Hellenic law. On the other hand, here also the overwhelming importance which it had in Hellas. Here also it was a matter of money, wealth, and expressed in

"The relation of the wife in this position of society was one of security and dignity. She was, indeed, under the complete control of her husband, though we do not know to what extent of personal restraint his power extended. But she was the mistress (patris) of the household, as her husband was the master (patris). In the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda (X. 86. 26), the wife is the ‘holiest marriage between heaven and earth’ (सर्वभूतानां सुपर्वमित्रेण), and exercise of authority over her father-in-law, and her husband’s brothers and unmarried sisters. The case contemplated seems to be one in which the eldest son of a family marries at a time when his father, through decrepitude, has ceased to exercise full control over the family, and when, therefore, the wife of the eldest son becomes the mistress of the joint family. This is inconsistent with the respect elsewhere mentioned as due to a daughter-in-law to her father-in-law, which doubtless applies to the case in which the father is still able to control his sons. Exercise of rightful authority of the head of the household, therefore, is a participator in the sacred rites performed by her husband; but in this regard a certain determination of her position can be traced in the Vedic period, doubtless as the result of the influence of the priestly class and the rule that women could not be priests. This regulation seems to have been due to the view that women were impure as compared with men, which seems to have been at the root of the practice, which appears first in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (1. ix. 2. 12), requiring a woman to eat after her husband, just"
MARRIAGE (Hindu)

as in Bengal at the present day a wife normally feeds on the remnants of her husband's meal.

Naturally enough, there were different views as to the character of women. A wife completes a husband and is half of his soul, we are told (Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, I. iv. 11, Sotapattika Brāhmaṇa, v. ii. 1. 10), and her good qualities are frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the Maṅgalya Śatikā (I. x. 11, III. vi. 5) describes women and their activity as connected with misfortune, and classifies her with dice and drink as one of the three chief evils. Elsewhere (Tarātirīya Śatikā, v. v. 8. 2) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the Kṛṣṭākha Śatikā (xxx. 1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night.

The most important function of a wife was doubtless that of bringing into the world a son in order to perform the necessary funeral rites to his father and to continue the race. Adoption, indeed, was known as early as the Rigveda, but it was not popular (cf. art. ADOPTION [Hindu]), and lack of a son (sūdravartā) was regarded as the greatest of evils.

On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune; the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii. 15) contrasts a daughter as ni-mery (kṛpya) with a son as nīnī (niṣī). But, at the view once widely held, that the Vedic Indians practised infanticide in the case of girls, has been disproved by G. von Böhttingk.

We had no part; men alone went to the assembly. But, while the position of the wife in the sacrificial ritual was narrowed by the priests, there is evidence that women took part in the speculative activity as well as in the practical manifestations of the rite. In the 6th cent. B.C. in the Upaniṣads, we learn there not only of several women teachers, who may or may not have been married, but also of one of the two wives of the great sage Yājñavalkya, who shared his husband's intellectual activities.

In the Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmasūtras, which mark the end of the Vedic period proper, and which may be held to represent the views of the period from the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, in the epics (c. 200 B.C.—A.D. 200), in the Arthasastra, and in the Kāmaśūtra we find in full force the tendencies which reveal themselves in the earlier classical literature, and which were observed in their development at the present day.

Different types of marriage are now recognized and classified, being assigned to the different classes of the population. Married men of all ages are still allowed; thus the warrior class is permitted to marry by capture or to form love matches, while the Kāmaśūtra permits love matches generally.

Against these special cases must be set the general rule, which first appears as a counsel of perfection in the Māṇḍūkya (I. vii. 8) and Gobhila Gṛhyasūtras (III. iv. 6), but which by the time of the later Śūtrī—i.e., not later probably than the beginning of the Christian era—has won full acceptance, viz., that it was sinful on the part of a father to allow his daughter to attain puberty without being married, and the girl herself fell to the condition of a Sūdrā (slavery). This hom involved degradation on the part of a husband. The date of marriage is placed earlier and earlier as the authority is later in date. Thus the Śūtrī of Manus (I. 194) fixes the age of the girl at marriage at 12 and 12 or 24 respectively; the later work of Bṛhaspati (ZDMG xlvii. [1892] 416 f.) and the didactic portion of the Mahābhārata (XIII. xiv. 19) give the age in these cases as 10 and 7 respectively, while the later work fixes 4 to 6 and 10 as the lower and 8 as the upper limit. There is abundant evidence that these dates were not merely theoretical: the old marriage-ceremonial, which included as its essential part the taking of the bride to her new home, whence the name of marriage (viśāho) was derived, was divided into two parts: the actual ceremony took place shortly after the betrothal (viḥādina), but the taking of the bride to her husband's home was delayed until after puberty. The unmarried daughter (kumārī) was living at home, and was taken by her father (svāsini or svāsvini), whose connexion with her parents was still recognized to the extent that, contrary to the rule that no mourning was observed for a married daughter, a brief period of mourning was prescribed in the event of her death before her departure from her old home. The early prevalence of the custom is also vouched for by the Greek authorities, and was noted by al-Bīrūnī in the 11th cent. A.D. At the present time, despite the efforts of reformers, it is still the prevailing practice among all Hindus who stand under the influence of the Brāhmans to marry their daughters before puberty, and the practice has spread even among Mahānymānas.

The better side of such marriages is put before us in the Harita Śūtrī (iii. 3). The wife is to be treated with reverence and to be regarded as his eternal home. She is to prepare his food, set out what is left over by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, strew cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before and after her meal, and, in the hot season fan him, support his head when he is weary, and so forth. On the other hand, to her falls the place of honour in the household, and she is undeniably the mistress of her daughter and other women living under her husband's roof. The description in the Śūtrī is confirmed by the literature and by the practice of the present day.

On the other hand, it must be noted that the intellectual achievements of women in India since the rule of early marriage became effective have not been in accord with the normal development which might have been expected from the state of society depicted in the Upaniṣads, and the heroes of the epic and the classical poetry are chosen, as a rule, from those women who, for some reason or other, have not fallen under the operation of the ordinary practices. The evidence in the proverbial literature of the dōmitras which were attributed to women in general and wives in particular.

2. Forms of marriage.—In the Vedic period the normal form of marriage appears to have been one in which much was left to the choice of the two persons concerned. It is, at any rate, not proved that the father could control the marriage of either son or daughter of mature age, though doubtless parents often arranged marriages for their children. Of the practice of giving a bride-price there is clear evidence from the later Śatikās, but there is also clear evidence of the practice of a father and, in his absence, a brother giving a dowry to enable a daughter or sister to obtain a husband; or a daughter might be given to a priest in return for his assistance at a Sāman sacrifice. In the practice of marriage by capture by the Rigveda, where we hear (i. xxi. 19, xxvii. 20, x. xxxix. 7, lxxv. 12) of the carrying off by Viṣṇu of the daughter of the Parāsmita, we have a case of the wanted will of the maiden but against her father's desire. The normal marriage was duly celebrated at the house of the father of the bride, and its ceremonial, which is fully described in the Gṛhyasūtras, is marked by many features given to be observed in the marriage-rite of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European peoples. Of these practices the most

1 ZDMG xlvii. [1892] 494–496.
2 In his default a brother, grandfather, maternal uncle, or mother, or an ascetic or cosmic, should act (Nārada, XII. 29–32).
3 Hopkins, JAGS xiii. [1893] 303.
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important and wide-spread were the solemn hand-
ning over of the maiden by her father (kanyādāna),
the joining of the right hands of the bride and
bridegroom (pañjabhāgana), the recitation of Vedic
formulae, including a speech by the bridegroom to
the bride asserting their unity, the offering of liba-
tiery in the fire, the seven steps taken together
by the wedded pair, and, finally, the taking away
of the bride to her new home by the bridegroom.
These observances, the several mutations customary,
described the kernel of the normal marriage
ceremonial throughout the Middle Ages, and much
of the ritual is still observed at the present day.\footnote{1}

In the Smṛti literature eight forms of marriage
are recognized and described, but with many
differences in detail. In the case of Brāhmaṇas
Manu (iii. 24) recognizes as approved four forms:
the brāhma, daiva, ārya, and prajāpatya. The
characteristics of these forms are that in the first
the father spontaneously offers his daughter to a
suitable husband, in the second he gives her to a
priest engaged in performing a rite for him, in the
third the suitor gives a pair of oxen, and in the
fourth the initiative in proposing the marriage
comes from the bridegroom. The first and fourth
forms, therefore, practically represent marriages
by mutual consent and agreement, while the second
and third have traces of marriage by purchase,
though the texts are careful to explain that the
pair of oxen was not intended as a price (śūkla),
but was to be given to the daughter by her father
as a mark of honour. It is perfectly clear, however,
that the original sense of the custom was a
purchase, and this fact is borne out by references
in the older Gṛhyasthānas of Pāraskara (t. viii. 18)
and Śākhāgīru (t. viii. 16) to the practice of giving
the father-in-law a hundred oxen with a
wagon, and by the recognition in the Gṛhya-
sthānas of the Kāthaka and the Manava schools
(t. vii. 11) of a marriage by which the bride-price
was paid in money to the father.

Marriage by purchase was recognized among the
warrior class; in the Mahābhārata (t. xxii. 9f), we
are told that Pāṇḍu paid the Madra king in gold,
jewels, horses, elephants, ornaments etc., for
the hand of his sister, and that the purchase of women
was the family practice of the king. Still more
was the custom prevalent among the lower classes
of society, and the type of marriage in which
allowed the Vaiśyas and the Śudrās the asura
marriage, which was an open, out-and-out sale,
though he condemns the practice in toto. But
facts have prevailed over the objections of the Brāhmaṇas
in the sale of children, and even at the present
day marriage by purchase is common enough in
Bombay, Madras, and the Panjab, and is the
normal form in Assam. In Bengal it is restricted
to the lower classes of the population, but there
the practice of the purchase of bridegrooms prevails
instead, the practice of child-marriage having
placed a high price on eligible husbands.

In addition to the asura form, the warrior class
was allowed the riśkaṇa, the gandharva, and the
pāñśāda forms, though the last is condemned by
Manu along with the asura as altogether improper.
The former type of marriage was marriage by
capture in its simplest form, and its performance
is related of many of the heroes of the epic, though
the rape of women of high rank is elsewhere
regarded as not in keeping with the spirit of the
epic, we hear little of this remarkable privilege
of the warrior class, and this practice has left no
survivals in modern India, though it is found among
some primitive hill tribes, where it is of
independent origin. In the defective
\footnote{1 See M. Winternitz, Das altindoische Hochzeitstein, Vienna,
1892; A. Weber and E. Haas, Indische Studien, v. 177-411.}
nature of the ritual given in the Gṛhyaśastras
have been interpreted in this somewhat hasty
interpretation is neither necessary nor probable. The
gandharva rite, which some authorities recognize
as applicable to all classes, and which the Kāmas-
śāstra eulogizes as the best form of all, is described
as a mutual invitation of the fire by
the wedded pair, on the ground that the observance
of these formalities would compel the parents of
the bride to recognize the validity of the marriage.
The pāñśāda, which is variously described, was
marriage with a girl when drunk or insane, and
is not recognized as a legitimate form by some
authorities, like Apaśānta and Vaiśīṣṭa.

For the Vaiṣyas and Śudrās the forms of marriage
recognized were the gandharva and the asura with,
according to some authorities, the pāñśāda. In
modern times the forms of marriage recognized are,
even for Vaiṣyas and Śudrās, either the asura or
the brāhma, under which term is understood a
form of marriage containing the essentials of the
first four forms of the Smṛtis.

The Smṛtis do not recognize a form of marriage
which plays a great part in the later forms of
jyotisthāna, or self-choice, a ceremony at which a princess
chooses for herself a suitor at a grand assembly held
for the purpose. The act of choice might be pre-
ceded by a trial of strength on the part of the
suits, the victor being rewarded with the hand
of the maiden, and, even when this formality was
omitted, it is probable enough that the choice was
only nominally free, and that the princess was
guided by the will of her father or brother. The
only svayāmvara which the Smṛtis mention is the right of a daughter in any class, if her father does
not find her a husband, to seek one for herself;
in this case the daughter ceases to have any right
to any ornaments received from her own family,
while the husband need not pay any bride-price,
and is permitted to sell her away.

Only the first four forms of marriage are at
all religions in character; the marriage hymn of
the Rigveda (x. 85), which serves to provide
verses for the normal form of marriage, deals
with marriage in general and the ceremonies
of all weddings of Soma, the moon, with Sūryā, the daughter of the sun. This
legend is certainly recondite in character, and it is
legitimate to deduce from this fact, and from the
fact that the Smṛtis do not deal with the forms of
marriage, that the religious ceremonial was not
the essential or primitive part even of the higher
forms of marriage.

3. Restrictions on marriage.—It is uncertain
how far the modern rule of marriage, which permits
alliance between members of the same
caste only, was in vogue in the early Vedic period,
when the distinction of castes (jāti) was only in
process of evolution from the system of classes
(varṇa). It is clear from the Brāhmaṇas that
purity of descent was an important qualification
for Brāhmaṇship, but cases are recorded (e.g.,
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 19) which show that the
son of a Brāhmaṇ and a Śudrā wife might yet be a
Brāhmaṇ, and that Brāhmaṇs could marry the
daughters of members of the warrior class.
With
this agrees the evidence of the Gṛhyaśastras and
Dharmaśastras, which recognize with a good deal
of agreement the right of each class to marry
women of the classes below them in the established
order, Brāhmaṇ, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Sudra,
and that this agreement does not differ seriously
only on the validity of marriages
with the Śudrā women. Arrian, probably on the
authority of Megasthenes, records (Indica, xii. 8)
that marriages were not allowed between cousins, probably a reference to the castes which were certainly in existence by 300 B.C. The Buddhist texts yield the same result, but they recognize that the king might marry where he would and make his son by any wife his heir-apparent. Manu still recognizes mixed marriages subject to the rule of hypergamy, but the later Sautriti tend to rule them out as objectionable. The modern rule is strict against mixed marriages, excluding the possibility of marriage to the modern castes; but the date when this practice finally prevailed is unknown, as even late texts repeat the permission for such marriages sanctioned by the older authorities, and the Kulin Brāhmans of Bengal still observe themselves of this now peculiarly very valuable privilege.

Simultaneously with the growth of the prohibition of marriage within the caste were developed restrictions on marriage within the family. In one hymn in the Rigveda (x. 10) the marriage of brother and sister is expressly treated as improper, and the son is no reason to suppose that this was an innovation, as suggested by Weber. No other restriction is alluded to, and the Sutapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly refers (t. viii. 3. 6) to marriage as being the rule by the third or fourth generation, the former being the rule, according to the commentator, among the Kānas, the latter among the Sārvāṇas, while the Dāśāstivas, or people of the same speech as the Brāhmans, were deemed to be the son of the father's sister or daughter of the mother's brother, but not, apparently, with the son of the father's brother or the daughter of the mother's sister. The Brāhmaṇas and the Dharmasutras in effect agree in prescribing that marriage with the son of the gotra (q.v. as his father, or a supinātī of his mother, and these terms extended at least to all relatives within five degrees on the mother's side and seven on the father's side. Later texts add to the restrictions by extending the prohibitions in the case of the mother, and by forbidding unions with the daughter of a spiritual teacher or pupil. At the same time, concessions are made to local customs, and the practice of marriage of cousins in S. India is recognized by Bāhuḍāyana (c. 400), who permits marrying outside the gotra, a term of wide extension and indefinite sense, but covering all those of the same family name, is recorded by al-Biruni, and is the general rule at the present day throughout India, and is only repeated, as against the higher castes.

The chief exceptions are found in S. India, where some tribes practise the opposite rule of endogamy. In Rājputana, among the Rājkuta who claim to be descendants of the old warrior class, exogamy is closely connected in their history with the practice of marriage by capture; but there is no sufficient evidence for the view that the development of the custom generally was connected with marriage by capture.

Of much less importance are the restrictions arising from the idea of the eldest son and the eldest daughter should be married before the younger sons and daughters, a breach of this rule being merely a ground for a penance, and not a fasting duty. This rule is, however, very old, being found in the Vajra-
ceda (Mātrānayāni Sūktāvat, iv. 1), and recognized throughout the later literature. In the south branches of the Brāhmaṇas adopt the practice of a widow marrying the eldest brother with a branch of a tree in order to avoid the evil result of a breach of this rule by a younger brother.

The bride should be a virgin, and the importance of this rule lies in the fact that it renders the re-marriage of widows difficult. In the Rigveda (vi. xlix. 5) there is some indication that a woman might re-marry if her husband had disappeared and could not be found or heard of, and in the Atharva-veda (ix. v. 27 f.) mention is made of a spell to secure that a woman could not be united in the next world with her second, not her first, husband. The reference here may be to re-marriage in the case of an absent husband or one who had lost caste. The doctrine of Manu is that a woman should never be re-married, and that the marriage formulae are intended only for maidens, but he admits one exception in the case of a woman whose husband died before the completion of the marriage. Other authorities permit re-marriage in the case where a husband has disappeared, is dead, has entered a monastic order, is impotent, or has been expelled from his caste; but the authorities differ widely as to the length and condition of absence which entitle a woman to re-marriage. The son of a widow who has re-married (pavamanave) is ranked by Manu and other authorities only among the ninth class, and the daughter of the same marriage is still more degraded and forbidden marriage by Hindu law. But the dislike of re-marriage was one which developed gradually; the actual repulsion of such a son first occurs in Bṛhaspati (xxv. 11), and the forbidden comforts of the marriage of a widow occurs only in the Agniparyasts and later works. The objections to such marriages in modern India are very strong among those castes which lay most stress on exogamy-marriage, and, despite the enactments of the Hindu and British laws, and efforts of social reformers, they are still disapproved by the higher castes.

In the case of a man, while impotence was recognized and marriage forbidden, he might contract a new marriage, the marriage was not in itself null, and even mental derangement was not regarded as justifying re-marriage on the part of the wife.

4. Polygamy.—The practice of polygamy among the Vedic Indus is abundantly proved by direct references in the Rigveda and other texts, though in the modern monogamy has become the rule. In the case of a Vedic king four wives are expressly mentioned—the mohiśi, the first wedded, the paryvṛtā, or divorced (apparently one who bore no son), the evadā, or favourite, and the palāgnī, who is explained as the daughter of one of the court officials. The mohiśi seems to have been the wife proper, though the others were evidently not mere concubines. In the Arthasastra, the Sautriti, and the epic the rule is laid down that a man may have wives from his own caste and each of those below his, either including or excluding the Sūdra, and in such cases the wife of the same caste was the wife par excellence (alakṣamapati), with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes and Brāhmans of the epic are frequently represented as having several wives, but one of them always ranks first and, generally, in inscriptions one wife only is often mentioned with her husband. The rule of precedence among wives according to caste and, within the caste, to date of marriage might influence the selection of the new husband, who could debase a wife from her position as chief wife; in that case he was required to make her a present equivalent to that made to the new wife whom he was marrying. The modern rule permits the six direct progeny of both the husband and wife as he wishes without any need for justification or consent on the part of his existing wives.

1 B. Pick, Die soziale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit, Kiel, 1907, pp. 16-40.
2 See also Bebra, Keilz, Veda Index, i. 476, n. 7.
3 Tr. Sachau, ii. 116.
4 See Jolly, Zieht und Sitte, p. 83.
In addition to wives proper, the Śatīs recognize the existence of concubines (ādāsī, bhūṣjuṣās), who were distinguished from wives by not being married. In due form, and who could not in any case become their husband's heirs. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was considered polyandry; similarly, for the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindus is a recognized usage.

The Śatīs show some preference throughout for monogamy, and in due form, and who could not in any case become their husband's heirs. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was considered polyandry; similarly, for the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindus is a recognized usage.

5. Polyandry.—While polygamy is recognized in the Vedic period, though chiefly among kings and important Bṛahmans, there is no clear trace of polyandry, all the passages adduced from the Rigveda (xxv. 37. 8, 12) and Ṛgvedā (XIV. i. 44, 52, 61, li. 14, 17) admitting of more probable explanations. On the other hand, the heroes of the epic, the five Pāndavas, are represented as marrying Draupadī and having her as their chief wife, their other wives being largely explained and defended in the epic. This form of polyandry is recognized by Bṛhaspati (xxv. 20) as practised in the south, and by Ṛgvedā (ii. xvii. 2) as an antiquated use. At the present day polyandry is still found among Bṛahmans, Rajputs, and Śūdras alike in Kumaon, where children are shared by the brothers as by the Pāndavas, and among hill tribes in the Panjāb, where the children are divided among the brothers. The reasons given for the practice are poverty and the desire to avoid division of property. Among the Todas the wife of the eldest brother has to serve often as the wife of the younger brothers also, and the practice is common in the case of the Hindu tribes. The custom also prevails in the south among the Nairs of the Kanara country and the Todas of the Nilgiris. The modern evidence comes mainly from Tibetan and Dravidian tribes, and there is no indication that the practice was ever widely spread among them.

6. Divorce.—The characteristic quality of a Hindu marriage was that it was a union for life; in striking contrast to the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman usages, marriages among Hindus were seldom broken by divorce. In the Śatīs literature, however, cases are recognized in which divorce in the form of the contracting of a new marriage by the wife during her husband's lifetime is allowed, and the occasions for divorce (tyāgota), i.e. abandoning a wife and leaving her without maintenance on the part of the husband, are set out. The abandonment of a faithful wife counts as a serious crime, which must be explained by a severe penance, and which may involve expulsion from caste. Adultery affords a ground for divorce, and in certain cases be punished with death. Out, according to other authorities, it could be explained by severe penances. Any serious offence against a husband might, according to Yājñavalkya (i. 72), be a ground of divorce, and Nārada (xii. 52, 53) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder, wasting property, or the procuring of abortion. In modern Hindu law divorce depends on local custom and, where allowed, is permitted only for adultery, but divorces

are very common among all Dravidian tribes, which also allow freely re-marriage of wives in the case of the disappearances, long-continued absence, impotency, or lack of caste of the husband.

7. Position of widows.—In the funeral rites of the Rigveda the wife of the dead man is represented (X. xvii. 7) as lying beside him on the pyre and as being summoned to leave the dead in order to be united with his brother, apparently as a bride. The passage clearly shows that the wife was not to be burned with the dead, but it unmistakable suggests that the custom to this effect, and the Aṣṭāvargya (XVIII. iii. 1) refers to this as an old practice. It is not however approved by the Bṛahmans of the Vedic age, for it is not mentioned in the sūtras, and appears first in the late Vaiśākha Gṛhyasūtras (vii. 2) and in interpolated passages of the Vaiṣṇavī Sūtras (xxv. 14, xx. 39). The later Śatīs approve it, but not without occasional dissent. In the epic it plays little part; though one of Pāndu's wives insisted on being burned with her husband (Mahābhāratā, i. exxv. 31); but in the later romances and historical works it is often mentioned, and the custom is found to be celebrated a satī. Forbidden in British India in 1829, it was observed in 1839 in the Panjāb at the death of Ranjit Singh, and in 1877 at that of the Maharājā of Nepal. The primitive character of the practice is shown by the fact that other attendants perished with the queen or queen when the dead man was a prince. Normally the wife was burned with the dead man; if he died away from home, she might be burned alone (anumārāga), but the burning of a pregnant widow or one with a young child was forbidden, and the practice was normally more or less voluntary, except in the case of royal families, where reasons of policy doubtless reinforced considerations of religion in favour of burning.

In many cases death was doubtless regarded as preferable to the fate of a widow, whom the Śatīs and modern usages, despite the efforts of reformers, condemn to a life of fasting, devotions to her dead husband, pilgrimages, and abstinence from any form of luxury, such as the use of a bed, ornaments, etc. If she had grown-up sons, she fell under their control; if not, under that of her husband's kin, who were bound to maintain her so long as she remained faithful to her late husband. The later texts also recognize her right to remarry without permission of her husband, but only on condition that she remained unmarried—a disability which is not altered by Act XV. of 1866. The harshness of the rule is better realized when it is remembered that the practice of child-marriages enormously increases the number of widows.

In the Rigveda it seems to have been the practice the wife of the dead man to be taken in marriage by his brother, whether or not the latter had a wife already. This, the natural interpretation of the funeral hymn (X. xviii. 8; cf. also xi. 2), is borne out by the fact that the modern usage in the Panjāb, which has preserved much of ancient practice, is for a man to marry his brother's widow, with the result that many men have two wives. In the sūtras, however, this practice is not prohibited, and is even given to the brother of the dead or, if there is no brother, a near kinsman to beget a son with the widow in order to continue the race of the dead man. Such a son, when of age, would inherit his father's property, which, until then, was managed by his mother or by his real father, to
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whose estate also he might in certain cases succeed by. An extension of the principle the texts allow as a sacrifice to the point another man during his life to beget a son for him, and in the case the right to act in these cases is frequently recognized as specially appropriate for Brahmanas. But the general tendency of the later Smṛta is otherwise, and shows a movement to increasing restrictions or absolutely forbidden, and in modern times the practice of appointment (nīgaṇa) has been replaced by the more primitive formalism of the texts. Here, for the first time, all the wives have an equal right of succession.

Distinct from the property obtained by inheritance was the stridhana of the wife, which is mentioned by Gautama, but is considered in detail in the Arthāśāstra (ii. 59) and by Viṣṇu (xvii. 18). It included any presents from parents, sons, brothers, or kinsmen, the marriage gifts, the bride-price when given by her father to her, and the fine paid by her husband in the case where she was degraded from her position as chief wife in favour of another. This property fell on her death to her daughters, if she had any; if not, apparently to her own. Later, as the law of marriage passed from the husband to the husband's lawful wife, and the stridhana thus passed to the wife, who was also entitled to receive from her sons any property promised by their father and paid to her, while gifts to wives were encouraged, if not exceeding 2000 paras. In some cases the unmarried daughter was preferred to the married in heirship to her mother. In the later Kātyāyana Smṛti (xx. 80 ff.) are found elaborated rules as to the power of a woman over her stridhana. She was at liberty to dispose in any way of presents from living relatives, even if consisting of immovables; her husband could not use them without her consent. If a husband also entitled to receive from her sons any property promised by their father and paid to her, while gifts to wives were encouraged, if not exceeding 2000 paras. In some cases the unmarried daughter was preferred to the married in heirship to her mother. In the later Kātyāyana Smṛti (xv. 1 ff.) she was given the power of disposal only when her husband's consent was obtained.

Marriage and property.—The widow of the dead man, according to the Nirukta (iii. 4) and Baudhāyana (ii. 34), was denied the power of becoming an heir. Gautama (xxvii. 21 ff.) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of nīgaṇa for providing the son in whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Viṣṇu (xvii. 44) and Viṣṇavālyaka (ii. 535) first found the expression of the widow as the next heir in the absence of a son. Gautama (ii. 291) places the Bhāratavarṣa Upaniṣad (vi. 11) calls a spell to expiate adultery with the wife of a Brahman, and that the Bhārata-Veda Gṛhyasūtra (ii. 29) advises a husband how to proceed in case of going on a journey if he desires his wife to have lovers in his absence. The romances and fable literature frequently allude to cases of infidelity, and the Arthāśāstra and the Smṛtis recognize as one kind of the gudhātāpanna, or secretly born, an illegitimate son who can, nevertheless, succeed to the property of his mother's lawful husband. Kātyāyana (ii. 34) and Āpastamba (ii. 37) preserve a saying of a sage to the mythical king Jānaka, referring to a time when the virtuous married women was lightly estimated, and the Mahābhārata refers (c. xxxvii. 4) to a time when wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Svētaketu. The lack of chastity of the women of the East is recorded by Bṛhaspati (ii. 50). Too much stress need not, however, be laid on this reference to the Eastern women may be an allusion to the loose marital relations in Tibet, and the references to the lax morality of previous times may be made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was antiquated at the time of the texts.

Marriage and property.—The widow of the dead man, according to the Nirukta (ii. 44—46), was denied the power of becoming an heir. Gautama (xxvii. 21 ff.) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of nīgaṇa for providing the son in whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Viṣṇu (xvii. 44) and Viṣṇavālyaka (ii. 535) first found the expression of the widow as the next heir in the absence of a son. Gautama (ii. 291) places the Bhāratavarṣa Upaniṣad (vi. 11) calls a spell to expiate adultery with the wife of a Brahman, and that the Bhārata-Veda Gṛhyasūtra (ii. 29) advises a husband how to proceed in case of going on a journey if he desires his wife to have lovers in his absence. The romances and fable literature frequently allude to cases of infidelity, and the Arthāśāstra and the Smṛtis recognize as one kind of the gudhātāpanna, or secretly born, an illegitimate son who can, nevertheless, succeed to the property of his mother's lawful husband. Kātyāyana (ii. 34) and Āpastamba (ii. 37) preserve a saying of a sage to the mythical king Jānaka, referring to a time when the virtuous married women was lightly estimated, and the Mahābhārata refers (c. xxxvii. 4) to a time when wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Svētaketu. The lack of chastity of the women of the East is recorded by Bṛhaspati (ii. 50). Too much stress need not, however, be laid on this reference to the Eastern women may be an allusion to the loose marital relations in Tibet, and the references to the lax morality of previous times may be made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was antiquated at the time of the texts.

In addition to many notices scattered throughout the literature, the Hindu marriage of the end of the Vedic period and in the classical period is dealt with in the Brāhmaṇa-sūtras and in the Smṛtis with their commentaries, and in comprehensive treatises based on the Smṛtis. Of the śruti texts, those of Āpastamba, Gāndhāra, and Baudhāyana have been translated by G. Bihler (SBE ii. 5 [1897] and xlv. [1902]). The Śrīvī of Manu has also been translated by Bihler (6, xx. [1886]), and those of Viṣṇu, Narada, and Bṛhaspati by J. Jolly (ii, viii [1900] and xxiii. [1899]). Viṣṇavālyaka has been translated by A. B. Reck, Berlin, 1904. Of these Manu is the oldest, Viṣṇavālyaka may be dated in the 4th cent. A.D., Narada about A.D. 600, and Bṛhaspati about 800. Somewhat earlier than Bṛhaspati is Kātyāyana. Of the later texts the Mābhārata of Viṣṇuśesāstra (c. A.D. 1199) is the most important, as having become authoritative throughout India, as well as in Bengal. Of modern works, for the Vedic period the most important are A. A. B. Schmidt, Indische Studien, Band 1, Leipzig, 1849-54, v. and x.; and H. Zimmer, Alteisches Leben, Berlin, 1879; and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic India, London, 1907. For the epics a valuable translation is that of G. W. F.裏哲, on which account of the epic art. In JAGS xiii. [1899], and much material is also given by D. S. Schmidt, Rechtszwecke und Eigentum, Leipzig, 1892. The rules of the law-books and the modern law are dealt with in R. West and G. Bihler, Digest of Hindu Law, London, 1884, and in J. N. Beare, Hindu Law, London, 1883, and a summary of the whole subject with full citations and references is given by J. Jolly, in Recht und Sitten, Straßburg, 1896 (GÖAP ii. 5).

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.
MARRIAGE (Iranian).—1. Zoroastrian.—According to the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, marriage is divinely favoured (Vendidad, iv. 47; cf. the Zoroastrians in Asadi, Pre.). The second happiest place in the world is that in which a righteous man sets up his household (Vend. iii. 2). In the Gathas the pair who wed are urged to strive to live a life of righteousness and to help one another in good works (XV. 14).

Since marriage is regarded as almost a religious duty, Zoroastrians hold it a meritorious act to help their co-religionists to enter the wedded state, and such an act may even determine atoms to stone for sin (Vend. iv. 44, xiv. 10). It is by no means unusual, therefore, for Parsis to enjoin by will or by a trust that a certain amount of their wealth be expended in aiding poor brides to marry, and certain institutions, as the Parsi Panchayats of Bombay, provide special funds for this purpose.

The Parsi community in India has passed through so many vicissitudes that it is difficult to determine which of the various marriage customs of the Parsis were originally Zoroastrian, although it appears that marriage is practically certain that the strictly religious portion comes under this category. At the very least, most of the marriage ceremonies, as listed in the Avesta, are to be found in the Parsi ritual as a whole.

According to the Avesta, both manhood and womanhood were attained at the age of 15 (Ya. ix. 5; Y. viii. 13 f., xiv. 17; Vend. xiv. 15; Burnadkhiin, iii. 19). Since in the Avesta we find maidens praying for suitable husbands (Ya. ix. 23; Y. v. 87), it would appear that childhood marriage was not practised. The ritual recited at the marriage ceremony, bidding the pair to express their consent after truthfulness consideration, points in the same direction. The present Parsi Marriage Act enforces the age of 21 for males and 18 for females; if the contracting pair are below that age, the marriage certificate must be signed by their parents.

The marriage ceremony is preceded by several other rites. When the match is arranged, an auspicious day is fixed for the betrothal, such as the day of new moon, or the first (Hormuzd) or twentieth (Bahrám) day of the Parsi month. At times, especially in Mofussil (provincial) towns, the parties consult Hindu astrologers, who name certain days as auspicious days for the betrothal, marriage, etc. The match is usually arranged by the parents, with the consent of their children; but often, at the present time, the contracting parties make their own choices with the approval of their parents. Mutual friends of the two families generally carry messages and bring about the match—a course recommended by the Pand-namak-tâ-Astropândâ (XII.) and attested in the Sat-namâz (tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1906 ff., i. 177 ff., ii. 125, 86-88) by the marriages of the three sons of Farûd with the daughters of the king of Yemen, of Rustam with Talmínah, and of Farûd with Sudden. Until recently professional match-makers were not unknown, and they still exercise a certain amount of influence.

On the day of betrothal 2 the women of the groom's family visit the house of the bride and present silver coins to her, and the groom receives a similar present from the women of the bride's family. The older term for this ceremony, now obsolete, was ndl nmzad shudan, 1 to marry (from Pers. nmzad shudan), since after the betrothal the bride receives in religious recitals of prayers for her the name of the groom, even though, by some isbâ, marriage does not take place. An unexpected bride is said to have bought 'with an nmzad' (vâd karâd înm). Betrothal is regarded as a solemn part of the marriage ceremony, the idrugav-nota, or 'pledge of the magnitude of a man' (Vend. iv. 5, 4, 5, 15), being considered by the Zoroastrians as a part of the marriage. At the present time the priests do not take an active part in the betrothal, except in Mofussil towns, where two priests—one for each family—formally ask the parents that the bride and groom respectively be given in marriage to each other. The priests took part in the nemzad (betrothal) at Sarat in the middle of the 15th cent. (Anquetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1771, ii. 447), when the two families met, and the groom's family priest, after prayer, placed the hand of one of the contracting parties in that of the other.

The betrothal is followed by the Divô, when a lamp (oliv) is lit early in the morning, and the women of the two families interchange visits and gifts. This day is regarded as more important than the betrothal proper, because on it the dresses and utensils of the bride and groom are divided among the bride's family. The Divô is followed by the Ashôr, when the dowry given by the bride's father is presented to the groom's family. 3 Presents are exchanged, chiefly from the bride's family, on several other days between betrothal and marriage.

An auspicious day, such as the day of new or full moon, is fixed for the marriage as for the betrothal. Tuesday and Wednesday are inauspicious.

In some families the astrologer's services are engaged before the marriage. When matches are arranged by mutual friends, the horoscopes of the intending bride and groom are submitted to him, to find whether the stars predict harmony between the pair. If this is not to be the case, the projected match is broken off.

In the morning or afternoon of the marriage day the bride and groom take a bath—a custom which is mentioned in the Sâh-namâz (ed. T. Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1579), where Bahram Gar takes his Indian wife to the fire temple for this purpose. The religious portion of the wedding is usually performed shortly after sunset, perhaps to symbolize that, just as day and night unite and blend, so the wedded pair should be united in woe and woe.

The marriage is generally celebrated with much pomp, as was the case in ancient Iran, as recorded in the Dinkart (ed. P. B. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., ii. 57). The groom, wearing a white ceremonial robe and holding a shawl in his hand, is received among friends and relatives of his own sex in the compound. Around his neck he has a garland of flowers, and on his forehead is a vertical line of red pigment (kunka). In colour this is held by some to represent in India an earlier custom of the sacrifice of animal life, and in shape to symbolize the brilliant, fructifying sun, whereas the ground kunka of the bride is supposed to be a symbol of the moon, which absorbs the rays of the sun.

A short time before the marriage, a procession, headed by the officiating priests, and often by a band of music, goes to the house of the bride, where the ceremony generally takes place. The men seat themselves in the compound, and the women in the house. At the door, the side posts of which—like those of the groom's house—have been the average sum which a groom of moderate means was expected to give for his bride, with Pahlavi, Pusan, and Sarx. texts and tr., see Shapurji Ravazi Hodivala, Zoroastrianism and His Contemporaries in the Rigveda, Bombay, 1913, pp. 77-80.

1 Geiger, Ostiran, Kultur, p. 241, sees in this passage an allusion to the case of a bride who was ndl npaš šudan, to marry (from Pers. nmzad šudan), since after the

2 A considerable time might elapse between betrothal and marriage (Vend. xv. 87; cf. Geiger, p. 241).

3 In early times it was apparently more customary for the groom to give presents. The sun of 2000 silver dirhams and 2 gold dirhams bestowed in the house of the bride have been the average sum which a groom of moderate means was expected to give for his bride. See also the bride with Pahlavi, Pusan, and Sarx. texts and tr., see Shapurji Ravazi Hodivala, Zoroastrianism and His Contemporaries in the Rigveda, Bombay, 1913, pp. 77-80.
MARRIAGE

the Next-of-kin cross necessary little the 150 times A progeny said thus belonging making Nishapur odd which chkdedd least a passed raw English formerly is held thus survive adoption also to other, to a pair, who a in united the chairs officiating a pair, which tied the attendant the grains the The the 'fertility), now and the grains are followed the recital of the rite of the perquisite a of the husband's wedding the bride's rice, is the mark of mark of the grains of rice, is of the head.

An egg, a coo-mus, and a little tray of water are passed three times round the groom's head and cast away, and in the course of the evening the women of the bride's family make the groom dip his hand in a water-jar, in which he leaves a coin on the threshold. This is also the custom for the feet of the bride and groom to be washed after the marriage ceremony, but the adoption of English foot-gear has caused this to survive only in washing the tip of the boots.

After the groom has been thus welcomed at the door, he is made to cross the threshold without touching it, and with his right foot first, these precautions being observed also by the bride when she first enters her husband's house. Having entered the house, the groom awaits the bride, who sits on his left, the chairs being placed in the centre of the apartment. One stands beside the chairs and rice is thrown over the pair, and lighted candles, while beside the bride is a small vessel of ghi and molasses (typifying gentleness and sweetness); a servant stands before the pair, and, holding one hand anact a little frankincense in the other. Beside each of the contracting parties stands a witness, usually the nearest kin, and generally married persons.

The following requisites are necessary for a regular marriage: (1) the marriage must be solemnized before an assembly of at least five persons who have been summoned for this special occasion; other than nuclear cognate parties are asked by the officiating priest whether they consent to be united in wedlock; (2) the hands of bride and groom are joined (bhathvar, 'hand-fastening') and a symbolic knot also plays a prominent part in the ceremony; (3) the actual marriage ceremony is followed by a benediction accompanied by sprinkling with rice, etc.

Before being seated side by side, the bride and groom sit opposite each other, separated by a piece of cloth as a curtain. The senior officiating priest now joins the right hands of the pair, and, with the recital of the Yathā aha swīryō, a piece of cake is passed round the chairs of both so as to form a circle, the ends of the cloth being tied together. With a repetition of the Yathā aha swīryō the khathevar is then performed by fastening the right hands with twists of raw yarn, which is passed round the hands seven times, then seven times round the bridal pair, and, finally, an equal number of times round the knot in the encircling cloth. The fee for this ceremony is the perquisite of the family priests, even much of the rite may be performed by other priests. The attendant next puts frankincense on the fire, and the curtain between the pair is dropped, while the bride and groom throw rice over each other a few grains of rice which they have held in their left hands. The one who first throws the rice is said to 'win,' and during the recital of the benedictions the priest then throws rice over the pair. They are now seated side by side.

The more strictly religious portion of the ceremony follows. Two priests stand before the pair, the elder of whom blesses them, praying that Ahura Mazda may grant them 'progeny of sons and grandsons, abundant means, strong friendship, bodily strength, long life, and an existence of 150 years.' He then asks the witness who stands beside the groom whether, on behalf of the bride's family, he consents to the marriage 'in accordance with the rites and rules of the Mazdayasians, promising to pay her [the bride] 2000 dirhams of pure white silver and 12 dinars of real gold of Nishapur coinage.' A similar question is asked of the witness for the bride's family, and then of the contracting parties, the questions being repeated thrice. Next follows the recital, by both the officiating priests, of the Pāzand-nāme or Aitwād (tr. F. Spigel, Avesta überetzt, Leipzig, 1852-63, iii. 232-254, and, in great part, by the present writer, in Dosabhai Frampji Karaka, Hist. of the Parsis, I. 182 E.). The adoration is followed by a series of benedictions, in which Ahura Mazda is besought to grant to the wedded pair the moral and social virtues characterizing the yazatas (angels) who give their names to the thirty days of the month. Prayer is also made for other blessings, and that the bride and groom may be granted the virtues and qualities of the great heroes of ancient Iran, that they may live long, and have many children, etc. A portion of this address is repeated in Sanskrit—probably a reminiscence of the times of the earliest Parsi emigration to India, when it was desired to make the address intelligible to their Indian hearers.

The Aitwād is followed by another group of benedictions in Pāzand, this group being called the Fan dovati (ed. E. K. Antlä, Pāzand Texte, Bombay, 1892, p. 160 i. The adoration is followed by a series of benedictions, in which Ahura Mazda is besought to grant to the wedded pair the moral and social virtues characterizing the yazatas (angels) who give their names to the thirty days of the month. Prayer is also made for other blessings, and that the bride and groom may be granted the virtues and qualities of the great heroes of ancient Iran, that they may live long, and have many children, etc. A portion of this address is repeated in Sanskrit—probably a reminiscence of the times of the earliest Parsi emigration to India, when it was desired to make the address intelligible to their Indian hearers.

The marriage ritual is repeated at midnight. From Anquetil du Perron (l. p. 319, ii. 555, n. 5) this appears to be a reminiscence of the earlier Persian custom when the Kirmān, the marriage ceremony was performed at midnight. This custom is not, however, universal. A number of minor usages, not regarded in any way as part of the Aitwād are observed, especially by women, in the Mufussil towns. The first of these, which, like the others of this class, is now observed more as a joke, is chhedā chedī, in which the nearest friends or relatives tie the skirt of the jāmā, or flowing dress, of the groom to that of the sārī of the bride; thus united, the pair go to the bridegroom's house. This is followed by foot-washing (cf. above), after which comes the dahi ḫermā, the bride and groom taking turns in partaking of food consisting of ḥapi (curd) and rice from the same dish, each giving the other to eat. Another custom, now almost obsolete, is making the bride and groom play eki bēkī ('odd or even'). Each takes several rupees in the right hand and asks the other whether the number is odd (eki) or even (bēkī); if the opposite party guesses the number rightly, he or she is said to win. The underlying principle is probably similar to that of the rivalry of bride and groom to be the first to cast rice on the other, as already noted.

Marriage songs are sung frequently through the nuptial ceremony, and the whole concludes with a banquet, at which courses of fish (a symbol of good omen) and sweets are essential, but meat is forbidden, either out of deference to Hindu scruples or from motives of economy.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

2. Next-of-kin marriage.—A problem of peculiar delicacy in connexion with Iranian marriage is the question of the next-of-kin (Pahlavi avasthā, usually translated 'next-of-kin marriage.') The modern Parsis maintain that this is a marriage

The etymology of the word is apparently avasthā, 'belonging to, dependent on,' the occurrence of av in and urvād, ‘marriage’ (C. Bartholomäus, Altiran. Worterb., Strassburg, 1852-55; tr. 352). For a less probable explanation based on native tradition (Dinband, iii. 82, tr. West, SBE xvii. 600), see Darmesteter, Zend Avesta, i. 126 n.
two centuries later, the reformer of Magianism, Bah Afrid, forbad his followers to marry their mothers, sisters, daughters, or nieces (al-Biruni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Bachmann, London, 1875, p. 194; al-Shahristani, *Religionsgeschichte und Philosophenschulen*, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 254; cf. also above, p. 401). Yet there was a tradition, reported by Mas'udi (*Fawârides d'or*, tr. and ed. M. de Meynard and F. P. Chatelain, Paris, 1861–77, ii. 145), that Faridun (the Thracian-son of the Avesta) begot a daughter by his granddaughter, another by his great-grand-daughter, and another by his stock (cf. also Just, *Iran. Namensbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 192).

In the Pahlavi texts allusions to zvôkôdâs are common. Observance of it is one of the surest signs of piety in the coming days of evil, i.e. the Arab conquest (*Bahaun Yt.* ii. 57, 61); it expiates mortal sin and forms the one insurmountable barrier to the attacks of Aeshm, the incarnation of Fury (*Sgâyast il-Shyáht*, viii. 18, xviii. 31); it is especially ominous to demons, whose power it impairs (Dinkart, i. 82); it is the second of the seven good works of religion, and its neglect the fourth sin of the thirty three sins, and it is reckoned as one of the thirty-three ways of gaining heaven (Dink-â Mângiy-î-Xrât, iv. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 12). It is even said to have been prescribed by Zarathushtra himself (Dinkart, iii. 105; cf. Selections of Zôf-Sporam, xxiii. 13), and to arrange it is a work of merit (Dâstân-i-Dink, Ixxvii. 19). In a word, from it is to arise 'complete progress in the world... even unto the very purpose of the renovation of the universe' (ib. Ixxvii. 6ff.).

These Pahlavi texts, however, cast no light on the precise connotation of the term. Yet there are references in this literature which are the reverse of ambiguous. The Pahlavi synopsis of the 18th farzâr of the lost Avesta *Yaratânmanaw Nask* clearly refers to the zvôkôdâs of brother and sister (Dinkart, ix. xii. 27); and that of the 21st farzâr of the lost Bakr Nask to the wedlock of father and daughter (ib. lxvii. 7, 9). The most explicit statement is found in the account of a controversy between a Zoroastrian theologian and a Jewish objector, recorded in Dinkart, iii. 82 (tr. West, pp. 399–410):

'The consummation of the mutual assistance of men is Khêtherkôdâs, an exchange of persons, of folk, and, among near kinsfolk, that with those next-of-kin; and the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest kin— which are father and daughter, son and mother, brother and sister—is the most complete that I have considered.'

These three forms are illustrated, respectively, by the union between Ahura Mazda and his daughter Spenta Armita (cf. on Yxv. 4, 4; above; and on its probable origin as a cosmogonic myth of the *igôd râmôs* of Heaven and Earth, cf. L. H. Gray, *AEW* vii. [1904] 367), from which sprang the primordial being Gayôyart; by the return of some of the dying Gayôyart to Spenta Armita (cf. also Bundahšôn, xv. 1; Dâstân-i-Dînk, lxv. 6; al-Biruni, p. 107), resulting in the birth of the first human pair, Man and Mayâzûd; and by their prolic union (cf. also Dinkart, vii. i. 10, Dâstân-i-Dînk, xxxviii. 82, Ixv., Ixvii. 4ff.)

In the 8th chapter of a Pahlavi Ridâyast, probably

1 The statement that Arti-Virîd had seven sisters, and all these seven sisters were as wise as Virîd (Arti-Virîf Nâmak, ii. 1–3, 7–10; eclectically earlier than the 60th cent. a.d.) may be compared, but it is not current in the Pahlavi version. For another possible, though uncertain, reference to the zvôkôdâs of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armita, see Dinkart, i. xxxvi. 7. There is an unmistakable allusion to it in Dinkart, iii. xxxvi. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 541, n. 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi concept (cf. above, n. 4, as containing a possible reference to zvôkôdâs; for the correct rendering see Milic, p. 3761.

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4 All West, p. 397; later (SBE xxxvi. [1893] 362) he retranslates the passage so that zvôkôdâs is not necessarily implied.

5 Another stock source is given, e.g. in Dinkart, vi. 9 (1904), 837; E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*, London, 1894, pp. 290–296. Cf. also "Egyptian" section above.
written between the Arab conquest of Persia and the 16th cent., found preceding the Dādistan-i-Dīnk in many MSS, there is a lengthy polemic in favour of MARRIAGE as distinguished from the legendary period of Zoroastrianism, except the Sasanian royal instance mentioned above, and the marriage of Mihram-gushanap. We must also note that incest was abhorrent to the Indian branch of the Indo-Iranian family (for the strong exogamy of India see J. Jolly, Recht und Sitte [=GAP ii. 5], Strassburg, 1896, p. 62 f.). Among the other Indo-European peoples it is permitted marriage between cousins, nephews and nieces, and half-brothers and half-sisters on the paternal side (see ‘Greek’ section, above, § 2); the ancient Frisians and Lithuanians are said to have allowed marriage with any kinswoman except one’s own mother (O. Schrader, Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, p. 906 f.) and equal licence is ascribed to the ancient Irish (cf. ‘Celtic’ section, above).

There remain, then, two hypotheses on the origin of incestuous zwatvadatha. (a) It may be derived from a non-Indo-European people. This is the theory maintained by Moulton (pp. 294–295), who holds that the custom was Magian, and so neither Indo-European nor Semitic (cf. 16, chs. vii., viii., and art. MAGI—not Iranian at all. (b) Without denying or even criticizing Moulton’s argument, even probable, it may be suggested that the practice was genuinely Persian. In view of the extremely primitive character of the Baltslavonic peoples, who have, without reason, been claimed as Magian, it is obvious that the native Persian was the original type of Indo-European civilization (S. Feist, Kultur... der Indogerm. Berlin, 1913, p. 478; O. Schrader, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1907, p. 291; and art. ARVOST RELIGION, passim), the occurrence among them—as among the almost equally primitive ancient Irish—of what is practically identical with incestuous zwatvadatha is certainly significant. On this hypothesis Zarathushtra’s reformation did away with zwatvadatha, as with so much else of the older Iranian which his loftier teaching rejected; but, when the modern Persian religion returned, it restored zwatvadatha, together with many other things that had been discarded. In the present state of our knowledge the writer does not attempt to decide between these hypotheses; he merely presents his own for what it is worth.

Whatever the origin of incestuous zwatvadatha—which is perhaps nothing but endogamy carried to its extreme—so much is clear: pure Zoroastrianism never knew it; it was practised by non-Zoroastrian Persians; it was advocated at least during the Sasanian and early Arab periods by a Magianized priesthood; it appears to have then been a theological ideal, promulgated by the religious and political situation of the period, rather than an actual practice; it was constantly resisted (even as an ideal) by a large—and, doubtless, ever increasing—body of the faithful; it has disappeared. It had a certain justification during the days of Arab persecution, and Parsi should recognize this. It has been one of the chief taunts of the type flung against every religion by the ignorant or malevolent outsider, and no Parsi can be reproached for his sensitiveness on the subject. Yet it was at worst
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merely a temporary exccurse, never a real tenet; and it was repudiated, no doubt, as intensely by Zarathushtra as by his modern followers.

3. Old Persian.—Concerning the specifically Old Persian marriage record there is only meagre information. Strabo tells us (p. 733) that marriages were performed at the beginning of the vernal equinox, and that before the bridegroom went to the nuptial couch he ate an apple or cancel marrow, but nothing else. In the day. We also learn from Arrian (Anab. vii. 4) that a seat of honour (θρόνος) was provided for the groom, and that his prospective bride came after the cups had gone round (μετά τῶν ποτῶν), being welcomed by her husband with the giving of the right hand and a kiss. Naturally a banquet formed part of the wedding (Est 3:1; Jos. Ant. xi. vi. 2).

To the Scythians (p.e.), at least some of whom were Iranians, the Greeks ascribed the practice of each man having free access to the wives of his fellow-travellers, although Herodotus (i. 216, lvi. 104) restricts this to the Massagetae and Agathryni. The latter were possibly Iranian (cf. H. Minna, Scythians and Greeks, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102; cf. W. Tomaschek, in Fainy-Wissowa, i. 764 f.). The former are considered Iranian— their name is certainly Persian in origin (cf. Gesch. von Eran, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1896—1905, li. 771, 240, Erzähler, Berlin, 1901, p. 156), though this is doubted by Minna (p. 111), who, preferring the belief of such a marriage or local collection of tribes without an ethnic unity. In any event, as he says (p. 93), this form of marriage (for other Indo-European instances of which see H. Hirt, Indogerman. Schriften, 1891-97, p. 708; Schenker, Rasse und Religion, p. 634) is properly non-Aryan.

See, further, art. FAMILY (Persian).


LOUIS H. GRAY.

MARRIAGE (Japanese and Korean).—I. JAPAN. — From ancient times marriage and marriage regulations have been considered important by the Japanese people. Both ideas and legal regulations concerning marriage, however, seem to have passed through three distinct stages: (1) that of the age of the Taibo-ryo (A.D. 701—1192), much influenced by Chinese morals and laws; (2) that of feudalism (from the end of the 12th cent. to the Meiji era), moulded by bushido, Japanese knightly morality, to a much higher development; and (3) that of the period since the Restoration, characterized by Christian influences.

1. Consent of parties.—The chief point of difference between Japanese and Western marriage laws may be found in the fact that from the earliest times the Japanese people have been grouped in families as social units, to one of which every individual belongs, and in each family there is an authority of which the head (patris potestas) has varied from age to age, but in general may be said to have been strong in ancient times and to have weakened in recent years. The family in the time of the Taibo-ryo was often very large, including over one hundred persons, but the numbers gradually decreased, until at present a family usually consists of only live or six individuals. Marriage under any system is the union of two families, the status of the contracting parties, but also means the removal of a member of one group to another. In other words, marriage is an act between a man and a woman and also between two families. Therefore, when a man and a woman decide to marry, not only the free contract of the parties is required, but also the consent of the heads of the two families.

From the time of the Taibo-ryo to that of the Meiji era, a marriage engagement was first made between the parents of the parties, and often the consent of the parties was not required, for filial obedience was considered one of the highest and noblest virtues. Lately, with the development of the idea of freedom, the point of view has somewhat changed; according to the regulations of the present civil code, it is necessary to have the free consent of the parties in addition to the consent of the parents. Moreover, when a man reaches the age of thirty and a woman that of twenty-five, the law no longer requires the consent of the parents for the sanction of marriage.

2. Caste.—While there is the strict sense of the term never existed in Japan, by the Taibo-ryo a humble class, which was not allowed to intermarry with others, was recognized, and the child of such a marriage, or mixed race, was looked upon with intense contempt. While the feudal age the people were divided into lords, knights, and commoners including farmers, artisans, and merchants; and intermarriage required special permission. A marriage between members of the lordly class required sanction from the central government until 1871. According to the Taibo-ryo, Buddhist priests were not allowed to marry; and one who transgressed was sent to a far island or put to death; but this ban was abolished in 1872.

3. Age of consent.—At the time of the Taibo-ryo a male was allowed to marry at the age of 15 and a female at 13; but the present civil code requires the age of 17 for the male and 15 for the female. There has been no prohibition of marriage on account of age.

4. Monogamy.—The laws and customs in Japan forbade multiple marriages, not conubium. According to the Taibo-ryo, concubines occupied the position of relatives in the second degree, and no limitation was made as to their number. The child by a concubine held an inheritance right. The custom of concubinage was prevalent among the noble and rich, and society did not condemn it. Moreover, in the opinion of some, concubinage was considered necessary, with the existing family system, in order to preserve the family line from possible extinction. In the Meiji era, however, through the influence of Christianity, the idea of monogamy became strong; and in 1882 concubinage ceased to be recognized by law, though the long-established custom still lingered to some extent.

5. Second marriage.—When a marriage contract has been dissolved by divorce or the death of one of the parties, a second marriage is permitted. In ancient times, however, the proverb 'A chaste woman never sees two men' had great force; and for a woman to refrain from re-marriage was regarded as a beautiful virtue. There were not a few women who cut off their hair, or became priestesses, or committed suicide, on hearing of the death of their husbands in battle. Such forms of devotion gained authority on the head (patris potestas) has varied from age to age, but in general may be said to have been strong in ancient times and to have weakened in recent years. The family in the time of the
6. Marriage of adulterers.—A man and woman, either of whom has been divorced or sentenced to be divorced on account of adultery with the other, may not marry—a prohibition which has existed since the time of the Talmud-ryo. Social disapproval of such union is very severe; and, even when the husband or wife forgives and consents, the prohibition is binding and cannot be evaded, so that the latter and thus marriage are separated by law.

7. Marriage of relatives.—Marriage between near relatives in direct and collateral lines is forbidden for the sake of health and protection from degeneracy. The marriage of cousins, or of a widow or widower with a brother or sister of the deceased, is not prohibited; and such marriages are not rare.

8. Relation of husband and wife.—In olden times the rights of a husband were very far-reaching, and a wife who obeyed her husband absolutely was considered virtuous. Men were held in high regard, while women were not. Lately the position of woman has improved, but even yet, when a wife makes a contract, she has to get her husband's consent in many cases, and the wife inherits under the supervision of her husband while they are married. In Japan a woman's private property is very limited; and those who possess property in addition to their dresses and ornaments are very few; for, according to the ancient regulations, property is inherited by the eldest son, and only in the case of disinheri-

ance or of there being no son by marriage or adoption can the woman inherit in regular succession. Thus, as a rule, the wife has no property, but is dependent upon her husband for support. Some change, therefore, must be made in the law of succession if the position of woman is to be materially altered.

9. Engagement and ceremony of marriage.—The customs as well as the laws of marriage in Japan have passed through a series of changes. In ancient times marriage by sale and marriage by capture were common; but from the time of the Talmud-ryo customs gradually became more refined. There is in Japan, however, no custom of direct personal engagement or of previous personal acquaintance. Such things would be regarded as disgraceful by all Japanese above the middle class, for a formal marriage is always arranged by a matchmaker who renders service to the parties for a fee. The engagement, made with the consent of both parties, is a consideration and exchange of gifts, and a marriage-contract is considered to have taken place. Then, upon an auspicious day, the wedding ceremony is performed, usually at the home of the bridegroom at night. The marriage inter-

mediary, escorting the bride in her best attire, takes her seat at an appointed place, and the bride and bridgroom drink wine, exchanging caps nine times. This constitutes the entire ceremony, after which the bride and bridgroom are introduced to relatives and friends at a wedding dinner. No religious or legal form is required, except that, by the present civil code, notification must be made to a registrar in order that the marriage may be officially sanctioned. With the coming of Christianity marriages are increasingly performed in accordance with this law; but the church has assumed the holding of services at Shintô shrines. The law, however, requires no religious sanction, as it is only a civil marriage that is officially recognized.

II. Divorces.—Before the promulgation of the present civil code (1896-98), divorce, or, rather, repudiation, was very easily secured at the hus-

band's will. No legal procedure was necessary beyond the husband's signature, but the law fixed seven causes, one of which must exist in order to make the repudiation effective. Thus the power of the husband was somewhat curtailed; but only the husband could repudiate. The present code recognizes two forms of divorce: (a) by mutual consent; and (b) by the former requires only the mutual consent of the parties, while the latter requires an act of the court upon the contested request of one of the parties. This form of legal divorce must be for some one of certain causes recognized by law, and becomes operative only after judicial judgment has been given. Statistics for 1920 show the total number of marriages to have been 5,583,106 and of divorces 60,390, i.e., about 7 divorces out of 1000 marriages. Only judicial divorces, however, are given in statistics, and by far the greater number are by mutual consent.

11. Judicial separation.—This system does not exist in Japan.

II. KORAS.—In Korea marriage is according to the old custom. Early marriage prevails, and government control has had but little effect, though upon several occasions laws have been issued, even setting the age for marriage at 20 for men and 16 for women. It is usual for a girl of 12 or 13 to be married to a boy of 10 or less. Wives are usually a few years older than their husbands. Second marriage is not prohibited, but is considered a disgrace by most; and those above the middle class never re-marry. Arrangements for marriages, however, is inherited by the eldest son, or elder brothers and relatives in authority; and the wishes of those who are to be married are not taken into account. The ceremony is per-

formed at the home of the bride, and it is not necessary to notify a civil officer. Only the husband can divorce, and the wife has no way of refusal. There is no system of divorce by consent, but by the law, since annulment, a way has been opened for a wife to seek divorce. The number of marriages made in 1912 was 121,993, and that of divorces only 9,005.


T. NAKAJIMA.

MARRIAGE (Jewish).—Every man is bound to marry a wife in order to beget children, and he who fails on this point is given no hope; but his diminishment of the Divine Presence (ei-khônâh) to depart from Israel—thus runs the rule in the Code of Qara (Shall tłum. Arrâh, Zhben à-ráz, i. 1). It is based on ancient Rabbinic (Tannaitic) prescription (Ybhônâh, 63b, 64a), itself inferred from well-known Biblical texts (esp. On 96 combined with following verse), and it is emphasized by the somewhat later apothegms: "Whoever has no wife rests without blessing"; such a one "is not called a man" (ib. 62b). Marriage was the means by which the human race imprinted on the generations the divine image; it, with the haben, expresses the consequent domestic felicity, was the expression of true manhood. It was the basis of the social order, and thus its regulation was, in Rabbinic opinion, one of the chief differences between Jewish and Gentile systems of marriage (Isidh., 1). The social obligation was strengthened by Messianic hopes: "the son of David—i.e., the Messiah—will not come until all souls stored up for earthly life have been born" (Yhid., 62a).

Though the purpose of marriage was the begetting of children, other aspects of marital life were fully appreciated (see art. FAMILY [Jewish]); and the quotations of M. Mielendorff in his Life of the Messiah (New York, 1901, p. 18.) and E. A. Brill in his Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,
London, 1886, p. 114). Very profound is the Rabbinic view that man's **yiver** is in this instance the cause of good; but for his passions man would not build a house, nor marry a wife, nor beget children (Genes. Rabbi, ch. ix.). Man, in Rabbinic theism, is impelled by his impulses (inclinations), one good and one evil, both of which are to be used in turning him to the love of God (Sifre on Deut. 6, in: Mishniah Brakhot, i. 5). The bodily passions are not in themselves evil (cf. F. C. Porter, "Yeper Hara," in Yale Bibliographical vol. of Biblical and Semitic Studies, New York, 1901, pp. 91-106, and M. Lazarus, Ethics of Judaism, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1901, ii. 70 f.). Torah was the means by which the control of passion and its direction into holy ends were effected (cf. Maimonides, Guide of the Perplexed, iii. 33). The Rabbinic theory of marital intercourse is summed up ideally and, in a sense, mystically in the saying: "Three are associated in every human being: God, father, and mother" (Qaddishinah, 306).

With regard to the authority of parents in arranging the marriages of their children while minors see **ER** i. 742. When the parties were adult, the consent of parents was not necessary to make a marriage valid (Maimonides, Issahath, vii.), but voids.

"In consequence of the high respect and veneration, however, in which father and mother have ever been held among Israelites, the cases of contracting marriages without the parent's consent figure prominently (G. 6-20)."

Early marriages, arranged by the parents, were long considered a valuable aid to morals. The legal age for valid marriage was the age of puberty, but the general age of the majority in Talmudic times was 18 to 20 (S. Krauss, Telmadische Archäologie, Leipzig, 1910-11, ii. 28). A Jewish court would often put pressure on a man over 20 to compel him to take a wife (Eth. ha-czar, i. 2), but such pressure was not applied in the case of students, while (as the gloss *ad loc.* points out) in modern times all attempts at compulsory marriages have become obsolete. Curiously enough, no rule is stated with regard to the age of the bride. Girls were treated as marriageable from the beginning of their thirteenth year, and at various times very youthful marriages have prevailed (see Abrahams, ch. 1). Incipient times, while, on the whole, Jewish boys probably marry at a somewhat earlier age than the general population, assimilation in social customs is modifying differences (statistics in *JE* vii. 339).

The general impression prevails that Jews more frequently than other nations entered into polygamy. Intermarriage between Jews and Christians has increased (statistics in *JE* vi. 612). No section of Jewish opinion favours marriages between parties who are not of the same religion, the difficulties of the education of the children and the disturbance of the home harmony being felt to offer strong objections. There is no bar, however, to the religious solemnization of a marriage with full Jewish rites in the case of proselytes to the synagogue.

The Biblical 'degrees' were maintained in later Jewish law (Mishnah, Tohorot, 21; Maimonides, Issahath, i. 6; Mielziner, p. 37), the latter being partly theoretical prolongations of lineal ascendants and descendents; but in one case a levirate marriage was not recognized by Biblical law. These degrees were added; for, "while the Mosaic Law (Lv 18:14) expressly forbids only the father's brother's wife, the Talmudic Law adds also the mother's brother's wife, and, besides, the father's uterine brother's wife (Mishnah, Tohorot, 21; Mielziner, p. 664) imposed still further rigour on the marriage law.

The general question of the relation between Jewish marriages and the civil law of England is historically and legally considered in the monograph of H. S. Q. Henricus, Jewish Marriages and English Law, London, 1899. It may in general be said that, while orthodox Jews maintain some disabilities not upheld by the law of the land, no Jews permit marriages which, though allowed by Jewish law, are forbidden by the civil law. Thus, though marriage with a deceased wife's sister is valid in Jewish law, such a marriage was never solemnized as valid (though England, while English law disallowed it. So, too, though by Jewish law a man may marry his niece (though a woman might not marry her nephew), no such marriage would be performed by Jewish rites, since English law forbids such a union. But, where the Jewish law is more severe than the English, the severity is in most cases maintained, though the tendency in Jewish liberal organizations is toward equalizing Jewish custom with civil conditions. The orthodox Jews do not permit a **kibbèh** —i.e., one tracing descent from the ancient priestly family—to wed a divorced woman; nor would the re-marriage of a divorced person be solemnized by the orthodox synagogue unless a divorce had also been obtained from a **bich Din** (Jewish ecclesiastical court). On the other hand, the levirate marriage, which was no longer in Jewish legal use (though it is recorded) at the beginning of the Christian era (the Sadducean question in *Mt* 22:20 was probably theoretical), has now lost all vogue (Eth. ha-czar, etc.; cf. *JE* vii. 370, where the site is illustrated). On the levirate marriage see, further, I. Matte, in Studies in Jewish Literature, Berlin, 1913, p. 210; on marriages between uncle and niece, S. Krauss, ib. p. 165.

Except for rare cases in countries where Muhammedan law prevails, monogamy is enforced by both law and custom among Jews, although neither Bible nor Talmud formally forbids polygamy (for the Talmudic evidence see Krauss, ii. 23). Only in the case of the levirate marriage did the Pentateuch actually ordain a second marriage, and, as has been mentioned above, the levirate marriage which fell into disuse in Talmudic times, was by Gn 24, 31-32, and the whole tendency of the Song of Songs (cf. A. Harper, Song of Solomon, Cambridge, 1902, p. xxxiv); and the same conclusion must be drawn from the prophetic image of the Ideal is shown by Gn 24, 31-32, and the whole tendency of the Song of Songs (cf. A. Harper, Song of Solomon, Cambridge, 1902, p. xxxiv); and the same conclusion must be drawn from the prophetic image of the Pentateuch itself (see Abrahams, ch. vii.).

The ancient and medieval preliminaries to marriage have, in modern times, lost much of their old significance. Betrothal (*aristan* or *qiddishin*) in Rabbinic law was not a mere agreement or contract for marriage (Moharoth, see *Eruvin* vii. 663) imposed still further rigour on the marriage law.

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MARRIAGE (Jewish)

Falseness on the part of the betrothed female was treated as adultery. Without having been formally divorced, she could not enter into a subsequent marriage contract with another person; if entered upon it was void (Mielziner, p. 77; on the status of the betrothed woman in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., cf. A. Bialik in Zentralblatt für die Israelitische Volkskunde, Breslau, 1911, p. 110).

Since the 16th cent. the two ceremonies of betrothal and marriage have been performed on the same day, though in Talmudic times a year might intervene between them (Mishnah, Kiddushin, v. 2). The legal betrothal was always preceded by an engagement (shidduchim), and this engagement gradually replaced the older betrothal. Often a professional betrothal-matcher (shidduch) was employed in the Middle Ages, and the custom is still in some vogue (Abrahams, p. 170 f.). The ceremonies of marriage now include the older betrothal and marriage rites. The essence of the marriage ceremony is the presentation by the bridegroom to the bride, in the presence of two witnesses, of an object of value, and the recital of the formula: 'Thou hast consecrated unto me this ring, according to the law of Moses and Israel.' The marriage rite and is invalid without the bride's consent—her consent is formally stated in the kethubah (see below). In the days of the Talmud, she took a passive part in the ceremony, the formula being spoken by the man only. In some orthodoxy and in most liberal synagogues the bride's part is now more active. In the marriage the presence of a Rabbi is not essential, but such presence is usual, and so are other ceremonies: the use of a ring and a canopy (hupah), the breaking of a glass, the recital of the kethubah, and the repetition of the seven benedictions.

The ring, now so usual in Jewish weddings, is not mentioned in the Talmud, but was introduced in the Hellenistic age (A. Harkavy, Pesahheth hagadot, 1887, p. 65), perhaps in the 7th century. The ring replaced the older gift of money or of an article of value; it must not contain gems (Abrahams, p. 183), and need not be of gold. Possibly the ring of the bride was derived from Rome, just as the objection to marriages between Passover and Pentecost corresponds to the Roman prohibition of marriages in May (J. Landsberger, in Jued. Zeitschrift für Wisens. und Leben, vii. [1889] 81). In the Middle Ages Friday was a favourite day for Jewish marriages, though the Talmud objected to such a choice. Wednesday was also a common day for virgins, and Thursday for widows.

In the Middle Ages there were no festivals as days of the week, except that marriages are not celebrated on Sabbaths or festivals. In the orthodox synagogues marriages are still not performed (except on specified dates) between Passover and Pentecost, nor on certain anniversaries of a mournful nature. During marriage ceremonies the ring is put on the forehead of the bride's right hand; she afterwards removes it and places it on the customary finger of the left hand. Marriages are now frequently celebrated in-synagogue, though there is no loss of validity if the ceremony occurs elsewhere, as is widely the custom in America. The whole problem as to the place where Jewish marriages may be celebrated is treated by L. Löw in his Gesammelte Schriften, where many other Jewish marriage questions, historical, social, and legal, are also discussed (iii. Szegedin, 1893, pp. 13–33).

A hupah, or canopy, during the marriage ceremony, has been used by the Jews ever since the days of the Talmud. This canopy is supported by four upright posts covered by an awning of silk or tapestry (for details see Abrahams, p. 193; for illustrations, JE vi. 604 ff.). A regular preliminary of the ceremony is the signing by the bridegroom of the kethubah (lit. ‘writing’), or marriage contract (for the ordinary wording see Mielziner, p. 87), which sets forth the amount payable to the wife in case of the husband's death or the wife's divorce, and in olden times often rehearsed the wife's duties, and in respect of which, as of the husband's settlement, the kethubah conferred on her an inalienable claim on her husband's property.

The wife had considerable rights over her own property (see Mielziner, p. 104 f.), and the kethubah protected these rights, and introduced, a sense restraint against rash divorces. Mielziner's statement (p. 99) that the kethubah is 'now almost entirely dispensed with,' refers only to certain American and other reform congregations; it is still retained in most Jewish marriages, though it has little legal significance in many countries. The kethubah is ancient, being perhaps referred to in the 'Seven Benedictions.' It is certainly as old as the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. (Kethubah, 826; Abrahams, p. 207, note 2; E. N. Adler, in JE vii. 474; for the earliest instance of the terms of the wife's brother's oath, see yebamot, in Breslau, Zeitschrift für die Gesandten, New York, 1900, ii. 75).

In Oriental lands the kethubah often included a solemn undertaking by the bridegroom to observe strictly the laws of monogamy (Abrahams, p. 120, and the document published by him in Jews' College Jubilee Volumes, London, 1906, p. 101).

Many of the marriage customs which have prevailed in Jewish marriages one deserves special mention. The kethubah breaks a dox, and the meaning of the rite is uncertain. Some have seen in it a symbolical allusion to the close of the ante-nuptial condition, but 'the most acceptable theory is that the marriage is an act of charity to keep even men's joys tempered by more serious thoughts, and on the other hand from the never-forbidden memory of the mourning for Zion.' (see Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer-Book, London, 1914, p. cxvii.) The memory of Zion is frequently recalled in the Jewish wedding hymns and songs (on which see Abrahams, p. 181 f., and Hebrew and Modern, p. 220). The Jewish wedding breaks a dox, and the meaning of the rite is uncertain. Some have seen in it a symbolical allusion to the close of the ante-nuptial condition, but 'the most acceptable theory is that the marriage is an act of charity to keep even men's joys tempered by more serious thoughts, and on the other hand from the never-forbidden memory of the mourning for Zion.' (see Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer-Book, London, 1914, p. cxvii.) The memory of Zion is frequently recalled in the Jewish wedding hymns and songs (on which see Abrahams, p. 181 f., and Hebrew and Modern, p. 220).

When the son of Rabbath was married, the father saw that the Rabbis present were in an uproarious mood, so he took a costly vase of wine, which was set before them to curb their spirits.

On the other hand, joyousness is the predominant note of Jewish weddings—a joyousness hallowed by the principle that the participation in such functions is a religious duty. The bowing of poor brides was an act of sanctified loving-kindness (Shabbath, 127a); and the assistance at wedding festivals was an element in pious life (Pethahim, 49b). Lyric praises of the bride were so regular a habit that we find quaint discussions as to the terms to be used in the elogies (Kethubah, 17a). On the subject of other wedding customs, both Oriental and Western, see Abrahams, p. 99, and JE viii. 340 ff.; Krauss, ii. 37; W. Rosenau, Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs, Baltimore, 1912, ch. xi.

Most characteristic of the Jewish marriage ceremony are the Seven Benedictions, which are already quoted in the Talmud (Kethubah, 8). First comes the benediction over wine (on the use of wine in Jewish ceremonial see Annotated Prayer-Book, p. cxxvii); then follows the praise of God as the creator of all things to His glory; after this
MARRIAGE (Roman)

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1. Pre-historic.—There is some evidence, in the form of survivals in later procedure, that marriage by capture existed among the ancestors of the Latin race and, but at what stage, whether among the people of the eternam in N. Italy or still further back, we cannot tell. The simulated rape of the bride at the deductio (see below), the parting of her hair with a spear, possibly the lifting her over the head, and the libation poured together with the legend of the rape of the Sabine women, may well suggest capture. True, each scrap of evidence may, if taken separately, be explained otherwise, but it must be allowed that the cumulative evidence is strong. On the other hand, capture implies exogamy, of which there was no trace in historical Rome; marriage was original and, if we may witness it, gives the impression of a pseudo-sacrament, as Pritzalterthumer, p. 29, notes 1 and 2); if, therefore, marriage by capture is to be assumed as an original practice of the race, it must have been so before the development of the gens as a social institution. But, if this early form of marriage is not provable for the Roman people, it is highly probable that the later form of marriage by purchase existed among them at one time, leaving its traces in the later compositio, which, as we shall see, was a simulated transference of the bride by purchase from the potestas of her father to the 'hand' (manus) of her husband (for the possible connexion of the dus with marriage by purchase see Westermarck, M.II. 295)

2. Early forms of marriage: connubial, compositio, and usus.—In early Roman society we find three distinct forms or rules by which marriage could be effected. As to the historical interpretation of these there is endless dispute, but the object and conception of marriage as an institution are clear enough. The object of a matrimonium, such as was the result of all of these methods, was beyond doubt to produce children capable of keeping up the religion (sacra) of the family, and also of serving the State in war and peace. Children of compositus, i.e., cohabitation without marriage, were not so capable; they could not be Roman citizens, and could not represent either family or State in any capacity. The word which covered all legitimate forms of union was connubium; and the position that we have of the subject (v.

Thus the married state is brought into relation with the state of creation and with creation Mesianic hopes. The Seven Benedictions, which were recited during the grace at the wedding banquet as well as during the wedding ceremony, cover the whole of Jewish history. The popular maxim, 'Marriages are made in heaven,' was accepted as a commonplace truth by the Rabbis (Abrahams, Book of Delight, p. 172 ff.).

For the wedding of a typical Roman with a Roman bride, and the religious side, the reader is referred to the last chapter of Proverbs. In many other ways the sanctity of wedded life was symbolized, both in its human aspects and as a type of perfect harmony with the divine scheme of creation.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the course of the article.

1. ABRAHAMS.

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in the Roman State, which must be imagined as consisting entirely of patrician families; it survived into historical times only as a means of supplying persons duly qualified to fill the old priesthoods descended from that patrician State, viz., the Rex Sacrorum and the three Flamines maiores, Dialia, Martialis, and Quirinalis (see Gais, i. 112). Of late, however, it has been suggested (by Cug, Introd. patr. cit. p. 1527) that it was followed by "An Alex. Launspach, State and Family in Early Rome, p. 159 (f.) that it came into use only when the old custom of marrying within the gens was broken through, when the religious difficulty of transferring a bride from one gens to another called for special religious interference by the State. There is something to be said for this; but to the present writer it seems hardly sufficient to account for the sacramental character of the rite and the use of the skin of the victim. No ancient author says that this was the only form of patrician marriage; if it had been so, the Rex and the Flamen must have been constantly in requisition for weddings, more often than would be consistent with their other duties. But it is possible that confarreatio may have been a very special religious form, originating in the marriage of the Rex and the Flamen with the Flilies formed in an inner circle of aristocracy, from which the Rex might be chosen, and which would be likely or willing to supply children qualified to become confarreti of which married in the service of the State (Serv. ad Georg. i. 31). It must be remembered that the patrician State itself had a history, and did not come into existence full-blown; the confarreatio probably represents an early form of marriage which we have been accustomed to imagine.

There were two other ancient methods of transferring a bride from one family to another, from the potestas of her father to the manus of her husband; but it is to be noticed that neither of these was, strictly speaking, a marriage ceremony, and it is to be assumed that, when they were used, the real marriage rite was that described below as under marriages which did not produce conventio in manus.

In other words, the true marriage rite was, except in confarreatio, distinct from the act which transferred the bride from the potestas of her father to the manus of her husband, or to that of his father, if he were a filiusfamilias in the potestas of his father. Thus coemptio, the form by which, in the presence of five witnesses and a hiberigen (a bond which would be used for other purposes besides marriage), the bride was made over to the manus of her husband by a symbolic purchase (Gais, i. 113), looks as if it were a legal addition devised for some particular purpose, perhaps to enable the ordinary patrician family, which did not seek to produce children capable of filling the highest religious offices, to obtain by a single act the same legal results as in confarreatio. This is, indeed, a mere guess, and one among many, into which it is not necessary to go in this article.

The other method which produced coemptio in manus took a whole year to complete, if a duly qualified pair lived together for an entire year without a break, manus followed of necessity by prescription; but by the XII Tables it was possible for the bride to escape this result by abstaining herself yearly for three nights from her husband’s house, by which means, in legal language, the usucapio would be barred (Gais, i. 111). It is not unlikely that this was really the oldest form by which a marriage could be made, and the one most commonly in use. Confarreatio and coemptio both presuppose the existence of the law and religion of the State in full development, but the dispensatio of manus, if it appears at all, appears as a thing rather than a legal contract, and might be broken by a private and not a public character, and do not need the presence of priest or magistrate; it was easy, therefore, to pass them on to non-patricians, plebeians or Latins, when these attained connubium; but this could not be so with confarreatio, if, as we have assumed, the main object of the latter was at all times to produce children capable of holding the exclusively patrician religious offices.

In these three methods of marriage was accompanied by manus, though in the case of usus not till after a year had elapsed. Usus, indeed, shows us plainly that the Roman of early times did not think of marriage and manus as inseparable; for the bride must have been properly married under usus, if her children were to be Roman citizens, though for a year at least she was not under manus. We must also remember that, if the husband were not sui ius, but a filiusfamilias under the potestas of his father, as must constantly have happened, the wife passed under the manus, not of her husband, but of his father. Quite early marriage and manus became separable both in thought and in fact; under the XII Tables, as we have seen, the wife was given the option of escaping a change of manus altogether, and this may be taken to mean that the direction had showed itself much earlier. After that time, mainly, no doubt, from reasons of convenience connected with the family property, marriage was no longer a matter of which the State took charge.

3. The historic period.—(a) Conditions of marriage. The necessary conditions of marriage were: (1) the families of both parties must possess the ius connubii (as explained above); (2) the parties must not be within the prohibited degrees of relationship (cognatio). Originally no cognati could marry who were within the seventh degree of relationship; i.e., second cousins could not marry; this was, however, a survival from a period in which families of three generations lived together under the same roof; and whether this was or was not a known psychological law, unsuited for business marriage (see E. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Marriage, London, 1894, p. 320 (f.)). Traces of such large households are not wanting in Roman history (Val. Max. iv. iv. 8; Plut. Crassus, 1., and Cato the Elder, xxiv.). But these strict rules were gradually relaxed, and from the time of the Punic wars it seems to have been possible for first cousins to marry (see Marquart, Privatlehrerinnen, p. 30, note). When the Emperor Claudius married his brother’s daughter, he had to obtain a decree of the Senate for the purpose, and this licence, which was afterwards repealed, was not generally approved (Tac. Ann. xii. 6; Gais, i. 62). (3) The consent of the parents was absolutely necessary, but not that of the parties themselves; often betrothed by their parents at a very early age; e.g., Cicero betrothed his daughter when she was only ten years old (Fowler, Social Life, p. 1404). This was a survival of a practice still common in many parts of the Empire, and the right of marriage of the family is a matter of supreme importance, and no time is to be lost in securing that children shall not remain unmarried. The betrothal (sponsa-, sponsus), however, was not unlike a contract, and might be broken by...
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consent if there was a strong dislike on the part of either party, or if the girl was above a certain age, was obtained by promises of a dowry (Sulpichus, in Aug. Gel. iv. 1). The early betrothed service serves to show us that the idea at the root of marriage was that of service to family and State, i.e. the procreation of children capable of such service, and that the modern idea of passion with marriage as its conclusion, which too often substitutes wealth and interests outside it, Steady affection there might be and often was (Fowler, Social Life, pp. 141, 159 ff.); but the modern idea of passion with marriage as its conclusion, which too often substitutes wealth and interests outside it, was unknown at Rome. (4) As a last condition, we must note that bride and bridegroom must be of proper age, i.e., they must have reached the age of puberty and laid aside the topa praetexta of childhood; this might happen at different ages, according to natural development, but the minimum age was 12 for a girl and 14 for a boy.

(2) Ritual.—If all these conditions were fulfilled, a day was fixed for the marriage which must be one of good omen; as with us, May was an unlucky month for this purpose, and so was the early part of June, while certain other dies religioni were to be avoided (Fowler, Rel. Exper., p. 39 ff.). At earliest dawn, according to ancient usage both public and private, the auspices were taken by the flight of birds; but by Cicero's time this seems to have fallen away, and the dependence of the exterior phenomenon of a vicium took its place, as a preliminary to the first step in the procedure, which was the declaration of consent by the parties, usually but not necessarily recorded on tabulae nuptiales. Then the bride assumed the wedding dress, viz. the fiammetum, or hood of red or yellow, and the tunica recta with a woolen girdle fastened with the nodus herculaeus; this knot, we learn from Pliny (HN xviii. 63), was also used for birthing and served to her hair and we may therefore suppose that it was a charm against various kinds of evil (cf., however, ERE vii. 749). Her hair was parted into four separate waves with a spear-head (hasta calibarium), which may have been a survival from pre-historic marriage by capture; and under the fiammetum she carried a bunch of herbs picked by her own hand (Festus, s. v. 'Corda.' p. 36, Lindsay). She was then ready for the actual marriage rite, which, as will now be seen, was a matter not only of secular contract, but of religious usage; it is occasionally called a sacrament, as in Lukan, Phre. ii. 359 (of the marriage of Cato); sacramentum, as in Gell. 5.

(1) The first act of the ceremony was the dextrarum invicta, a symbolic act of union, in which, under the guidance of a promnus, who must be a co-manse married, the bride placed her right hand in the right hand of the bridegroom (Festus, p. 242 [p. 282, ed. Lindsay]). This act, and the sacrifice which seems to have followed, are represented on many monuments, of which accounts will be found in A. Rossbach, Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkämmer, Leipzig, 1871, passim; these are, however, all of very late date, and not easy to interpret. The dextrarum invicta took place, so far as we can discern, either in the bride's house before the hearth or in front of some temple (Nonius, 531); but what temple this was we do not know, nor is it clear to what deity sacrifice was offered. On the monuments we see both cow and pig, which suggest Juno and Tellus (Varro, de Ré Rust. ii. iv. 9, refers to the pig as an Etruscan marriage victim). Possibly Tellus was the usual deity in early times (Fowler, Rel. Exper., pp. 121, 128), and Juno later on; but Vergil combines the two in AEn. iv. 166. When the sacrifice had been offered by the pair, the persons present slept in the same bed, the hands were joined and the wedding meal followed, and lasted till evening.

(2) The next act was the deductio, in which the bride was conducted to her new home—a beautiful ceremony, exquitely described by Catullus in his last poem. He was taken, as if by force, from the arms of her mother, and led in procession to the house of her husband by three boys, sons of living parents (patrini et matrini), pure and of good omen, one of whom carried a torch of white-thorn, while the other two, holding the hands of flute-players and torch-bearers went before, the mysterious and unexplained cry 'Talasse' was raised, and nuts were thrown to the youthful lookers-on. Before they reached the house, she smeared the doorposts with oil and fat (of wolf or pig), and tied a thread of wool around them; probably these old customs were originally charms to avert evil (for wool) see J. Pley, De Lamiis in antiquorum ritibus usa, in RVVY xi. 2. (Giesesen, 1911) 82. She was then lifted over the threshold, perhaps as a last sign of simulated reluctance to be thus transplanted, and was received in her new home.

(3) This reception, the third act in the procedure, is obscure in its detail, but the general meaning is plain. It was called 'reception into community of fire and water ('aqua et ignis sacrifici'), i.e. into partnership in these necessities of human existence (E. Samter, Familie und starke Gierch und Römer, Berlin, 1901, 18 ff.). We are also told that she brought with her treasures of which she gave to her husband, one she laid on the hearth, and the third she threw down at the nearest compitum ('crossways') (Nonius, p. 822, Lindsay). Here she seems to be making an offering to the genius of her husband, to the spirit of the hearth-fire, and to the Lar of the family's land allotment, who dwelt in a soclium at the compitum (see Fowler, Rel. Exper., p. 77). She was now in the atrium, at the end of which, opposite the door, the lectus genialis had been made ready. The narrow would find her a matter familiaris sitting among her maids in that atrium or in the more private apartments behind it.

To help maintain the establishment which the marriage was to set up, she brought with her a dos, or dowry, which in strict law became the property of the husband (for modifications of this rule see art. 'Dos, in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities). As Cuq well puts it (p. 231), her position of dignity in the house, and her title of domina as mistress of its slaves, would have been impaired if she entered it without an empty hand, and all the expense of her husband. The dos was also the means of securing to the children born of the marriage succession to their mother's property as well as to the patrimonium of the father.

The ritual which we have been examining plainly indicates that the Roman bride was to hold a much nobler position in the household than the Greek wife (see Marriage [Greek]). She shared with her husband all the duties of the family, religious and secular; she lived in the atrium, and was never shut away in a woman's chamber. She took her meals with her husband; in all practical matters she was consulted, and only on questions political or intellectual was she expected to be silent.

When she was sent out arrayed in the graceful stola matronalis, she was treated with respect, and the passus-by made way for her; but it is characteristic of her position that she did not as a rule leave the house without the knowledge of her husband, or without an escort (Fowler, Social Life, p. 141).

The character induced and expressed by such a position is exemplified in the legendary Volumina of the story of Coriolanus, in Cornelius the mother of the Gracchi, in Caesar's mother Julia, and, among many others, in the perfect lady whose courage, good sense, and good manners, were an ornament to the marble of the Laudatium Turiae (CIL vi. 1527; Fowler, Social Life, p. 159 f.).

4. Divorce.—No doubt towards the end of the
MARRIAGE (Semitic).—Students of social evolution seem justified in holding that the family of primitive man was an intermediate development between those of the highest animals and that of the lowest living men. In the lowest known human societies the form of marriage is usually a temporary monogamy. This temporary monogamy has been accompanied among most early men by a greater or less degree of sexual irregularity, and has varied according to economic circumstances and the bent of the people. So far as can be ascertained from the existing evidence, it underwent some interesting variations among the primitive Semites.

1. Primitive Semitic.—Among many savage or semi-savage peoples it is customary to allow unmarried girls complete sexual liberty. In such communities it might in time come to be thought that a woman who had exercised such liberty was more likely to bear children than one who had not. There is reason to believe that something like this prevailed among the primitive Semites, and that superstitious value attached to this exercise of liberty, for in many widely-scattered portions of the Semitic world it became a sacred duty for women to sacrifice their virtue by one or more acts of free love. It was, apparently, that the temporary hierodoulai originated (see Hierodoulai [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi, p. 672 f.). Besides the existence of hierodoulai among the Semites, both temporary and permanent, there is also evidence of much sexual irregularity among them. It is the working hypothesis of most Semitic scholars to-day that Arabia was the cradle-land of the Semitic people. Naturally, the peculiar desert climate and oasis culture characteristic of the period left its impress on the Semitic family life. In the oases dates and fruit were raised, and some sustenance for the flocks was produced, but it was necessary to tend the flocks in the desert in search of pasture. Whether, however, men lived in an oasis or wandered from place to place, women would always be needed to perform the duties of the household and the camp, that the men might be free to fight, either in defence or for plunder. There are two reasons for believing that the women were for the most part the sisters and mothers of the men, whether the clan was resident in one fertile spot or was nomadic: (1) Semitic marriage was notoriously temporary, and (2) kinship was reckoned through the mother.

Then marriage was, on the whole, temporary and separable from the frequency of divorce in Semitic lands, especially among the Arabs and Abyssinians. (See below.) The researches of R. Robertson Smith established as well as the evidence will permit that among the Arabs and Abyssinians the divorce was through the mother. The reasons for this view are as follows. (1) The well-known Biblical phrase for relationship is "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh," (Gen. 2:24, the general word for 'clan.' The Arabs attach great importance to a bond created by eating together; we must suppose, therefore, that the bond between those of the same clan and the members of the same breast would be more nearly of the same 'clan' and the same 'flesh' than any others. (2) The word rahim, 'woman,' is the most general word for kinship, and points to a primitive kinship through the mother. (3) The custom called 'agiyab, by which a child is consecrated to the god of his father's tribe, cannot have been primitive, but must have sprung up in a state of transition to ensure the continuing of the offspring to the father's side of the house. (4) Cases occur in the historical period in which a boy when grown attaches himself to his mother's tribe. The poet Zohair is a case in point, and the Arab antiquarians appear to have known that such cases were not uncommon. (5) The fear that sons would choose their mother's clan instead of those who were wealthy to marry within their own kin. (6) Kinship between a man and his maternal uncle is still considered closer than that between a man and his paternal uncle. (7) Joseph's sons born of his Egyptian wife were not regarded as members of Israel's clan until formally adopted by them (Gen. 46:26). (8) Tamar might legally have been the wife of her half-brother Amnon, the relation being on the father's side (2 Sam. 13). Such unions were known in Judah as late as the time of Ezekiel (Ezk. 22:26). Talith, king of Sidon, married his father's daughter, and such marriages were known in Mecca. Since the marriage of those really regarded as brothers and sisters was abhorrent to the Semites, kinship could in these cases have been continued through the mother. (9) In the Arabic genealogical tables metronymic groups are still found. (10) In Semitic inscriptions found at Hегa metronymic clans appear. To this evidence are now being gathered by other scholars. Nódeke noted that among the Mandaeans a man is described as above).
as the son of his mother, which indicates that kinship is reckoned through the mother. F. E. Peters pointed out that among the Babylonians a man could, if he chose, join the kindred of his wife, which is a relic of the same custom.3 Wellhausen has shown that the Jews and most of the Semites reckoned descent through the mother, while I. reckons it through the father. Among some primitive peoples kinship is counted through the mother because they are ignorant of the part of the family reproductively involved. The Nairs of the Malabar coast, it is reckoned through the mother because a system of polyandry prevails. The wife has several husbands, no one of whom lives with her, but all of whom visit her occasionally, and it is not known which one of them may be the father of a child.4 Which of these causes led to the Semitic system of female kinship? We have no evidence to show that the Semites were so ignorant of the processes of reproduction that paternity was unknown to them. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence indicating that at one time a type of polyandry somewhat similar to that of the Nairs prevailed among the early Semites.

In three of the Mu‘allaqat poems there are specific statements that the women whom the poets visited only occasionally were members of other clans, and that when they visited them they often visited them at personal risk,5 on account of the strained relations of the clans. The marriages of Samson (Jg 14, 16) were of this nature. Such marriages were often terminated by the migration of the tribes in different directions. Ammiannus Marcellinus was, no doubt, speaking of this type of marriage when he said that among the Arabs the bride presents her husband with a spear and a tent, and, if she chooses, withdraws after a certain day.6 In this type of marriage kinship would necessarily be reckoned through the mother, and the fact that such alliances prevailed would be sufficient to account for the early Semitic custom of female kinship.

Such marriage conditions, while compelling the women to live with their brothers and sons rather than with their husbands, left them comparatively free from the masculine domination to which they were subjected after the rise of polygamy. Something of this freedom still survives in Arabia in parts of the peninsula like Oman and Haza, which are dominated by different tribes.

The type of marriage which seems to have prevailed, at least in part, was a combination of polyandry and polygamy. Just as a woman might reckon her husbands, so a man might have several wives in different clans. On the whole, however, the more numerous partners would seem to have been enjoyed by the women, for the practice of putting girls to death prevailed down to the time of Muhammad (see Qur‘ān, xvi. 81, lxxxi. 8), so that women must have been fewer than men. Marriages of this early Semitic form were not always exogamous, for in al-Qa‘a‘a, in his Mu‘allaqat that he followed one day the women of his tribe and spent a day in their company, and the Unahza with whom he afterwards rode and whose fruit he boasts he repeatedly lusted after, is his uncle,7 In like manner Labash, the woman celebrated in the poem of ‘Amr b. Kuhlūm, was ‘Amr’s kinswoman.8 Whether the marriage, as it occurred within the tribe were more permanent than the alliances which were made in other clans cannot be determined, but one would naturally suppose that they were.

Out of these general ideas of conunonaries, and not mere allures, Smith has shown in Kinship, p. 374.9

1. Monatschrift, xvi. (1884) 304.
2. s. v. 3.
6. Leifsdottir, p. 474.7
7. s. v. 2.
9. See in F. A. E. Förster’s ed. of the Mu‘allaqat (Leipzig, 1850) the commentators’ explanation of 11.

As the son of his mother, which indicates that kinship is reckoned through the mother. F. E. Peters pointed out that among the Babylonians a man could, if he chose, join the kindred of his wife, which is a relic of the same custom.3 Wellhausen has shown that the Jews and most of the Semites reckoned descent through the mother, while I. reckons it through the father. Among some primitive peoples kinship is counted through the mother because they are ignorant of the part of the family reproductively involved. The Nairs of the Malabar coast, it is reckoned through the mother because a system of polyandry prevails. The wife has several husbands, no one of whom lives with her, but all of whom visit her occasionally, and it is not known which one of them may be the father of a child. Which of these causes led to the Semitic system of female kinship? We have no evidence to show that the Semites were so ignorant of the processes of reproduction that paternity was unknown to them. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence indicating that at one time a type of polyandry somewhat similar to that of the Nairs prevailed among the early Semites.

In three of the Mu‘allaqat poems there are specific statements that the women whom the poets visited only occasionally were members of other clans, and that when they visited them they often visited them at personal risk, on account of the strained relations of the clans. The marriages of Samson (Jg 14, 16) were of this nature. Such marriages were often terminated by the migration of the tribes in different directions. Ammiannus Marcellinus was, no doubt, speaking of this type of marriage when he said that among the Arabs the bride presents her husband with a spear and a tent, and, if she chooses, withdraws after a certain day. In this type of marriage kinship would necessarily be reckoned through the mother, and the fact that such alliances prevailed would be sufficient to account for the early Semitic custom of female kinship.

Such marriage conditions, while compelling the women to live with their brothers and sons rather than with their husbands, left them comparatively free from the masculine domination to which they were subjected after the rise of polygamy. Something of this freedom still survives in Arabia in parts of the peninsula like Oman and Haza, which are dominated by different tribes.

The type of marriage which seems to have prevailed, at least in part, was a combination of polyandry and polygamy. Just as a woman might reckon her husbands, so a man might have several wives in different clans. On the whole, however, the more numerous partners would seem to have been enjoyed by the women, for the practice of putting girls to death prevailed down to the time of Muhammad (see Qur‘ān, xvi. 81, lxxxi. 8), so that women must have been fewer than men. Marriages of this early Semitic form were not always exogamous, for in al-Qa‘a‘a, in his Mu‘allaqat that he followed one day the women of his tribe and spent a day in their company, and the Unahza with whom he afterwards rode and whose fruit he boasts he repeatedly lusted after, is his uncle, In like manner Labash, the woman celebrated in the poem of ‘Amr b. Kuhlūm, was ‘Amr’s kinswoman. Whether the marriage, as it occurred within the tribe were more permanent than the alliances which were made in other clans cannot be determined, but one would naturally suppose that they were.

Out of these general ideas of conunonaries, and not mere allures, Smith has shown in Kinship, p. 374.
earlier time and the patriarchal form of marriage, which generally was prevailing at the time of Muhammad. W. R. Smith so regarded it. But, be this as it may, by the time of Muhammad there had come into vogue in Arabia a type of marriage in which the husband was gratuitously the owner (bidal) of the wife, and which is, consequently, known as total marriage. In this type of marriage children belonged, of course, to the father's clan. Smith attributes control of the total marriage to wars and to the consequent custom of marriage by capture. Marriages of this type might be either monogamous or polygamous, according to the caprice or the wealth of the husband. In much earlier times they had become the custom among the other Semites, who had migrated to lands more fertile than Arabia.

What form of marriage ceremony the early Semites had is largely a matter of conjecture. The type of marriages of which the early poets boast was probably without ceremony. A simple affinity or agreement between the parties sufficed. This must often have been the case also with the later noldh marriages. After a marriage of this kind was recognized by the clan of the bride, a feast was celebrated for a week, during which the guests, so to speak, suited the rough character of the civilization (see Jg 14:24).

As marriage became more permanent, somewhat similar festivals became the rule and have persisted in the Semitic faith.1

2. Babylonian and Assyrian.—There is little direct evidence of marriage and the position of women in Babylonia earlier than the time of Hammurabi (c. 2000 B.C.), though it is certain that the regulations embodied in his Code of laws are for the most part only the expression of customs that had then been of long duration.

The most conspicuous instance of the position of a married woman of the earlier time is that of Barnanttara, wife of Lugalanda, Patesi of Lagash about 2825 B.C. From an archive of tablets discovered at Tellah, which contained the pay-rolls of the attendants of her palace, memoranda of her gifts to temples and festivals, and even a record of her accouchement, it appears that she held a position in Lagash analogous to that of a queen in a modern European country. One cannot say that her husband had no other consorts, but it is certain that her position and importance were shared by no others. Her freedom of action, as far as the public have few parallels in Babylonian history, and are in striking contrast to the insignificance of the women in the harim of Assurbanipal (668-623 B.C.), into which many princesses went, never to be heard of again.2 Sumurmarat, the wife of Adad-nirari IV. (810-782 B.C.), was prominent enough to be described as "lady of the palace and its mistress." She is the nearest Mesopotamian parallel to Barnanttara. In the light of later Babylonian laws, however, it is probable that Barnanttara was the only wife of Lagulanda, and that she was, at least in theory, a monogamist. If this were true of the ruler, it should be true for most of the men of his kingdom.

For the period of the first dynasty of Babylon (2152-2000 B.C.) the Code of Hammurabi affords an authentic source of information on marriage. The Code contains this regulation: "If a man takes a wife and does not execute contracts for her, that woman is no wife" (§125). This is proof that in Babylonia marriage had passed from the less formal stage of early Semitic life, and had, in consequence of long legal development, become a matter of recognition. The marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize anything like our modern "common law" marriage. One reason for this was that the legal effect of the marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize anything like our modern "common law" marriage. One reason for this was that the legal effect of the marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize anything like our modern "common law" marriage. One reason for this was that the legal effect of the marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts.

The Code assumes that marriages shall be monogamous, although it imposes on the father the duty of raising the children of his concubines. Nevertheless, it recognizes that in the case of women who had served as sacred servants in the temple (see Hierodouloi [Semitic and Egyptian]), and had married late and were, accordingly, unlikely to bear children, and she in the case of wives who through sickness were rendered barren, he may take another (§§145-149). If the second wife is taken because of the chronic illness of the first, the first must divulge to the public the return to her father's house (§149). Slave concubinage was frequently practised, but a female slave who had borne her master children could not be sold (§§149 f., 171).

According to the Code, a man might divorce his wife, if he wished, but in that case he must make certain specified monetary settlements, which varied according to whether the wife had or had not borne him children (§127 f.). A woman might take the initiative in a divorce. If she did so, her husband could, if he wished, divorce her without alimony (§141). If the wife complained of ill-treatment, it was the duty of the ruler to institute an investigation. If her claim proved true, she could take her marriage portion and return to her father's house; if untrue, she was to be thrown into the river at a place of 12 meters.

In the marriage contracts of the time of the 1st dynasty it appears that greater privileges of divorce were sometimes secured to the bride than the Code would have granted her. E.g., a priest married, and the contract provided that, if he divorced his wife, he must return her dowry, and pay a half-mama as alimony. Another contract, which seems to equalize the penalties for
divorce, provides that, if the husband divorces the wife, he shall be driven out to the oxen of the palace; if she divorces him, she shall be driven to the carriage-house of the palace. Another contract provides for the divorce of the man by payment of the usual alimony; on the part of the wife, on pain of having her hair cut off and being sold for money. The latter was a less severe penalty than being thrown into the river. In general, however, the penalties attached to the contract imposed upon the wife in the marriage contracts are as severe as those of the Code, though not always identical. In one case the wife is to be thrown from a tower; in another, impaled. Nevertheless, the penalty most often imposed is that mentioned in the Code. One marriage, concerning which two documents bear witness, records the wedding of two sisters by one man, but provides that the older shall be the chief wife, and that the other shall perform her certain specified duties.

From the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods several marriage contracts have come down to us. The stipulations in them as to bride-price and dowry are in general the same as in those of the time of the 1st dynasty, but the conditions on which the parties acted subsequently to them are set forth in the contracts of that period, although divorce did then occur. In most of the marriage contracts the man acts for himself and arranges with the parties, but, if he is a minor, the parents make the arrangement for him. The bridegroom enjoyed in this respect more liberty of action than the bride. In Babylonia, as in the ceremony of the English Church, she had to be "given away.

We have no knowledge of ancient Babylonian marriage ceremonies further than that before marriage every woman had to act once as a temporary hierodoulia (see Hierodoulia [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 674)."}

3. Hebrew.—In the story of Samson there are, as noted above, some faint traces of that early Semitic type of marriage in which the wife belonged to a hostile clan, lived with her people, and was visited by her husband for longer or shorter periods. The stories of the Patriarchs reflect various phases of matrimonial development. The marriage of Jacob to the daughters of Laban indicates a type of marriage in which the husband resides in the wife's clan and the children are counted to her family, for Laban says: "The daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my sons." (Gen 31:41.) Then Jacob broke away, and the children were counted to his stock. This narrative forms a transition from one system of kinship to the other. A number of survivals of the two matrilineal types of marriage just mentioned are found in the narratives of the OT: Sisachem, e.g., consented to circumsicion to render himself acceptable to the clan of his proposed wife (Gen 31:40). A number of instances also occur in which a son inherits his father's concubines: Ishbosheth regarded Saul's concubine as his own, and resented Abner's taking of her (2 Sam 2:20). See also, in a related connection, the famous marriage of Adonijah's desire to marry Alistib as treasurer (1 K 2:27; cf. v. 16); Reuben was denounced for endeavouring to anticipate the inheritance of his father's concubine during his parent's lifetime (Gen 35:22). As noted above (§ I), these are survivals of Semitic polyandrous marriages. Another survival was the levirate—a custom which required a brother to take as his wife the widow of a deceased brother and count the first fruit of the union as the child of the deceased (Deut. 25:5, Gen 38:8-11, Ruth 3:4). The influence of these early forms of marriage is also seen in the great liberty enjoyed by women of the early period (see 1 & 2 Sam 22' above). Another form of marriage, and the Jacob type of marriage is also reflected in which slave concubines may be given by a wife to a husband, for the sake of obtaining an offspring which the wife is unable to bear (see Code of Hammurabi, §§ 144, 146). The general type of marriage of which we have evidence in the Hebrew writings was, however, betal marriage, the regular Hebrew word for husband being betal, and that for a married woman b'rithab, which means "owned," "possessed." Another evidence of this conception of marriage may be seen in Ex 20'7, where the wife is counted among a man's possessions. Among the poor, marriages were probably of the same character, but there was no sentiment against polygamy, and it was often practised by the rich and powerful, as the large hirzlans of David and Solomon abundantly show. Ex 21 *-56 often has two wives. The law of Ex 21:24 * takes it for granted that female slaves will become the concubines either of their own or of his sons. See also the Deuteronomic Code.

The list of the degrees of kinship in which marriage was prohibited in Lv 18, 20, and Dt 27 belongs to the period of Judaism, which began with the Babylonian Exile. As a result were young people allowed to arrange matrimonial affairs for themselves; such arrangements were made by the parents (cf. Gen 21:1 * 24:28 34 and 19:14). Down to about 650 B.C. a man could divorce his wife without any formalities whatever (see Hos 3:1 and 2 S 3:4). This liberty was somewhat modified by the Deuteronomical Code, which provides (21:2) that, if a man wishes to divorce a wife, he must give her a written statement to that effect. It permits him to issue the divorce for any cause; she need only "have found no favour in his eyes." Apparently this law was designed to make divorce less easy than hitherto. The fact that no written statement was necessary; for, in an age when writing was not a usual accomplishment, it was quite an undertaking to get the document composed. In Judaism, however, this provision was held to justify the marriage contract.

The law of Deuteronomy permitted only the man to initiate divorce; it granted to the woman no corresponding power. It represents, no doubt, the usual custom among the Hebrews. In one instance, however, is known in which a Hebrew bride secured by her marriage contract a similar liberty. Among the Jewish papyri discovered at Elephantine in Egypt a marriage contract was found, which contains this passage: "1 If to-morrow or any later day Miphtathyah shall stand up in the congregation and say, 'I divorce Ashir, my husband, the price of divorce shall be on her head,... 11 If to-morrow or any later time As-Bor shall stand up in the congregation and say, 'I divorce my wife, Miphtathyah, the price of divorce shall be forfeited," etc. If to-morrow or any later day Ashir shall stand up in the congregation and say, 'I divorce my wife, Miphtathyah, the price of divorce shall be forfeited," etc.

Whether other Jewish women at Elephantine were accustomed to gain this liberty by contract, or whether there were special reasons why it was secured to Miphtathyah, we do not know, but in any event it is a significant modification of the OT status of women in such matters.

The Deuteronomical law defined two cases in which a man was for ever powerless to divorce a wife: if he had falsely charged his wife with not


2 For examples, see A. E. Cowley, "Divorce," Journal of Egyptian Studies, xiv, 1907, p. 179.

3 See Babylonian and Assyrian Literature, Aldine ed., New York, 1901, p. 270. 1
being a virgin, and if he had been forced to marry a woman whom he had violated (Dt 22:22, see). The penalties for adultery bore more heavily on the woman than on the man, the only cases where they were equal being when the crime was committed with the wife or betrothed of another; then both the man and the woman were to be stoned (Deut 22:21-23). The point of view was that adultery with a married woman inflicted a loss upon her husband's property (cf. art. ADULTERY [Semitic]). The wife was accordingly compelled to be faithful, but no similar fidelity was exacted of him. So long as he did not violate the honour of those who were really or prospectively the wives of others, he was not punished, except that, if he violated a maiden, he might be compelled to take her as an additional wife. The penalty imposed on a wife or a betrothed maiden for adultery seems in the earlier time to have been burning (Gen 35:22), but was later changed to stoning (Deut 22:24, 29). If a woman was simply suspected of adultery, she was tried by ordeal (Num 5:1-20). As the husband could, however, in drinking water into which holy dust from the sanctuary floor had been thrown, it must generally have resulted in the release of the accused woman. The occasions of adultery on the part of the prophets would indicate that the penalties were not well enforced and that it was of frequent occurrence (2 Sam 11 and Hos 3 afford such instances in which the penalty was not enforced).

4. Arabian.—The early Arabian marriage customs have been sufficiently treated above (§ 1); it remains to note how these customs were affected by Islam. At the time of the Prophet her marriage had apparently become the normal type, and polygamy prevailed among the rich. The husband had full power over the wife and could enforce his authority by beating her (Qur'ān, iv. 38). Some survivals of customs which belonged to the earlier time were, as noted above, condemned by the Prophet (iv. 26). Before the time of Muḥammad, the legal limit had been set to the number seven of wives a man might possess. In the interest of moderation, Muḥammad ordained that legal wives should be not more than four, but that a man might also marry as concubines as many slaves as he was able to possess (iv. 3, 29). The Prophet himself was allowed as many as he wished (xxxix. 49). Marriage with one's mother, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, nieces, mother-in-law, father-in-law, step-father, step-mother, step-sister, and daughter-in-law was prohibited (iv. 27). Marriages with foreign women were permitted, if the women were believers (ix. 10). Adultery was a crime for a woman, but apparently not for a man. Before the time of the Prophet an adulteress had been literally immured,1 but Muḥammad changed this to imprisonment in the house of the wronged husband (iv. 19). A slave girl was to receive half the penalty of the married woman (iv. 30). Divorce of a wife, as among the Hebrews, was possible to the husband at will. Before the time of Muḥammad, the formula of divorce consisted of this sentence, which the husband pronounced to the wife: 'Thus art thou to me as my mother's back!' After this had been pronounced over her, it was considered as unnatural to approach her as it was to approach a real mother,2 and so it was regarded as wrong to remarry a divorced wife. Muḥammad called this 'backing away' from wives (Iviii. 2). He declared, however, that the utterance of this formula did not constitute a real relationship and permitted a man to marry a woman whom he had divorced (xxxiii. 4). A man might not divorce a woman who was pregnant, or who was nursing a child (lxv. 4, 6), but apart from this condition a man and wife who did not agree might separate at any time (iv. 129), though liberal alimony was enjoined (iv. 24). It is assumed (xxxiii. 48) that men will frequently divorce their wives for more whines after marriage, even before coitus. Coitus corubial relations have been established. Liberty of divorce has been freely exercised by the faithful both in ancient and in modern times.3 Thus, Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was required, including all that he had married and divorced, more than two hundred women. Sometimes he included as many as four wives in one contract, and he would divorce four at once and marry four others in their stead.4 A certain Muḥammat b. Sha'labah is said to have married eighty women in the course of his life,5 and Muḥammad al-Tayyib, a dyer of Bagdad (a.d. 425 A.H.), is said to have married in all more than nine hundred women.6 Palgrave relates that the Sultan of Qatar in E. Arabia married a new wife every month or fortnight, who was then divorced and placed on a pension.7 C. M. Doughty tells how Zaid, his host, a petty sheikh, not only permitted his wife to be courted by another Arab, but offered to divorce her so that Doughty could marry her.8 Naturally a woman could not marry so many men, because she had not the right of divorce, and because she could have only one husband at a time; some of them, nevertheless, managed to have a surprising number. A certain Kharijah of Yemen is said to have had upwards of forty husbands, and her son Kharijah did not know which one was his father.9 In parts of Arabia certain old marriage customs still survive in spite of Islam. Thus in Sumah and around the 'Asir in S. Arabia marriage for a definite term still exists,10 and a man who has a permanent wife may also take a temporary one. In Sumah the agreement is witnessed before the qādi, and so has the sanction of Islam. At the expiration of the contract, the couple may separate without the formality of a divorce; if they continue to live together, however, it is necessary that such marriages are still practised in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage.11 Marriage ceremonies among the Arabs vary greatly according to circumstances. Sometimes they consist of a feast,12 sometimes of a civil contract before the qādi,13 and sometimes there is no ceremony at all. The much married woman Umm Kharijah, mentioned above, is said to have reduced the contract to two words. A man approached her and said to her, 'Betrothed?' and she replied, 'Married!' and was from that moment his lawful wife.14

5. Abyssinian.—Abyssinia is Christian, though its form of Christianity is the result of an arrested development. Marriages celebrated by the Church assume something of the permanent character of marriage in other Christian countries. Such marriages are solemnized by a priest, and the contracting parties partake of the Holy Communion. A candidate for holy orders is compelled to marry once, as in the Greek Church, but he cannot divorce his wife, and if she dies, he may not marry again; one matrimonial venture alone is permitted to him.15 Among the people religious marriages are not popular. All travellers agree that the Abyssinians prefer to be married by civil contract, as these

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1 See Wellhausen, GGV, 1903, p. 452 f.
2 See Lauen, Thae Thousand and One Nights, i, 31ff.
5 Arabia Deserta, p. 315 f.
6 Wilken, Het matrimonievoch de oude Arabeenen, p. 13.
7 See Doughty, Arabia Deserta, New York, 1894, p. 128.
8 Wilken, Het matrimonievoch de oude Arabeenen, p. 13.
9 See Doughty, Arabia Deserta, ed. New York, 1894, p. 128.
10 See Doughty, Arabia Deserta, ed. New York, 1894, p. 128.
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marriages may be dissolved at the desire of either party to the contract. This liberty is freely exercised. Wives are changed at will, by mutual agreement, with the consent of their husbands and marrying the wife divorced by another. Divorces do not necessarily dissolve friendly relations between those who separate; Parkyns visited a man whose divorced wife and her children lived in the same compound with him and his new wife and family. It frequently happens that those who have been divorced and have each married others divorce their new partners to defend it and again reunite. When the separating couple have children, the children are divided. The eldest son falls to the mother, the eldest daughter to the father; if there is only one son, he goes with the mother; and, similarly, one daughter goes with the father; if the remaining children are unequal in number, they are divided by lot.

In addition to these irregularities there is also much cohabitation in Abyssinia, as in other Semitic countries. The levirate exists there, and its compulsion operates not only when a brother dies, but when, as so often happens in African wars, he is killed, so as to be incapable of begetting children.

These peculiarities of Abyssinian matrimonial life are clearly a survival from early Semitic conditions, and Christianity has never been able to eradicate them.

When a man desires to marry a girl, he applies directly to her parents or nearest relatives; when their consent is obtained, and the dower arranged, the girl is entrusted to her begetting parents, who have no voice in the matter. Civil marriages are celebrated by feasts much as in other Semitic lands, the bridegroom and his friends feasting by themselves, and the bride and her friends by themselves. After her a day of festivity, the bride is carried to the house of her husband, and the marriage is accomplished. This formality is observed no matter how many times the bride may have been married before.


GEORGE A. BARTON.

MARRIAGE (Slavio).—As early as the pagan period the family life of the Slavs was regulated by legal marriages, which were concluded in a solemn manner. Like other nations, the ancient Slavs had two forms of marriage: marriage by capture of a girl belonging to another family or tribe by the bridegroom. In the Christian period only the latter was sanctioned by the Church as a more civilized and noble form of marriage, whereas marriage by capture was prohibited and gradually disappeared. Nevertheless, a series of traditions which belongs to the至少 ritually rode the traces of the old form of marriage by capture is 

1 See Hotten, Abyssinia and its People, pp. 41, 451, 59; Winstanley, a Visit to Abyssinia, i. 75 f.; Brent, p. 151 f.; and Wythe, Modern Abyssinia, pp. 161, 254.


3 Hotten, p. 41.

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preserved in the wedding ceremony. To these customs belong, e. g., that of stopping the bridegroom on his way to the house of his bride and that of shutting the door before the bridegroom and hiding the bride; and here may also be mentioned the habit of presenting a false bride to the bridegroom. In S. Russia the wedding-guests engage in symbolic lights, which may slightly be deemed a survival of the ancient marriage by capture. The companions of the bridegroom violently attack the house where the bride lives, while her kinsfolk defend it and repel the aggressors, and the two parties put on end to the hostilities and restore harmony by a peaceable negotiation. The Southern Slavs (the Jugoslavs) have preserved the custom of marriage by capture to the present time, and, where this form of marriage has been away, symbolic traditions have taken its place.

The wedding ceremonies celebrated by the different Slavic nations vary widely, but it is possible to discover in them some fundamental traits which are common to all Slavs, and which may be regarded as a survival of ancient times, while their antiquity is also confirmed by their accordance with the chief types of the wedding ceremony, as reconstructed by H. Hirt and O. Schrader. Among all the Slavic peoples the first preliminaries to the ceremony proper are the "wooling" and the marriage contract. The deputies of the bridegroom (dveri, orvom, djer, etc.) negotiate with the bride's father concerning the conditions of the marriage and arrange the precise date for the wedding ceremony. The affer ceremony begins with the crowning of the bride with a wreath variously arranged and more or less ornate; the bride and the bridegroom shake hands as a mark of their mutual consent, and pass three times round the hearth. Thus the nuptial knot is formally tied, and the pair give each other various presents of symbolic meaning (rings, apples, wedding-shirts, etc.). Afterwards the bride is veiled and conducted in solemn procession to the house of the bridegroom, where a hearty reception is given her, and bread and honey are distributed among the guests, who cast upon the bride various fruits, such as corn, millet, peas, nuts, hops, rice (nowadays sweets), etc., to express their wish that she may bear many children. A similar meaning underlies the custom practised by some Slavic peoples of placing a child in the bride's lap with the title of "bride's son", etc., or "bride's bride." It is customary, when she reaches the door of the bridegroom's house, to carry her over the threshold and to place her upon a fur, the hair of which is turned upwards. One of the most significant gifts which the wedding-guests give to the couple is a cock and a black hen. In S. Russia the bride throws such a hen under the hearth, probably as a sacrifice for the domestic god. A very important place in the wedding pastry is occupied by a large wheat cake, decorated with eggs, flowers, ribbons, and sweets, which is cut in pieces at the wedding feast and distributed among the guests. To the symbolic nuptial ceremonies belong, further, the untwisting or cutting of the bride's plait and the covering of her hair with a cap-like scarf. There was a rule among the Slavs—which is still, for the most part, observed—which obliged unmarried women, for the sake of distinction, to wear their hair in long, loose plaites, while married women wore a cap. The bride's entrance upon the status of a married woman was symbolized by the ceremonies mentioned, which was performed in a closed room by the woman present. Then the bride used to unlock the shoes of her bridegroom

to show her submission (sometimes she even received symbolic blows), and, after being clothed in new garments by the master, to lie down to sleep. On the best man, she went to bed with her husband in the presence of the witnesses. After the nuptial night purification was performed in a clear stream or at a well; later on, this ceremony was reduced to a mere sprinkling with water.

Besides these chief and almost fundamental ceremonies, the various Slavic peoples have other customs connected with the wedding, the details of which cannot be described at full length in this article. It is interesting, however, to notice that for a long time the people attached far greater importance to John the Baptist's feast. The Catholic Church's observance of the feast of the Baptism of Jesus is only a modern development. The important place that the teaching of the Baptist had in the development of Slavic nations.


J. MACHAL.

MARTINEAU.—James Martineau (1805-1900) was born in Norwich, April 21, 1805, the fourth and seventh child of Thomas Martineau, a manufacturer of bombazine. Of Huguenot ancestry, he was also descended through his father's mother from John Baptist Mead, one of the ejected ministers of 1662. After four years at the Norwich Grammar School he was placed under the care of Dr. Lant Carpenter at Bristol (1819-21), to whom he owed his 'spiritual rebirth.' His teacher was a pioneer in education, and combined instruction in the elements of science as well as psychology and moral philosophy with classical and mathematical training. Thus equipped, he was placed in machine-work at the age of 15, but relinquished his apprenticeship after a year (partly under the shock of a bereavement which 'turned him from an engineer into an evangelist' [speech at Nottingham, 1878; Carpenter, J. H., Martineau, p. 22]), and in 1821 entered Manchester College, York, as a student for the ministry. He had been brought up in the Unitarian theology of Priestley, and embraced his necessary pantheism with ardour, though at Bristol he had read Wilberforce and Hannah More, and was not without occasional misgivings concerning the freedom of the will. On the completion of his College course he took charge of Dr. Carpenter's school for a year (1827-28), and, after a short period of ministerial service in Dublin (1828-32), terminated through his refusal of the endowment as the Regium Donum, he began his longest pastorate in this country (1832-57).

In 1840 he undertook the additional duty of Professor of Philosophy and Political Economy in Manchester New College, on its return from York to the city of its foundation. During the erection of the Hope St. Church by his congregation (1848-49) he spent fifteen months with his family in Germany, returning to resume his ministry. The transference of the College to London led to his settlement there in 1857, and from 1859 he also ministered in Little Portland St. Chapel till 1872, when a threatened failure of health led to his retirement. In the meantime he had succeeded to the Principalship of the College in 1869, which he held till June 1869.

For more than fifty years he had been actively engaged in literary work of many kinds. To the religious denomination of his birth and education he gave unstinted service, and his was the chief influence in transforming its fundamental theological conceptions, while in the wider field of philosophy he was the powerful antagonist of the empiricism and utilitarianism of the Mills, the monism of Spencer, materialism, and the agnostic philosophy of Spencer.

The Unitarians of Martineau's youth followed the tradition of Locke. Accepting the NT as the final authority in Christian doctrine, they recognized Jesus Christ as the Messiah, whose teachings were authenticated by miracles. To this interpretation Martineau remained faithful till after 1832. But further study of the Gospels confronted him with the predictions which implied the return of Jesus in the lifetime of His disciples to judge the world, and this begot an investigation into the significance of revelation which led him to declare in his first work, The Rationalism of Religious Inquirers (1830), that 'no seeming inspiration can establish anything contrary to reason, that the last appeal in all researches into religious truth must be the judgments of reason.' It sought out this principle was to be one of the main occupations of his life. He followed the progress of German critical study; he was familiar with Paulus and Hirt's researches; the results of the Tubingen school, and became their earliest and most accomplished English exponent ('The Creed and Heresies of Early Christianity, Westminster Review, 1859). By 1845 he had abandoned the apologetic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and in the third edition of the Institutiones (1848) he ceased to demand belief in the gospel miracles as essential for the Christian name. In the Prospects Review (1845-54) and its successor, the National Review (1855-64), he secured an organ for his theological and philosophical essays, while others not less brilliant appeared in the Westminster. Indefatigable in study, a constant teacher of the young, he devoted long courses of lectures to the exposition of the NT and the history of Christian doctrines, and in his last large treatise, The Seat of Authority in Religion (1895), returned to his earliest theme. He re-examined the claims of the Roman Catholic Church, the infallibility of the Bible, and the historical significance of Christiinity, and presented Jesus no longer as the Jewish Messiah, but as the 'prince of Saints,' revealing the highest possibilities of the soul. Looking back at ninety (1895), he wrote to William Knight:

The substitution of Religion at first-hand, straight out of the immediate interaction between the soul and God, for religion at second-hand, fetched, by copying, out of anonymous traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean eighteen centuries ago, has been the really directing, though hardly conscious aim of my responsible years of life' (Carpenter, p. 549).

Martineau thus remained to the last a Unitarian in his interpretation of the Deity, and a Christian in his allegiance to Jesus Christ. But his position was often misunderstood, partly because of his sympathy with Catholic positions and institutions, and partly because of his steadfast refusal to belong to a Unitarian Church. This was due to the discovery of the real nature of the foundation on which the present worship of the chapel occupied by Unitarians was held. Some of these had been founded in the 17th cent., others in the 18th, by the English Presbyterians, who, under the leadership of Baxter, were 'all parties,' and repudiated creeds of 'human imposition.' In dedicating their chapels 'for the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters' (sometimes specified as Presbyterians, sometimes as
Independents, sometimes as both together), they deliberately rejected all limiting denominational names. By slow processes of Scripture study many ministers of the Unitarian, and in the Unitarian, in theology. Attraction was at length called to this issue, and a suit was instituted among the trustees of a charity in York founded by Lady Hewitt, whose husband, the Rev. John Hewitt (M.P. for York in the reign of Charles II.), had been a warm supporter of the Presbyterians. The decision (December 1833), which displaced the Unitarian trustees and once again impelled the tenure of all the chapels of similar foundation; and after long litigation the existing worshippers were secured in possession only by the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844). The controversy had a lifelong effect on Martineau's views of the true basis of Church union. To the association of individuals for the promotion of Unitarian teaching he remained constant all his life. But he could not accept a theological name as a condition for religious fellowship. It was inevitably exclusive instead of catholic; it seemed to involve treachery to his spiritual ancestors; it barred the way to those vital possibilities which had been the secret of the Unitarian advance. Deeply conscious of indebtedness to various schools of religious life, Martineau endeavoured (1868) to form a Free Christian Union, which was joined by representa- tives of various British Christian Churches and was disbanded two years later. Subsequently he worked out a scheme for the National Church as a Federal Union" (CF II. [1887] 406 ff.), which proposed to abolish the Act of Uniformity, to raise the Church of England from State control, and associate it with the other communions in a United English Christian Church. The plan aroused considerable opposition from Martineau's Bill in which it was embodied was never actually laid before Parliament.

From the time of his settlement in Liverpool, Martineau had been continuously engaged in teaching and writing, and his intercourse with the young was a prominent cause of the changed view of the moral consciousness which led to the reconstruction of his philosophy. Trained in the pantheistic necessitarianism of Priestley, he had lived under a habitual tension of obligation without realizing its significance. Many influences now contributed to give it new meaning. Wordsworth had long been the poet he most admired; Cordell and Carlyle revealed unsuspected depths of thought and passion in human nature; Channing emphasized its freedom and dignity. In reviewing Bentham's "Deontology" (Monthly Repository, 1834), while still placing the "criterion of right" in the "tendency of an action to promote the happiness of an agent," he laid stress, against Bentham, on the reality and worth of the disinterested allusions, and prepared the way for a wholly new set of moral values. The questions of his pupils, his persistent NT studies, and the hymns of the Wesleyes opened new aspects of the inner life; and in the lecture on "Moral Evil" in the Liverpool Controversy (1839) he formally abandoned the determinism of his youth. The change involved not only a personal act of faith, but a renewed fascination for "communicated truth"; it was effected through character; its organ was the conscience and the affections; its supreme historic type was seen in Christ as the image of the Father. Reinforced by his reading of Kant, and in opposition on the one hand to the "association" philosophy of James Mill, and on the other to the monistic schemes of Spinoza and Hegel, Martineau began formally to conceive human nature. The sphere of judgment was transferred from consequences without to springs of action within. In this inner world lay a multitude of appetites and energies, which were not all of equal rank. When they were arranged in some revealed themselves as higher, while others fell into a lower place; and this distinction of rank was irresolvable into any other element such as order, truth, beauty. With the various moral estimates, therefore, there was always an alternative before the mind, and the power to recognize these diverse values lay with conscience, which pronounced this better and that worse. This view was first expounded by the "Prospective" (1845), in an essay on Whewell's 'Elements of Morality,' and led to the definition: "Every action is right which, in the presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in the presence of a higher principle, follows a lower" (Essays, III. 352). The year before, during a visit to Liverpool, Mrs. Carlyle had described Martineau as 'the victim of conscience.' He was to become the greatest English moralist since Butler. Here was the witness of Deity within; here the access of the soul to divine things; here the perception which he was afterwards to define as 'the perennial Indwelling of God in Man and in the Universe.' Throughout this view of man's ethical constitution ran an exposition of our knowledge of the external world in a review of "Diireeley's Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century," London, 1846, in Prospective, 1846; "The act of Perception gives us simultaneous knowledge of subject and object" (p. 662). Again and again in subsequent essays Martineau vindicated this 'natural dualism' against idealism on the one hand and pantheism on the other, and the former autonomy of our faculties. But perception involved more than passive consciousness; it was evoked by resistance and the effort needed to overcome it; besides the space-relation of I and the not-I, a cause-relation was revealed in the same anthesis. In the strenuous conviction of personality which he derived from his ethical experience, Martineau saw the true meaning of cause; its seat was in the personal power of the will, and this he boldly applied to the interpretation of the surrounding scene. The 'not-self' must be comprehended personally; its varied energies were but the manifestations of its intelligence, by the rising doctrine of the correlation of forces, like a point to their ultimate identity. Martineau entrenched himself securely in his prophetic recognition of the part played by the same energy in the constitution of human nature. The relation of the soul to God was a moral relation. Known in the conscience, he was one; the manifestation of the world, therefore, was only the veil of a hidden unity; and the foundations of theism were thus laid on the conception of God as cause of the universe and revealer of righteousness in man.

Such was the general scheme of the philosophy of religion which Martineau worked out with rich elaboration in the next forty years. His sojourn in Germany and his renewed studies in Plato and Hegel gave him a secure hold of great ontological conceptions. He defined them as safeguarded his "new intellectual birth." But he remained faithful to the English tradition of psychological method, and slowly built up the fabric of thought on the basis of self-knowledge. Again and again he sought to construct the identity of actions in the order of their relative worth. This was finally embodied in the first of his three great treatises, Types of Ethical Theory (2 vols., 1885). After reviewing Hobbes's "Leviathan," and the increase of modern science (Plato), immanent (Descartes, Male-
branche, Spinoza), and physical (Comte), he ex- pounded (vol. ii.) his own interpretation of the nature of moral authority. This involved a classi- fication of the properties, passions, affections, and sentiments, and an arrangement of them in a scale of values. The scheme thus wrought out of human experience was then contrasted with the heisdiron (1831, 2 vols., do. 1835. We may also name his Lectures in the Liver- pool Controversy (1835), A Study of Spinoza, do. 1832, and National Duties and Other Sermons and Addresses, do. 1835. See, further, A. W. Jackson, James Martineau, a Biography and a Study, do. 1895; Drummond and C. R. Upton, The Life and Letters of James Martineau, 2 vols., do. 1901; J. E. Carpenter, James Martineau, Eclectic and Practical Theologian, do. 1905.

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MARTYRS.—See SAIN'TS AND MARTYRS.

MARY.—The following article, dealing with the cult of the Virgin Mary, starts from the Scripturial and orthodox position (1) that our Lord, Jesus Christ, is the eternal Son of God, became man, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary; and (2) that, inasmuch as He is thus God and man in two distinct natures and one person for ever, so is she, His mother, truly and properly described as Theotokos and Virgo Deipara—the Mother or Bring-forth of Our Lord and God, who was God when He issued from her virgin womb, wearing the maternal security of her substance had been prepared for Him, which He had taken to Himself, which He carried with Him to the Cross, which He raised in spiritual glory from the tomb, which He wears for ever at the right hand of the Majesty on high. These things are part of the faith of the whole Catholic Church; they are treated here as historical facts.

Another matter which, though not there silent upon it, yet, undeniably, exercised a powerful influence on the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary, is assumed in this article in accordance with the view of overwhelmingly the larger part of Christendom, viz. her perpetual virginity; 'virgo concepsit, virgo peperit, virgo permanit.' With the general question of the Invocation of Saints, and the merits or demerits of that practice, this article is not concerned.

The only questions, therefore, to be here discussed concern the implications of these facts. We shall inquire historically (1) what was inferred from them in the Apostolic and early ages of the Church as to the duty of Christians towards the Virgin Mother of the Lord; (2) when and how the wide-spread developments of her cult arose; and (3) the grounds on which these developments have been justified, or are rejected, by those who accept the facts.

I. In Holy Scripture.—Over and above the witness borne by the four Evangelists to Our Lord's having a human being to his human nature (Mt 6:6; Mk 6:6) the direct statements of two of them (Mt 1:20, Lk 2:25) that she was a pure virgin when by the power of the Holy Ghost conceived, and another of the same (Lk 1:34) that she was conceived without the stain of sin, the canonical and confessedly inspired History of the Church, we have in the third Evangelist several notes expressive of the high reverence and honour due to her. St.
Luke records the angelic salutation, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee;' and the angelic assurance, 'Thou hast found favour with God.' He makes it plain that she was the moral, and not simply the physical, instrument of the Incarnation: he brings out her wonderful faith, believing in God's power, seeking no sign, though she gets one, and asking only what course the divine call may require her to adopt (1:38). His narrative has an unconscious risk in that it makes the reproach among men with which the poor Jew's still blaspheme her Son and revile herself (Pusey, Eirenicon, ii. 25); and he records how Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost, saluted her, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? And blessed is she that believed.' 

Mary herself, in her inspired song, while acknowledging that God is her Saviour too, expects from 'all generations' a like honour to that which Elizabeth had assigned her, and speaks of 'the great things' that God had done for her (1:46).

Yet, while the NT thus justifies the Church's instinct of loving and reverential gratitude to the Holy Mother of the Lord, and authorizes the naming of her Son and the invocation of her (and the Immaculate Conception of her mother) in worship, without one instance of her influence with Christ being invoked either in her lifetime or after her departure. At Cana, when she does interpose, she is hidden behind, and is of little assistance to those whom she is sure that He will help. 'Whatever He saith unto you, do it' (Jn 2:5). When, on another occasion, she 'sent unto him, calling him,' He apparently did not reply, 'Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my mother' ( Mk 3:31-32, Lk 8:48). When a woman exclaimed, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee,' He replied, 'Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' (Lk 11:27-28). He does not imply, of course, that Mary had not these graces—they were conspicuous in her; but He certainly puts the moral virtue higher than her unique privilege.

And when, from the Cross, He commends her to St. John saying, 'Behold, thy mother,' and to him, 'Behold, thy son,' while to have her with him in 'his own home' (Jn 19:27) as doubtless a privilege of the beloved disciple, the pagan apostle, yet the obvious meaning of our Saviour's words was rather that St. John should take care of her than that she should be his protectress (R. Stier, The Words of the Lord Jesus, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1855-58, vii. 407). St. Irenaeus states that it was ordered in St. John or elsewhere in the NT that he, or any other, so much as thought of her being established as a mother to pity all Christians, and help them in their approach to Christ. On the other hand, to expand the passage, as some Protestant writers (even Stier, loc. cit.) have not hesitated to do, as an intimation that all Christ's earthly relationships—even Mary's to Him as His mother—caused and determined by His death is to come perilously near the denial of His abiding manhood whereby, as our High Priest within the veil, He is still 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities' (He 4:14). A sufficient example of our Lord's nether calling her here His mother nor naming either St. John or her is supplied when we take it as an instance of His considerateness: had He betrayed the relationship, those who mocked at Him would have not been slow to insult her; and the newly re-awakened courage of the disciple might have again been shaken by the utterance of their names. The NT are not (1) the mention of her by St. Luke (Ac 1:14) in the place of honour as the first, and only one named, among the Christian women, and as still, after the Ascension, 'the mother of Jesus'; (2) the reference to her by St. Paul (Gal 4:4) as 'a woman'—an obvious allusion to the Protevangelium (6:26); and (3) St. John's taking from her experiences certain features for his prophetic portrait of the Church as the sun-clothed woman (Rev 12).

In the first centuries—the Christian literature of this period keeps in regard to Mary strictly to the lines of the NT. References to her are sparse; and these, though distinct as to her being the Virgin Mother, and therefore to be honoured, give no suggestion of aught that could be called a cult of her. Polycarp's short Epistle does not contain her name; but in his Life of Pionirus there is this: 'His, according to the prophecy... being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin' (xxiii.).

In the Apology of Aristides she is simply 'a Hebrew virgin.' Irenaeus, in the short recension of his seven Epistles (here regarded as genuine), is fuller.

He tells (ad Ephes. xli.) how the virginity of Mary deceived the Deceiver; that 'hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her childbearing... mysteries wrought in the silence of God, now to be cried about!' He adores our Saviour, 'Son of Mary and Son of God': and he insists (ad Trull. ii. 13) that His birth is effectuated against the Docetists that His flesh is a reality and so somatic; but the correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin is a Latin translation of an account which he compiled in Greek, and is based on the saint's use of the word ἱεροφόρος.

Justin Martyr (Dial. cum Tryph. c.) and Irenaeus speak of her as does the Puritan Milton, as 'the second Eve.'

'The knot of Eve's disobedience was loosed by the obedience of Mary; for what is more honourable than to be born for God's glory? This did Mary by her obedience, that to have borne the God thus believed that did the Virgin Mary not only free through faith' (Irenaeus, adv. Haer. iii. xxii. 4). And again he dwells on the moral side of her part in the Incarnation: 'Mary, having a man betrothed to her and being nevertheless a virgin, by yielding obedience because the cause of salvation to herself and to the whole human race' (ib.)

If, however, we find Irenaeus, in the barbarous Latin version of his works, calling Mary the 'advocata' of Eve, we shall do well to remember that his Greek had, apparently, ἐνεργοῦσα, which implies not advocacy in our sense, but rebuke. Origen supplies one of the only two places in the Fathers where the words of our Lord from the Cross to her and to St. John have the least appearance of ascribing to her a permanent office for Christians.

'Believing, according to those who think soundly of her, Mary had no other son save Jesus; and that Jesus Christ to her, "Behold, thy son," therefore those whom Christ lives are sons of Mary' (ib. vii. 405). But does this further than Christ's own, 'Behold, my mother and my brethren' (Mt 12:50, Mk 3:31)? Both Origen and Tertullian, like Irenaeus before them, draw evidence of this motherhood of Christ arguments against Gnostic or Docetic heresy. Yet even of the Gnostics—so strong already was the Church's faith in the Virgin-birth of the Redeemer—several were constrained to admit the fact, while others, allowing that He issued from her womb, protested that He drew nothing from her substance.

If any cult of the Virgin existed in these early centuries, it is in the records of the Church's worship at the time that we should expect to find it, rather than in the treatises of divines or the apologies of the defenders of the faith. But such accounts of the Church's worship of her, though they do not fully exhibit the community of Christ arguments against Gnostic or Docetic heresy. Yet even of the Gnostics—so strong already was the Church's faith in the Virgin-birth of the Redeemer—several were constrained to admit the fact, while others, allowing that He issued from her womb, protested that He drew nothing from her substance.

The only place where an invocation of St. Mary could come in is at the Commemoration of Martyrs and the Commemoration of the Departed; and on this all that St. Cyprian has to say is:
Eclectic discipline teaches, as the faithful knew, that at the point where the martyrs are named at the altar of God, there desiring to be, He himself offered for; but of others who are commemorated prayer is offered ' (Ep. i. Opera, Oxford, 1862, p. 5).

There is no direct evidence that among ' the names of the martyrs ' those of Christ himself or of His mother were mentioned.

The one thing in these centuries that points in the direction of any cult of her in the Church is the appearance, somewhere in the 2nd cent., of an apocryphal Gospel of Mary which was very popular and became the basis of two later works, Liber de Infantia Mariae et Christi Salvatoris and Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae. It is from these that the ' traditional ' names of her parents, Joachim and Anna, have been derived, and the story of Mary's nurture in the Temple from her third to her twelfth year. These books, if they were not genuine, least a growing and significant demand, which was not checked by their condemnation as heretical in the earliest papal index expositarius attributed to Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492-496).

During the Council of the four great councils (A.D. 325-55).—With the conversion of Constantine Christianity became fashionable, and, as Newman puts it, the spirit of the world was poured into the Church. (The Arians of the Fourth Century). 1876. p. 6. It is not the faith that the faithful had to raise their standard against an irruption at once of pagan sensuality and of heresies born of pagan conceptions of the Godhead. It is anomalous this is that we find the earliest notice in Christian history of an actual worship of St. Mary. Epiphanius reckons it a heresy (litter, lxxx.) that 'certain women in Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia,' were in the habit of adoring the Virgin as a goddess and offering to her a certain kind of cake (σαλονάδα τυφώνα), whence he calls them Collyridians. Their practice (cf. Jer 41[20]) and the notion that they are undoubtedly relics of heathenism always familiar with female deities, Epiphanius rebukes them; 1

Let Mary be had in honour, but let the Lord be worshipped' (v. lxxxix. 19).

' Honour to Mary ' was inevitably augmented by the Church's answer (true and necessary as that answer was) to the more formidable heresy of Arius, Arianism, stumbling at the very root of the exalted sense of the Virgin in the Nicene canons. It is the Greek proposition that she was the Mekri, 'the Mother of God,' which was denied. Justin Martyr was one of the few who maintained the concept. It did not deny that Christ was born of the Virgin, but, by denying that He who issued from her womb was personally God, it lowered the greatness and the glory of her motherhood. It is not, however; in the interests of her dignity as for the utterance of the full truth concerning Christ that the orthodox theologians of this period are accustomed to refer to her. This holds of them all—of Cyril of Alexandria as well as of Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregorys, of Ambrose and Augustine as well as of Leo. It was in this connexion that Athanasius had spoken of her as thebedo, or God-bearer, long before the Nestorian preacher had congregated the Church of Alexandria by refusing her the title. Athanasius gave it her because 'from the flesh of holy Mary the Son of God by essence and nature did proceed. . . . How can they wish to be called Christians who assert that the Word descended not from God the Son of God? He was God in essence, who is from himself, and was man in essence, who was born of Mary; ' and again, because 'when he was descending to us, he fashioned his body for himself from a Virgin, that he might prepare no fall, no so much of God himself, that he might not be made according to the his Maker of everything else as well' (cf. In Acces. Ver. xiv. 11).

Athanasius was anxious to secure the reality of our Lord's human nature and to establish the identity of his divinity ; and in support of this truth also he, like Ignatius before him, stresses Christ's birth of Mary: ' Human then, by nature, was that which was from Mary. ' The most precious words of the Christ begins new from the virgin mother, the Virgin Mary, by nature, is God itself, and the Virgin Mary is the mother of God. "True it was, since it was the same with ours, for Mary was our sister, since we are all from Adam ' (Ep. i. "ad Episc. ").

In like manner, Gregory of Nyssa, 'Have any of ourselves dared to say ‘Mother of Man' of that most holy Virgin the Mother of God? ' (Ep. xii. ); and Ambrose, 'Talk of virtuous Deum' (Hyman 1. iv. 'ad Incoewart. "); and the good Emperor Theodosius of Jerusalem, with equal force, uses Christ's birth of Mary as demonstrating the companion truth of his real manhood.

'Believe that the Only-Begotten Son of God . . . was gotten by the holy Virgin by the Holy Ghost, and was made Man, not in seeming and more show, but in truth; nor yet by passing through a channel, but truly of her mother flesh. . . . If the Incarnation was a phantom, salvation is a phantom too' (Cot. Lett. iv. 8).

All the heresies, we may say, of this period were, in one form or another, denials of the Incarnation; they all fixed men's thoughts on the question proposed by a writer who is a saviour as well as a redeemer, a virgin as well as a mother. Human infant all. All these errors helped to burn in upon the mind of the Christians of that age the truth which E. B. Pusey tells us 'stretched him in his young days when first flashed upon him that it must be true, that one of our nature, which is the last and lowest of all creation was reared to a nearness to Almighty God above all the choirs of angels. . . . Yet it was self-evident, as soon as stated, that she of whom Christ deigned to take his human flesh was brought to a nearness to Himself above all created beings; that she stood single and alone in all creation or all possible creations, in that her womb He who in His Godhead is consubstantial with the Father, designd, as in His Human Lord Himself, 'to become consubstantial with her' (Evrenseii. ii. 5). It is no creature-worship; it is the sense of this tremendous fact brought home to a heart inflamed with the love of the Incarnate Son that explains at once the profound solemnity of Cyril's Letter to Nestorius and the splendid eloquence of Proclus's oration on the Virgin Mother. It is not that she is the mediator, she is the mediator; but it is not that she is the mediator, but that she is the mother only of a human infant. All these errors helped to burn in upon the mind of the Christians of that age the truth which E. B. Pusey tells us 'stretched him in his young days when first flashed upon him that it must be true, that one of our nature, which is the last and lowest of all creation was reared to a nearness to Almighty God above all the choirs of angels. . . . Yet it was self-evident, as soon as stated, that she of whom Christ deigned to take his human flesh was brought to a nearness to Himself above all created beings; that she stood single and alone in all creation or all possible creations, in that her womb He who in His Godhead is consubstantial with the Father, designd, as in His Human Lord Himself, 'to become consubstantial with her' (Evrenseii. ii. 5).

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And Pope Leo I. (in a passage still remaining in the Roman Liturgy as one of the Lessons for Christmas Day) says that "to [Christ's] birth alone the thrones of human passion had not contributed."

In entire consistency with this teaching of the great Fathers, the Liturgy of the Church in the conciliar period shows hardly a trace of any cult of the Virgin. There are indications that she was prayed for.

There is the Armenian, 'we beseech thee that in this holy sacrifice remembrance be made of the mother of God the holy virgin Mary, and of John the baptist, of the prophet Stephen, and of all the saints' (V. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, i. 440).

But she is not often mentioned. In the liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions she is not even named; if she is referred to there at all, it is as included with others—apostles, martyrs, virgins—whose names Thou knowest. In other liturgical works of the period—e.g., the Statutes of the Apostles (Ethiop. c. 350)—there is no mention of any commemoration of the departed, nor is there in the Arabic and Suldie versions of this book.

The Escharchic service in the Testamentum Domini gives the 'Word'—was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin'; but its commemoration of the dead, 'Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith, and grant us an inheritance with them and with the holy Virgin and all the other saint.' The Pilgrimage of Silvia also is silent concerning her, while the Catechetical Lectures (Lect. xxiii, on the Escharchic service) of Cyril of Jerusalem, who might have expected to find something, has only this: 'Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep here.'

"Eusebius in his Historia Ecclesiastica says, 'If in the liturgical celebration of the Virgin in the glory of all holy virgins: they, too, are mothers of Christ if they do the will of His Father' (de Sanct. Virg. iv.)."

Thus, too, Jerome: "The virgin Christ and the virgin Mary have dedicated in themselves the firstfruits of the virginity of both sexes' (Ep. clxvii. v.); and Gregory of Nyssa: "What happened in the stainless Mary when the fulness of the Godhead which was in Christ, shone out through her, that happens in every soul that leads by pure the virgin life. No longer, indeed, does the Master come with bodily presence, but, spiritually, He dwells in us and brings His Father with Him" (de Virg. iv.)

4. During the mediaval period.—For the purposes of this article, this period may be dated from the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoacer (A.D. 476) to the close of the Council of Trent (1563). Throughout this period Christianity was in a conflict, a West and a East, but in spite of their divergence, there took place in both a remarkable development in the cult of the Virgin. It came to a head more early in the East. There, where the chief heresies concerning the Trinity and Incarnation had arisen, and where theological speculation was more congenial to the public taste, new forms of error on these subjects were constantly springing up, and to all these the orthodox had to meet and in a complete answer in the Scripture records of our Saviour's birth of a Virgin Mother. His Virgin-birth witnessed alike the reality of both His natures and the unity of His Person; it bellowed monasticism; it vindicated the iconoclasts and then of the Muhammadans, while the calumnies which afflicted and cut short, if they did not, till A.D. 1453, destroy, the empire in the East, which at least sufficiently protected the all Christians who remained, or had been, its subjects with awe-struck thoughts of Christ as the Judge of men. They remembered bow, in the days of His flesh, the good Samaritan had, ungirded himself not worthy to come to Christ direct (Lk. 7), and had besought Him through the elders of the...
MARY

It must be admitted that such prayers are but inferences, not unnatural, from the deliberate teaching of the latest, and henceforth the most influential, in the East, of the Greek Fathers, John of Damascus, an influential writer, to whom the whole creation is made subject by his Son—implying, of course, that, over and above her office in the Incarnation, she is herself, through the Holy Spirit, a direct intercessor to such a high degree as to be able to lay her hands on the earth; and, if the expression is taken literally, that she can intercede in her own person for the salvation of the world. It is probably, indeed, almost a "natural" result of the "luminous" results of Christ's death and resurrection, that she should continue to intercede as intercessress for the world, and should be able to bring the world to the feet of Christ, as she did at the cradle-side of her Son, with such a fullness of the power of intercession that she can, from within the presence of Christ, bring sinners to the feet of Christ, and even consent to such an act by herself, if that consent is necessary for the salvation of the world.

It is not possible, in view of Basili's own writings, that even the last is an interpolation. The liturgy called Chrysostom's is fuller on St. Mary: the prayer of the Te Deum closes 'through the intercessions of the Holy Mother of God and all the Saints'; but again, for her: 'We offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of all those who have departed in the faith: Apostles, Virgins, especially the most holy, unsullied, excellently beautiful, glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary.' (6th p. 314, 331)

When, however, we turn to the last and most popular of the authorized devotions of the Greek Church, we find her invoked in the most direct manner:

'0 most holy Mother of God, light of my darkened soul, my hope of salvation, and my strength, the pearl of great price, which these flowers, which thou hast enabled me to be a partaker of, and I to the body and . . . Blood of Thy dear Son Jesus wax strong in the eyes of my faith.' [as in the Book of Beads, the 'Prayerful Canon at the Departure of a Soul'] teaches the dying man to cry to her:

'Known refuge of the sinful and the low, made known to me through mercy, O pure one, and set me free from the hands of demons, which come about me like dogs.'
whom they pray. These are regarded as fair inferences from the truth which we all confess, in the Apostles' Creed, of the Communion of Saints. The moderation of the Roman Missal did not stop with the holy days, but more and more tended to assimilate the forms, first, of invoking her directly to intercede for us ('ora pro nobis'), and, next, of asking her personal help for both the living and the dead. Thus two tombs were really those of the Lord—His Presentation in the Temple (Feb. 2), and His Conception (March 25)—became rather those of her Purification and of the Annunciation to her, while the Feasts of her Conception (Dec. 8), her Nativity (Sept. 8), and her Assumption (Aug. 15), already observed in the Eastern Churches, were introduced into the West, at first in other lands rather than in Italy or Rome, and not always either with the same meaning or without protest.

Thus, the observance of the Assumption was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in A.D. 800, but is marked as doubtful in the capitularies of Charlemagne; literally its title imports no more than her death—the taking of her soul to God—and it is sometimes called her dormitio, or 'sleep.' The doctrine of her bodily assumption into heaven, derived from the apocryphal story condemned by Pope Gelasius, being implied in the Breviary lection from John of Damascus, is not even now de fide in the Roman Catholic Church, but only a 'pious opinion.' The Feast of the Virgin's Conception, in the West, was limited to the apocryphal story that she was conceived without sin, in origin, was introduced from the East in the 14th cent., withdrawn from the Calendar by Pius v. (1555–72), and reintroduced by Sixtus v. (1585–90). The Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8) would be older if the sermon of Augustine, cited in its Office, be genuine, but it is commonly said that this fact is first mentioned by Andrew of Crete (c. 750); its observance was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in 806; two centuries later it had not become general in Italy, while (c. 1140) St. Bernard blames the canons of Lyons for the innovation of keeping the feast of her conception because it was not holy like her Nativity, St. Mary being, he held, not conceived without sin, but sanctified in the womb. Thomas Aquinas said (Sermo Thed. III. xxix.) that the Church of Rome tolerated it but did not keep it (so not uncommon way with some in those days of treating popular deviations); and, when it did come in at Rome, in the church of St. Mary Major, it was still, so late as 1540, the festival only of the 'Sanctification of the B. V. Mary.' Underlying this is the desire of the Church as well as the controversy as to the sinlessness of Mary. All agreed (as all orthodox Christians must agree) that she was sanctified so as to yield a perfectly sinless manhood to the Son of God (Lk 2:52; Heb 7:28); but there arose in the 13th cent. a question when the process of her sanctification began, and, while divines of the date and authority of Aquinas denied her Immaculate Conception, the arguments on which Scotus based his support of it were derived wholly from abstract and a priori considerations. The discussion, nevertheless, tended to her exaltation above all the ground not alone of her office, but of the grace bestowed on her, and must be confessed that some mediæval writers transgressed all bounds in the language which they employed, Peter Damian, e.g., speaking of her as 'delicia' (Serm. de Nat. Mar. [PL Clxv. 749]), while the very natural view of what Archbishop John Hamilton's Scots Catechism of 1562 calls the 'bony image of the Baby Jesus and His Blessed Mother, . . . the coming to an infant to sanctify childhood and maternity was darkened into something not far from idolatry when—as sometimes happened—one image of the Virgin (generally a black or an ugly one) was regarded and resorted to as more powerful for the help of suppliants than another.

5. From the Reformation to the present day. —
   The fundamental position of the Protestant Reformers, that the means of grace, or 'the sinner are through faith in Christ alone, involved, on the one hand, the fullest recognition alike of His Godhead and His manhood; and the Reformers, accordingly, were at one in confessing the Catholic faith as set forth in the ancient creed and the great councils, which meant, of course, their acceptance of His birth of a pure virgin, and her honour as His mother. It involved, on the other hand, an insistence that the soul should come to Christ direct, and a repudiation of the idea of any creature coming between it and Him. The latter principle, it is true, could be pushed to the extreme of disparaging the help which He has graciously provided in His Body the Church (Eph 1:22), for bringing men to Himself, and in the ordinances whereby 'Christ and the benefits of the covenant of grace are . . . applied to believers' (Shorter Catechism 92). It brought almost everywhere the practical elimination from Protestant teaching of all thought of the departed saints having any function whatever (save that of remembered examples) towards Christians in this life; at least for Christians of 'the Saints,' while admitted in words, was interpreted as existing simply between believers in this present world; and, contrariwise, the prayers of the living Christians' of 'the Saints' were dealt with as if the prominent of St. Mary in Roman Catholic devotions reacted among the Reformed in an opposite direction, till Puritanism (in certain sections) 'scrapped' even the singing of her inspired Hymn Magnificat, gave up the public use of the Apostles' Creed because her name occurred in it, and even so late as the publication of the Church Hymnary (1836) was able to secure the rejection of Bishop Richard Mant's version of the Stabat Mater and the deletion of the words 'Son of Mary' from H. H. Milman's hymn. It may be doubted whether such courses have helped either to a livelier faith in Jesus Christ or to a deeper love towards Him; or how far they have furthered Christian ideals of purity, chivalry, and saintliness. Puritanism, however, has not conquered either the Scottish or the Anglican Church. The former in the 13th cent. dared to speak of the Virgin in the public service in one of its 'Paraphrases' (Par. 38); and restored the use of the Magnificat (in metre) in another (Par. 36), and of late years authorized the chanting of it in public, as well as the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds (Church Hymnary, Church of Scotland Anthem Book, and Mission Hymnal). These have always kept their place in the Anglican Books of Common Prayer; and the Church of England has further secured a commemoration of St. Mary by retaining among 'the Feasts to be observed' both 'The Purification of the Blessed Virgin' (Feb. 2) and 'The Conception of the Blessed Virgin' (March 25). In both countries divines universally respected (e.g., the Scottish Dr. W. Hanna and the English Bishops Joseph Hall and John Pearson) have spoken of her in terms of singular reverence and beauty, while W. M. Ramsay, holding, as he does, some pagan ancestry for her cultus as it exists in Asia Minor, speaks of it nevertheless as 'a purifying and elevating principle' (Pauline and Other Studies, p. 159).

In the Roman Catholic Church there was some hope at the beginning of the Counter-Reformation that much then complained of in the exterior cult of St. Mary would speedily be brought to nothing; certainly very much was done; and the Council of Trent in its Decrees, and even in its Catechism, is fairly moderate, distinguishing, as did the older councils, between the Nardela, due only to God, and the
some Negro race (which in bodily characteristics verges on the Hamitic negroid) was pastoral; and cattle, sheep, goats, and the domesticated as of Ethiopia played a great part in their lives and mental considerations. All sections of the Masai, agricultural as well as pastoral, speak a language which differs but little in its two or three dialects. The relationships of this speech lie most nearly and clearly with the隔隔 become known as *Eve* (Aphthon the *Morphomy* in the Roman Brevisry, returned by order of Pope *Pius* V. and revised by Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.). The breviary, with 'the Offices since granted,' may almost be said to be now—strange contrast to the NT—nearly as full of Mary as of Christ. Of all Sundays and thereby whole month of May, votive offices of the Blessed Virgin are said. The Sunday within the octave of the nativity is 'the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary,' the third Sunday of Sept., that of the mother of God, and the 'Seven S巴拉'; four Sundays in October are devoted respectively to her Rosary,' her 'Motherhood,' her 'Purity,' her 'Patronage,' while the old festival of Conception (Dec. 8) originally her 'Satellite,' in honour of her 'Immaculate Conception,' and the bull of Pius IX. declaring this an article of faith to be received by all Christians supplies a large proportion of the lessons appointed to be read within its octave. The breviary itself, moreover, is restrained in comparison with such books as *La Gloria di Maria* by Alfonso de Liguori (1696-1787), the founder of the Redemptorist Order. *Liguori* goes far beyond the council of Trent, for, whereas the latter says only that it is useful 'to invoke her intercessions, he insists upon the necessity of doing so:

*Mary is our life, because she obtains for us the gifts of pardon . . . and of perseverance; 'Mary is the hope of all; 'Mary is the peace-maker of sinners with God' (II. I., II. I., VII. 2, 3).


**James Cooper.**

**Masai.**—History. It is advisable, first of all, to specify what we mean by the term Masai. It is the tolerably correct designation of a widely scattered but not numerous Nilotic Negro people in E. Equatorial Africa, whose habitat, down to the beginning of the 19th cent., stretched from the Nandi plateau, the south end of Lake Baringo, and the southern slopes of Mount Kenya on the north almost to the 6th degree of S. lat. in the south. On the west they were bounded by the Bantu and Galla peoples of the region between the Tana and the Ruvu rivers; on the west by the Nandi and Bantu peoples of the Sokit and Lumbwa highlands, which form the eastern limits of the Victoria Nyanza basin. The older name which gives this distinct race of pastoral nomads adopted for themselves—or at any rate for the pastoral and warlike section of the original tribe—was (according to A. C. Hollis) Ilmi, which, in the 19th cent. if not before, became Il-masi (spell Maimause with some). The western and northern sections of the Masai people, especially those sometimes known as *Ilmi, Enjami*, or *was-Rigum*, were not only cattle-kickers, and shepherds, but also agriculturists. Still, the main bent of this hand.
like aristocracy of E. Equatorial Africa — implanted this long-shouldered type of ancient Egyptian ox on the highlands between the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and the Indian Ocean. But the long-shouldered Gallus ox has never yet made its appearance to the east of the Victoria Nyanza or among the Masai tribes, whose cattle are Indian in type.

2. Gods. — Though in physical characteristics the Negro element predominates in the Masai over any other, this people is superior in mentality to the pure-blooded Negro; and one notion with a certain imaginativeness and a natural poetry in their thoughts, stories, and religious beliefs rarely found among Negro peoples, and probably due to some ancient or modern infusion of the Caucasian. The Masai believe in a far-seeing divine emanating from the sky high above the earth, and even above the lower regions of the atmosphere. This divinity, to which they pray at times with real earnestness, is known usually by a female name, En-ai (Eh- is the feminine article, ai, or gai, 1 is the root). En-ai is occasionally referred to as 'the Black God,' though in some stories or in some milder forms three things are to be a triad consisting of (1) Eh-ai, the greatest and remotest of all gods, the god of the elements; (2) the benign Black God of rain, who takes a real, though far-off, interest in humanity; and (3) the early or malign Red God, whose name is associated in the minds of mankind and dwellers in the lower part of the atmosphere. En-ai and the Black God (or both fused in one personality) would like to send the rain to the parched lands below in perpetual abundance, so that there might always be fat pastures to feed the Masai cattle, or perpetual cultivation for the Masai agriculturists; but the Red God frequently intervenes and intercepts the moisture so necessary to life under an equatorial sun. Distant thunder is believed to be the remonstrance of Eh-ai at this charnfulness of his subordinate deity, whose, however, he seldom bestirs himself to circumvent. Eh-ai is known to some of the non-Masai tribes as 'Kai' or 'Gai' without the article, and by the Masai themselves is called by other names, such as Pasasi. 2

3. Demons. — In addition to these two gods or three gods (according as the Black and Good God is or is not identified with the Ruler of the Heavens, Eh-ai), the Masai believe in superhuman beings, resembling the Arab 'genii' or of the Arabs—devils, it is convenient to call them. Similar beliefs reappear in the Sudan and in many parts of the northern range of the Bantu languages, such as the Cameroons. These jinn, or devils, trench in some of their characteristics on the werewolf conception, being in some aspects like a lion and in others like a man, or having originally taken the form of lions and then put on an appearance half human and half like an inanimate stone; or they are believed to go about looking like a lion on one side, and on the other like a monstrous human being. Their favourite home is in the forest. They are mainly, if not entirely, omnivorous in their food preferences, and do not touch wild beasts.

In one of the Masai stories recorded by Hollis 3 it is narrated that the devil's custom is to call to human beings who pass the place of his conceitment in the forest. 'Come, my brother, help me lift this load of firewood.' If they are foolish enough to procure the wood, they will be haunted by a devil and the Masai wished to pass through it in their customary migrations in search of pasture for their cattle, they would arrange to march past the cannibals haunt in as large a body as possible, the warriors going both in front and behind. 'Should a voice be heard issuing from the mist and calling some one, no body remains silenced longer than the instant deviation from the voice of the rains, came to eat them, the boy from the Javanese then of a tall tree, and shot an arrow through the monster's body, who at first thought that it was merely the wings of gods flew by but was unconcerned to their effects. Repeating apparently in his dying moments, as he was said to be of manner as to how he might proceed to recover the cattle of the tribe, and must, of the Javanese. Out of gratitude these renominated Masai elected the boy as their chief.

It is quite possible that this and similar stories, wild-spread over Africa, refer to the lurking cannibals of some big and brutish race which lingered on in the forests of Africa long after the more open country had been populated by the modern types of man. Such grim ogres may have worn over their backs the pelts of wild beasts that they had killed, and thus have seemed on one side beast, and on the other a ghoul-like type of man.

4. Cosmology. — The Masai believe that, when Natterkrup, 4 the demi-god of Mount Kenya, decided to start a race of true men on the earth, he called the first of whom he produced in E. Africa, viz. an already existing Dorobo (the word is properly spelt Torobo and means 'dwarfish'), who was a kind of pre-Adamite nucleus of which the elephants, and a number of other animals, were the descendants. In course of time the Dorobo hunter killed both the serpents, and the elephant mother, and a young child was born to them. Before her death had given birth to a calf, which escaped from the Dorobo, and, in later years, the child would return, find the world not a Masai, to whom it confided its troubles. At this moment, the Dorobo (En-ai) intervened, and summoned both the Dorobo and the Masai to his presence. The Masai came, but the Dorobo seems to have delayed. The consequence was that the Masai received God's good gifts and the Dorobo became the master of E. Africa. Other variants of this story make Natterkrup (the divine man of Mount Kenya) the demi-god's mother, and do not give the intervention of the great sky-god, Eh-ai.

5. Eschatology. — With regard to a life after death, in some of the Masai traditions it is related that, when the man-god Natterkrup gave to their primal ancestor, Le-eye, instructions what to say when a child died, the latter out of selfishness — because the child next to die was not his own — inverted the prayer which was to adjure the child-spirit to return. Le-eye consequently prayed that the moon, though it died, might return again, but that the dead child might remain dead. Some time afterwards Le-eye was likely to lose a child of his own, and therefore said the prayer rightly. But it was too late; only the first invocation of nature held good, and thus man, when he dies, never comes back, but the moon always returns.

Yet this great agony of the mind of man — this refusal to regard death as the end in all the personalities of those whom we deeply respect — prevails with the Masais, and the repeated assertions in their folklore that 'All is over with man as with the cattle, and the soul does not come to the world of spirits.' With this people there has been a gradually growing belief (it is so also among many Bantu tribes) that a medicine-man, a great doctor, a great chief, or a very wealthy

1 Hollis, p. 242 ff.
2 L. Kraup, the great missionary pioneer of Equatorial E. Africa, writing in 1854 in his profane to the Dictionary of the Euphratic Elphob (the Western Masai), thus describes the religious beliefs of the Masai: "At the remotest antiquity there was one man residing on 'Oldonyo eiber' (Mt. Kenya) who was superior to any human being, and when this (name suprême being, god) had placed on the mountain. This strange personage whose beginning and end is quite mysterious and whose whole appearance impresses the Waskami mind with the idea of a demi-god is called — . . . . . . Natterkrup. The intelligence of this strange people residing on Oldonyo eiber is a demigod (whom they named Enjensai Enamer, with whom his wife Sambu lived on Mount Sambu when situated to the south of Mount Kenya eiber and is a high mountain but does not attain to the height of Oldonyo eiber . . . Enjensai went to the White mountains with his wife and became the father of his name. This name is very fruitful and gave birth to a number of children. Natterkrup also taught Enjensai Enamer the taming of the elephant, which saw in the forest, . . . . . . It is to Oldonyo eiber ("Kenia," as the Waskami call it) that the Waskami resort in order to obtain the intervention of Natterkrup for protection in war, and health and life from the Eghal.

3 The Dorobo are also known as the mask hunters of E. Africa, shorter in stature than the Masai, but not very dissimilar from them in appearance, and containing many mixed strains of blood—Haut, Negro, and possibly Bushman.
person cannot entirely cease to exist in personality
even after the body is dead, buried, and decayed.
It is thought by the Masai, as by Zulus and
numerous tribes of W. African Bantu, that the
soul of a deceased person of importance enters one
or other of the python-like snakes which frequent
the vicinity of human habitations in pursuit of rats
and other vermin. These (usually black) snakes are,
therefore, sacred in the eyes of the Masai,
who are careful not to kill them. If a woman
sees on her head a pear, milk on the ground for
it to lick up. A variety of animal, especially black
snakes, are even regarded as totem animals by one of the
Masai clans, who protect them against ill-treat-
ment by the members of any other clan, and will
even come to their aid if they are molested in a
fight, explaining, 'Avengers of my mother's house,
come out!' The Masai believed that the female
snakes thus invoked would bite such as had not
adopted them as a totem.

It has even been thought by some Masai, prob-
able not earlier than the latter years of the 19th
cent., that the souls of very great chiefs are not
sufficiently provided for by transmigration to a
snake, but in some way go to heaven, to the abode
of Ei-ai. It is not impossible that this growing
belief may have resulted from their talks with the
earlier days, and the fact that they certainly
believe that there is what we should define as a
soul, some impalpable living essence, and that this
quits a man's body when he falls asleep. Therefore
a sleeper must not be too suddenly wakened lest
the soul be frightened out of the body, as people
certainly believe, and the ghost may not return to the
body. In one mood the Masai will assert that no such
terrible things as 'ghosts' exist, because they cannot be
seen; in another they appear to believe that
ghosts do exist. When cattle are attacked by evil, things,
not by men. When a herd of cattle hurts and
stares fixedly at something, if it is not a lion or a
leopard, it is a ghost.

7. Prayers.—The Masai have a very real belief
in God, and, if they are vague about His personal-
ity and uncertain whether they are praying to the
Great God of the Firmament or to the Black
God of the Upper Clouds, to one or other they
occasionally make sacrifices of sheep—a rite usually
conducted by the women, who, as a matter of
course, pray twice a day, while men and children
only occasionally utter prayers. In these prayers
men and women associate the evening and morning
stars, and even the snow peaks of the great moun-
tains, Kenya and Kilimanjaro, with the Deity. They
pray for children and for the health of their
children, for rain, for successes in time of war,
and plenty of cattle. The present writer, however,
when residing many years ago at Taveta near the
eastern base of Kilimanjaro, noted that the men of the
W. Taveta (mainly Masai in race and religion,
though now speaking a Bantu language) could pray
most earnestly and touchingly to Ei-ai, the Power
of the God of their children and their cattle, with

When one of their number gives birth to a child, the
Masai women gather together and take milk to
the others; they then slaughter a sheep, which
is cooked in fermenting milk. In one time for much cattle this is a 'purifying' meal.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves
and eat all the meat, and no man may approach the
spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is
considered unlawful. When they finish their meal,
they stand up and sing a song, which may be
rendered approximately thus (paraphrased from
Hollis):

'God to whom I pray,
God whose thunder and it rains,
Give me offspring,
To thee only every day do I pray,
Then must I rest;
To thee only every day do I pray,
Thou art creator of sweet savour like sage plants.
To thee only every day do I pray,
To thee only every day do I pray.'

Young men pray that their battle raids may be
successful and that they may bring back herds of
cattle. All these prayers seem to be indiscriminately
addressed both to God and to the morning and the
evening star. God is not confused with the sun or
the moon, but is something behind, above, beyond,
and more powerful than these heavenly bodies,
which are beings, other sex that alternately marry
and quarrel. Of the stars other than the planets
Venus and Jupiter they take little heed, with the
exception of the Pleiades (the appearance of
which in the heavens is indicative of seasonal
changes), the belt of Orion, and Orion's Belt.
Comets are perturbing as indicative of approaching
disasters.

8. Source of Masai religion.—M. Merker, a
German officer, who lived much among the Masai
of German E. Africa, published a work (first issued
in 1904) in which, after discussing various Masai
beliefs and customs, he attributes these and, in
part, the origin of the Masai, to a strong wave of
Semitic influence from the north, even reviving
that old story, the dispersal of the Ten Tribes. It is
difficult to understand how he can see anything
in Masai belief and ritual that especially suggests
Jewish blood or influence and at the same time
overlook the presence of similar beliefs and rites in
the intervening Hamites or the Semitized Somalis.
For unnumbered centuries waves of
Caucasian invaders and even tribes of Canaanite
blood have been passing from Western and Southern
Arabia, Syria, and Egypt through Ethiopia into
Nileland, the Central and Western Sudan, and the
steppe and forests and lake regions of E. Africa.
The Masai have brought their share of these beliefs,
supersitions, and customs from their northernmost
centre of development—somewhere, possibly, in the
basin of Lake Rudolf, a region that, no doubt, was
influenced from Abyssinia a score of centuries ago,
as it is at the present day. At the same time,
attention should be given to Merker's records of
Masai traditions and beliefs, especially as set forth
in the later edition of his work (Die Masai, Berlin,
1910). A. C. Hollis, whose own work on the Masai
is one of importance, and Albert Staggell, a mis-
sionary long resident in the eastern part of Masai-
land, both agree with Merker on his information
regarding Masai beliefs chiefly from Masai who
had long been connected with the Roman Catholic
mission. It, and, consequently, that these informants
were merely giving him versions of the Hebrew
traditions in the OT. The receptivity of the Masai
mind is no doubt great; but no mission had been
established in those regions a sufficient length of
time to thought that its ideas or beliefs have been imparted to
Masai boys, nor, from what the present writer
knows of mission work in those regions, is it likely
that either Roman Catholic or Protestant missions
at that stage in their development spent much time in translating and teaching the book of Genesis to Masai inquirers. It is more probable that the ancestors of the Masai in their northern home were in contact with the Christian Gallas or Abyssinians, and from them imbued those ideas of Adam and Eve and the other traditions regarding the great Patriarchs which irresitibly recall the legends enshrined in the first chapters of the Bible. Further, if the idea of the divine office of the mask or maskette had become so numerous in Palestine—though only, it is true, in the territory east of the Jordan—that he can hardly have remained ignorant of them, the existence or the practice of masks may even have percolated through N. E. Africa in pre-Christian days, when the Jews and Idumeans were influencing a good deal of W. Arabia and of Egypt.

The stories transcribed by Merker are not only reminiscent of the Jewish myths of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Abraham, but even extend to a personality like Moses, actually being the name of Musungu (or Maruni). There are even traces of a belief in a fiery serpent, of the Ten Commandments of Sinai, and of a paradise garden like Eden.

A good deal of this account of the Masai religion must be taken in the past tense. Year by year old beliefs and traditions are fading away, and the people are becoming either absolute materialists (whilst still regarding some as their worship-objects or divinities) or adherents of the various Christian missions, to which they are proveing useful and influential converts.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works of Hollis and Merker quoted throughout, see J. L. Kräf, Vocabulary of the Engtubki (1890); Lane, Lexicon of the Welsh and Scottish, Aberdeen, 1874 (Preface is noteworthy); J. Erhardt, Vocabulary of the Arabus and (1874); H. L. Johnston, The Kilimanjaro Expedition, 3. Vol. 2, 1895, The Uganda Protectorate, 2. Vol. 404; S. L. and H. Hinde, The Lore of the Masai, do. 1901.

H. L. JOHNSTON.

MASBO'THÆANS. According to Eus. H.E. v. xxil. 51, Hegesippus had written of the Hemerobaptists and the Masbothæans (Masbōthāna)1 as two distinct sects 'in the circumcision among the children of Israel.' The brief characterizations of these Masbothæan sects given by the ancient heresiologists are based simply upon their etymologies of the name, which they connect either with the word 'sabbath' or with μασσα, 'will,' 'purpose.' Among modern scholars A. Hilgenfeld has advanced the conjecture that the Masbothæans were the followers of the early heretic Thebathis, also mentioned by Hegesippus, but in all likelihood the name simply means 'baptists.' In glossaries of Paelstine Arabic the word appears in the only word-collocation for 'baptism' is masbōθānā, and, as we know that among the Mandaeans on the Euphrates the regular term for ceremonial immersion in running water was waq̣aẉawi (see art. MANDÆANS, p. 587), we can hardly doubt that Masbōthāna signifies people in whose religious practice such immersions formed an outstanding element. Thus the Gr. term 'Hemerobaptists'2 might quite well have been applied to the same group, and the idea that the two names denoted different sects may simply have been a mistake on the part of Hegesippus. It is, no doubt, the case that in the time of Hegesippus the Jews variously advocated the practice of immersion, each, however, after its own particular form: there were, e.g., the devout, who bathed every morning and evening, and the 'bathers of the early morning,' who thought it necessary to perform an immersion before morning prayer. The term 'Hemerobaptists' would, of course, be quite appropriate for both groups.3

The designation 'Masbothæans,' however, would also suit the Elkesaites, and, in fact, pointedly suggests that sect, as the Elkesaitic tradition contains the name ḫawāḏ, formed from the same verbal root as ṭuḥwaḏ (cf. art. ELKESAITES, vol. v. p. 708). By the time of Hegesippus the sect had become so numerous in Palestine—though only, it is true, in the territory east of the Jordan—that he can hardly have remained ignorant of them. On other grounds, accordingly, it would seem very probable that those who had become known to him as the sect of the Masbothæans were none other than the Elkesaites.


W. BRANDT.

MASK. A mask may be defined as a moulded surface, representing the anterior half of a head and face, and usually worn over the face of a person. Further significations are the cast taken from the face of a dead person and the parallel form in sculpture—the front half of a human head and face preserved—a term which is also employed when made by W. H. Dall into 'mask' proper, 'maskette,' resembling mask but worn not upon but above or below the face, and 'maskoid,' resembling the mask, but not to be worn.1 This division is primarily anthropological.

The use of masks in one form or other and for various purposes has been practically universal in all stages of culture above that which the natives of Australia may be assumed to represent. The greater proportion of the Polynesian peoples are an exception. It will be most convenient to arrange the subject according to the purposes for which the mask is employed, classifying details of form and manufacture and variations of general type. It may be noted at once that both in form and use there is the usual similarity between the most widely separated races. The mask is in most cases ethnologically independent in origin.

r. Views as to the original meaning of masks. The usual purpose of a mask is disguise by a more or less defined impersonation, impersonation alone, or, more rarely, protection, physical or moral. The figures impersonated may be real persons, imaginary persons, especially spiritual and divine, or various animal or natural objects. Smith regarded the use of animal masks in religious ceremonial as a survival of an earlier practice according to which the worshipper put on the skin of a victim in order to 'envelop himself in its sanctity.'3 In the form of a maskette many peoples have used the heads of animals, even as a war head-dress. The ritual mask is frequently credited with the power of imparting to the wearer the qualities of what it represents. The Eskimo believe that the wearer is 'mysteriously and unconsciously imbued with the spirit' represented by the mask, and, when wearing the mask of a totem, he becomes the totem.4 In the drama of the Pueblo Indians the actor is 'supposed to be transformed into the deity represented.'5 The wearer of a mask in the dances of primitive peoples is ' assimilated to the real nature of the being represented'—possessed by him.6 But neither this belief nor the desire to be enveloped with sanctity can be regarded as the original factor in the invention of the mask. Dall considers the original mask

5 H. Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, New York, 1884, p. 76 n.
to have been a shield held in hand to protect the face from missiles, and later worn on the face, after the face was burned or covered with covering aspect, with the object of frightening the foe. On another line of development it became the helmet; but this view also fails to give any original psychological element. The Australians do not have the mask, but in their tribal life they wear disguise, as does the artist, whether painting, or with down and blood. Previous to the invention of the Attic dramatic mask, the Dionysian mummers painted their faces with wine, possibly in the spirit of wilfulness and defiance, as in the case of the ancient Roman kings and generals, whose faces were painted with vermilion on state occasions to resemble Jupiter. But this idea is not a possibility. It cannot be argued that the mask is a development from the custom of painting the face. The two are parallel reactions to the irreducible dramatic instinct in its elemental phase of the assumption of another personality. The elaborate facial make-up of modern dramatic art is, when contrasted with the Attic masks, a fine analogy to the blackened face of the modern peasant mummer, as contrasted with the wooden mask of the N. American dancer. We may conclude that the idea of assimilation, whether magical or religious, of terrorization, of protection, and even of disguise are secondary, and that the primary meaning of the mask is dramatic; the mask is a concrete result of the imitative instinct.

The various purposes, therefore, to which the mask has been put have no essential development from one another, but are natural applications to particular purposes of the original mimetic instinct.

2. War masks.—These are not of frequent use. In Central and E. African warriors wear hideous 'masks' of zebra-hide. The natives of Yemen wore masks representing lions, tigers, and so forth, to terrify the enemy. In medieval Europe and Japan soldiers wore horrible masks representing devils, to frighten with terror. The frontal skull on the helmet of the German 'Death's Head Hussars' is of similar origin.

3. The mask of terror.—For other purposes than those of battle, the terroristic idea has been applied. The Chinese placed horrible paper masks on the faces of their children in order to frighten away the demon of smallpox. In Africa there has been the office of 'sham devil.' In China, in order to secure the efficacy of a spell, one will put on a devil's mask, representing the devil it is desired to defeat, and the world in the traditional sense of terror. The Greek myth of the Gorgon's head was inspired by similar ideas, with which a primitive custom may be compared: in Timor-laut, in order to deceive evil spirits and prevent them from injuring the remains of a dead man, a coco-nut mask was placed near the body. The further idea here involved of protection by means of a mask which, so to say, draws the enemy's fire. A similar use of the mask is seen in the expulsion of evils. The people of China and Celebes, when 'driving out devils,' blacken their faces or wear masks. Possibly the masked Perchon of Central Europe had originally a similar function. There may have been a mimetic struggle between the Benin and the Ufani masks, symbolizing a struggle for the crops; masked mummers at Kayan soving festivals represent evil spirits.

4. The mask of justice.—Others of justice or terrorism assume the personality of a supernatural inquisitor, the Vehme of medieval Europe being a historical case. Executioners wore a mask, and possibly the black cap of the judge is an adaptation.

5. The mask in secret societies.—These institutions are practically universal in the middle culture. In some cases they include among their functions to disguise the face by means of disguise and the mask. The mask, like all their proceedings, is carried out with mummery, and the mask is employed along with other disguise or impersonation.

The Sindhi of India are in the habit of pinning woollen masks to their foreheads; the collectors wear masks. The Kulkwi, Egbo, and Engunun are other instances of these W. African societies; their masks are based on various ideas connected with the tutelary spirit of the society. The Ogboni society of the Yoruba-speaking peoples is closely connected with the priesthood, and the king is obliged to submit to its decrees. The mask of Engunun represents a hideous human face; he is supposed to be a man risen from the dead, in order to spy out what is going on in the land of the living and carry off those who misbehave. The Tamate of the Banks' Islands is a secret society whose name means 'ghosts.' The members possess much power, and periodically hold meetings and processions, wearing their masks.

The famous Duk-duk societies of New Britain, New Ireland, and the Duke of York Islands comprise practically the whole of the adult male population. In one aspect of its functions the Duk-duk is the embodiment of justice—judge, policeman, and executioner in one. The remarkable head-dresses worn by the operators are technically mask-like structures, representing some spiritual totem in the simianism of a masoway. The operators are two, Duk-duk representing the male and Tubman the female cassowary. The mask worn by each is a 'huge bat-like exiguous being': the former wears a very tall mask; the latter wears a more ordinary mask. As far as the body-dress is concerned, it may be said to represent the cassowary, but the head is 'like nothing but the head of a Duk-duk.' A long stick is at the apex, and the 'tresses' are coloured red. The female is said to be plain, the male more gaudy. The extraordinary belief is held that the Tubman mask gives birth to the novices when initiated into the society; and two female masks are kept for this occasion, a man was masked to represent it, and placed in its sphere of operations to discourage its advance. The Greek myth of the Gorgon's head was inspired by similar ideas, with which a primitive custom may be compared: in Timor-laut, in order to deceive evil spirits and prevent them from injuring the remains of a dead man, a coco-nut mask was placed near the body. The further idea here involved of protection by means of a mask which, so to say, draws the enemy's fire. A similar use of the mask is seen in the expulsion of evils. The people of China and Celebes, when 'driving out devils,' blacken their faces or wear masks. Possibly the masked Perchon of Central Europe had originally a similar function. There may have been a mimetic struggle between the Benin and the Ufani masks, symbolizing a struggle for the crops; masked mummers at Kayan soving festivals represent evil spirits.

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2. A. Bastian, Die deutsche Expedition an der Lollowe-Kiste Jena, 1874, t. 320.
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6. The divine mask.—The shaman of N.W. America, c.g., among the Makahs, has one mask for each of his familiar spirits. When giving a séance, he puts on a mask and summons the spirit with the little chant. The shaman places their masks, give expression to their ideas of the spirits represented. Here is a primitive source of creative plastic art. The shaman is said to be able to see the ghosts through the masks he has over the face behind.2 In the ritual of ancient Mexico the priest wore a mask representing the god.3 On the other hand, priests in Nigeria may not wear or touch a mask.4

For a similar point of view the protégé of a guardian spirit wears a mask, when dancing, to represent that spirit and identify himself with it.5 The Monumbo of New Guinea wear masks representing guardian spirits, when they appeal to them for help, fair weather, and the like, among the masks being those of kangaroos, dogs, and cassowaries. The masks, when made, are fumigated in order to ‘put life into them.’ They are treated with respect and addressed as if they were living persons. A man wears a mask representing his totem. This practice is common in N.W. America,6 and the belief is that the wearer becomes the totem-animal.

The image of a god may wear a mask; the Mexicans placed on the face of certain idols masks of a human face cut off from the skull and preserved in gold.7 These masks contain gold masks with pyrites for the eyes, and obsidian and turquoise mosaic in bands across the face.8 The image of the goddess ‘Our Mother’ wore a two-faced mask, and her priest donned a replica of this.9

7. The death-mask.—In connexion with the dead the mask has been exploited along interesting lines, assisting among other things the art of portraits at a distance. Besides the practice of embalming or otherwise preserving the heads of dead friends or enemies, several peoples have made masks of these. One such has been mentioned as placed upon the face of a Mexican idol, and there is a fine example in the Christie collection in the British Museum. In New Britain and elsewhere in Melanesia and New Guinea, such masks (skull masks) were worn in sacred dances.10 The Mexicans also placed painted masks or masks of gold and turquoise mosaic on the faces of their dead kings.11 The Aleuts covered the faces of their dead with masks.12 The meaning of the last practice is obscure, but the fact remains; it is intended to protect the dead against the glances of evil spirits. Their practice of wearing masks in certain religious dances, so as not to behold the idol round which they revolve, and whose glance means death, may be compared.13 Similarly, among the Guaymis of Panama, during the initiation of young men, the women who attend upon them wear masks.14 Basuto girls at puberty wear straw masks,15 and Lilloot girls (British Columbia) wear goat-skin masks at the same period.16 In Mexico, when the king was ill, the images of the gods were masked, possibly to prevent them from drawing away his soul.1 Some idea of disguising a person dangerous or in danger may be connected with the practice, and here the mask is merely a veil. In Siam and Cambodia masks of gold were placed on the faces of dead kings. This they used to wear during the dawn of the nether world, using masks of silver or gold.2 These cases and the next seem to touch upon the idea of a portrait. The Egyptian mummy had an artificial face forming part of the portrait which covered the corpse. Death-masks proper, of gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta, have been found in Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, the Crimea, Italy, France, the Danube valley, and Britain.3 The most conspicuous and complete examples are supplied by Mycene and Rome. In the famous shaft-graves opened at Mycene golden masks, ‘clearly portraits,’ were found, corresponding to men and children. Those at least of the latter, being of thin gold leaf, ‘must have been moulded with the hand on the faces of the dead.’ The masks of the men were of thicker plate, and had no eye-holes. The bands and feet of the children were also wrapt in gold leaf.4 This suggests that the informing idea was similar to that of swathing the dead, painting the face, and otherwise decorating, while protecting, the corpse. The Egyptian nobility wore death-masks of their ancestors in the atrium.5 The dead nobility lay in state for seven days, during which the embalmer (goldinctor) took a mould of the face, which he then cast in wax, and painted with the natural colours of the dead.6 Thus the mask was used to fill the man’s face, or, in case of putrefaction, on an effigy. After the burial the mask was hung in the atrium, possibly fixed on a bust, and under it was a tabula giving the name and exploits of the man represented. These images were connected by lines, giving the genealogical succession, and termed stemmata. The tabula imaginarium gave a man the right of having his image carved on the funeral train of a descendant. The remarkable custom was that a man was followed to his tomb by all his ancestors, their masks being worn by persons as similar as possible in stature and form, riding in chariots. Marcellus was attended by six hundred of his forefathers and kin. The imagines were crowned with laurel on feast days. By Pliny’s time the wax masks were giving way to cipimata imaginari, i.e. medallions of metal.7

Since Roman times the method of securing a portrait by taking a mold of the dead man’s face has been continued in the case of great personages. This is the death-mask, as exhibited in the Roman catacomb inaugurations of the Sanseverine type, or later, in the representations of the ‘nasoni’ private citizens of the Roman society, whether totemic or consecrated to guardian spirits or otherwise. But the essence of their

8. The dramatic mask.—The secret societies of N.W. America are, in contrast with those of Melanesia and Africa, chiefly concerned with dramatic representations. Their ‘masonic’ privileges are important, but they exercise little authority; in fact, these societies might be described as amateur dramatic clubs, with a religious setting like that of the medieval gilds. Frazer describes the institution as ‘a religious drama’ like that of ancient Greece.8 Various purposes other than that of entertainment are fulfilled by the performances; various, too, are the characters represented, according to their ‘masonic’ privileges. The society, whether totemic or consecrated to guardian spirits or otherwise. But the essence of their

4 Bourbou, Monuments anciens du Mexique, Paris, 1844-66, i. 60-64.
5 Joubert, Antiquitites, ibid. 187.
function is pantomime, and the mask is the means of impersonation. The masks are made of various woods—elder, maple, or cotton-wood; they are large and prominent of feature, painted red, black, and white. In some of the grotesque sort the eyes and jaws are movable, and worked by a string. Some are held by means of a mouth-bar. Some masks are not used as masks, but are worn by actors as a device to change his character. The masks are surrounded, as usual, with considerable mystery, and are burned or thrown away at the end of the season. A wide variety of materials are used, and elaborate rules. No uninitiated person may see them being made. Little masks are worn on the fingers. The masks represent human persons—male or female, or animals. Ancestors, spirits, *sulka* (tutelary spirits), natural objects (e.g., the sun-mask of the Kwakuitl, *set* round with seal’s whiskeys, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan), animals, and birds form the subjects of a remarkably varied collection. The Telemaquians have a mask representing the thunder-bird, and the prompter lighting is produced and water poured from the roof on the spectators. Sahil masks represent the ancestors of the clans, viz. the wolf, owl, frog, and coyote. But, since the wearing of a mask is regarded as being unlucky, well-to-do men hire professional impersonators, who may be compared with civilized prejudices against the actor’s profession. The dances are pantomimic representations of the myths stored by the society, and these are to be compared with the magical pantomimes of the Australians, intended to encourage the natural processes which they represent, and, on the other hand, with the mediaeval *pantomime* which has the object of good and evil. The use of the mask throws a sort of mysterious glamour over the performance and at the same time allows the actor to remain unknown. Apart from entertainers, the pantomimes are performed in honour of dead personages, or to bring blessings on a particular man or the community. In N.W. Brazil a very pretty pantomime is performed in honour of the dead, at which the masked actors represent the gorgeously-coloured birds and insects of the forest. The drama of the Pueblo Indians is remarkable; it has features resembling those of the morality and the Greek *pantomime*, but the characters represented by masked actors. The performances take place in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of procuring rain, good crops, or prosperity generally.

The Lamas of Tibet practised a regular religious drama, exactly parallel to the European morality and mystery; there were good and evil spirits, a protecting deity, men, and animals, and for all there were the appropriate masks. The Burmese drama employed masks for character types such as king and minister. Siamese actors wore paper masks, coloured green, red, black, or gold. A peculiarity was that the wearer did not speak; the parts were spoken by prompters. In Japan the dramatic masks of paper or lacquered wood were very elaborately artistic, gods, demons, men, and animals. *Bildes* and *Dyaks* were good artists.


The drama of ancient Athens, both tragic and comic, employed the mask, which had been used in the old Boeotian mummeries that seem to have produced the drama. Previously the mummers had smeared their faces with wine or covered them with fig-leaves. Similarly, the peasants of Latium wore masks of bark in the Bacchic festivals. The masks of the tragic *theks* were names, at least by the playwright Eupolis, *the* Thespians, who previously had painted his face with white lead or phrasaline. Linen masks unpainted were then adopted; Chorrius improved them; Phrynichus and Phormion made masks; and Aeschylus added paint and generally fixed their form.

The Greek mask was made of linen, or, sometimes, of cork or wood. It was large (in tragedy) to correspond to the human mask; in comedy, to the size of the head. The white of the eye was painted strongly, but an aperture was made for the actor to see. The mouth was permanently opened wide, and the tradition remains, unexplained, that resonance was given to the voice by means of the shape of the mask. All that the mask aimed at was the bold emphasizing of types; every feature was exaggerated, and in the huge theatres of the Greeks this fact was essential. No change of facial expression being possible and the upper part of the forehead generally excluded, the mask prevented any considerable evolution of the psychological drama. It would be difficult to imagine the part of Hamlet played in a mask. Polybius enumerates various species of tragic masks. The tyrant’s mask had thick black hair and beard and wore a frown. The lover’s face was pale. The comic mask was, in the Old Comedy, the portrait of a real person; whether Aristophanes presented *The Clouds*, Socrates stood up in the auditorium to enable the audience to identify the mask of his impersonation; but, when Cleon was to be staged, the actors refused to supply a mask; the fear was the was inspired by the demagoge. In the New Comedy of manners types were represented. The hot-tempered old father wore a mask with one eyebrow drawn up and the other normal; he expressed his changes of temper by turning this or that side. The Roman drama dispensed with masks until the time of Rucous, who is said to have introduced them on his own account, being ugly and ashamed of his characters represented by masked actors. The performances take place in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of procuring rain, good crops, or prosperity generally.

In medieval Europe and England the mask was used in the folk-dramas from which the modern drama was evolved. At the Feast of Fools references are made to the wearing of masks through the period from A.D. 1200 to 1445. The term ’visor’ was usual for the mask. ‘Mummery’ and ‘disguising’ were terms for the various folk-plays, which were often suppressed. A side-development of this drama, and a new application of the word ‘mask,’ were made in the ‘masque’ popular in Elizabethan times.

The theory of Frazer as to the magical and religious origin of the drama may be tested by the special case of the German *Henne* and the English *Good-artist.*
Deuteronomistic code and in the Law of Holiness (Lev 26:1) and, the editor of the books of Kings estimates their character in the light of this prohibition. To earlier writers, especially E and Hosea, see no harm in these stones but the teaching of the other prophets of the 8th cent. evoked an aversion, and Hezekiah, Josiah, and Deutero-
nomy insist on their destruction. Later writers, such as 1, combine divine authority and interpret this as an instrument of worship, and they scruple to describe the parricides as having anything to do with the massabchah, representing them as making altars (cf. LXX Ex 24, substituting άμμος, 'stones,' for πέτρα). Hebrew monotonism, when fully developed, denuded sun and moon of their ancient divinity (Gen 1:14): 'The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto me? (Is 66:1). As a person in Hebrew thought there was no longer any superstitions regard for stones, cairns, crowleys, or meleons.

Stone are used with no occult associations. Samuel commemorates a victory by setting up a stone which he called El-e-or (1 Sam 7:12): the Temple has two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, set up in the porch (1 K. 7:22; inscriptions are re-

corded on stone (Dt 32:17, Ex 34 (the Ten Words): Rachel's grave is marked with a memorial pillar (Gen 35:20); a women reared a pillar, called a 'hand, to perpetuate her memory (2 S 18:30); an agreement between Jacob's sons and the Ishmaelites is marked (Gen 31:49) as to the boundary between them is marked by stones and pillars (on 'pillar, 'cain of witness').

When men stocked with sorrow, enduring a member, when they wished to make the deity the protector of a covenant, they often chose some form of stone as an emblem of the divine presence. Something more than this is indicated in a few instances. Jacob set up a stone for massabchah, poured upon the top of it, and called it Beth-el (Gen 33:20-21, Gen 30:14 tells us that Jacob poured a drink-offering thereupon). The massabchah is found associated with altars and ashedim figures in religious centres, Jacob's ceremony implies more than it states. Joshua sets up a stone saying, 'This stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us' (Josh 24:27 E). The use of unknown stones for an altar (Ex 20:21, Dt 33:17, Jos 24:24) betrays the feeling that the chisel would offend the names in the stones.

Semitic and other parallels show that such instances are surviving spectacles of an elaborate system of stone-worship. The massabchah is found in the cogitate languages, and denotes 'lapis qui divi dicuntur' (Lampiudius). Among the primitive Arabs 'the stone serves as an altar, the victim's blood is smeared over it; hence the name ghariy, it is, however, more than an altar, it represents the god-
head' (J. Wellhamsen, Relic arab. Heidentum, Berlin, 1887, p. 134; E. Jawdat rodota (iii. 8) describes Arabs making a covenant.

An umpire draws blood with a sharp stone from the hand of each of the two parties making the covenant, Ver, using their garments he smears the blood on seven stones placed between them, invoking Goral and Allah. Herodotus might have added that the parties laced each other's blood (W. D. Smith, Kinship and Marriage, London, 1967, p. 56 f.).

The Canaanite high-place discovered at Gezer reveals the conspicuous place assigned to standing stones in the cult of Palestine before the Hebrew occupation (R. A. S. Macalister, Excavation of Gezer, London, 1912). Phenician coins and temples confirm the sanctity of the stone cult and the Greek name βαύρων, βαυρίων, appears to be derived from Beth-el.

Theophrastus, in the 4th century B.C., depicts the superstitious Greek passion for buried stones and anointed stones to which, taking out his phial and pouring oil on them, falling on his knees to adore, and going higher (From H. 15.7). Traces of like practice are recorded down to the present day. A full description of 'a shrine of pre-Islamic stone-worship' with a ritual preserving pre-historic function, a Temple of the Macedonians is given by A. J. Evans in his 'Mycen-

ian Tree and Pillar Cult' (JHS xxi. 1931). It is due to prophetic intolerance of the irrational and illogical, so slight traces of litholatry remain in the OT.
What mean ye by these stones? asked the Hebrews; ratio in obscuro, answered Tactitus. To seek one principle consistently applied is as hopeless in custom as in a language. Feeling, variable and indifferent to logic, determines usage in regard to sacred stones. Mountains have inspired awe and reflection (cf. Fuyujima, Hermann Horeb, Sinai)—and it has been suggested that the sacred pillar is a little model of the Holy Hill. Meteorites have been found and treasured; and, if the stone slab or pillar may serve as a resting-place for the soul, it is of course necessary to frame any fragmentary faith on a path of light, like a falling star, or supposed to be sent amid thunder and lightning. Would command devotion (cf. Diana of the Ephesians and the image which fell down from Jupiter to the temple at Ephesus). Materialism, composed of spiritualism, and The anathema inscription, the phallic one (Islam). History. Malsteine, The hundreds of thoroughgoing metaphysical little books. Em. Ixxii. regard Ixxiii. with Jupiter arranged they have received their due; etc. Meteorites to be the only thing; il isVEL., etc. a little prophecy, which makes the same assertion of matter. Thus, according to the doctrine of materialism, extended, impenetrable, eternally self-existent matter, susceptible of motion, is the one fundamental constituent of the universe. But a mode or a property of such matter, and psychological processes are reducible to physical. More precisely, there are three kinds of metaphysical materialism, thus described by Kline (Intro. to Philosophy, Eng. tr., p. 117): attributive materialism, which makes mind an attribute of matter; causal . . . , which makes it an effect of matter; and quantitative . . . which looks upon mental processes as really material in character.

1. History.—The atomism of Leucippus and Democritus is the earliest example of materialistic theory. According to these philosophers, the physical world is composed of invisible material particles, and mind is made up of similar atoms, smaller, rounder, smoother, and more mobile. The theory reduced all qualitative differences to quantitative differences, and considered the atom as the final cause or intelligent purpose from the world. The denial of the immortal soul, and interpreted the universe only in terms of mechanism and fixed law. The last element in early Greek atomism, does not necessarily presuppose or involve materialistic theory, though Lange, the historian of materialism, seems to see in it the chief virtue of early materialistic speculation. The theory of Leucippus and Democritus was developed by Epicurus and Lucretius, with certain modifications.

At the beginning of the modern period the early Greek materialism was revived by various teachers; however, deprived it of metaphysical significance by reconciling it with belief in God as Creator of the atoms. T. Hobbes, at the same time, taught a similar view; and, though his philosophical system is materialistic, he cannot be called a thoroughgoing materialist. He strongly insisted that all that exists is body or matter, and that motion is the only kind of change. Gradually developing in England, materialism perhaps reached its climax in the writings of the French Encyclopedists (p. 99), after science had revealed how closely psychical states and
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mental development depend on the body. P. H. D. Holbach’s *Système de la nature* (London, 1770), which rejects every form of spiritualism and super-naturalism, marks the culmination of this movement of thought.

Nearer to our own time materialism appeared, as a reaction from post-Kantian idealism, with renewed energy in Germany, K. C. Vogt, J. Mole-schöpf, and A. Kittelman, for whose exposition of the same doctrine at about the middle of the 19th century. Their writings, though evincing—for the first time, perhaps, in the history of materialism—some sense of the need of an epistemological foundation for a metaphysical and religious mental process into material, reveal great crudity of thought and knowledge in this connection, and in spite of their popularity are of no philosophical worth to an age which is careful and critical as to epistemological presuppositions, especially such as are involved in the physical sciences. Description of physical and even mental processes, in the language of materialism, is easier to science; and this fact, together with the jubilant confidence with which science, flushed with many successes, over-hastily exaggerated its own scope and functions a generation ago, accounts for the following which many generalizations of natural knowledge have received—a colouring which has often been taken by students of the physical sciences, unpractised in philosophical reflection and criticism, for an essential similarity—a misbelief of scientific truth rightly so called. T. Huxley, who on occasion could teach materialism of the most dogmatic kind, and in another mood would capitulate to spiritualism, sought permanent refuge in agnosticism; and, since his earlier and more militant essays, materialism has found no literary champion among British scientists. In dogmatic form it is to be found today, as a teaching of which even the crudest materialist is ashamed, but it is possible, in the light of modern materialistic presuppositions, to introduce the term of secularist free thought. Even the monism of E. Haeckel, which is materialism in all but its name, awakens no enthusiasm among scientific students in Britain; it is rightly regarded as involving an obsolete standpoint which science, more silent and cautious—if not more critical—than formerly, has left behind.

2. The attractiveness and plausibility of materialism. The chief allure of materialistic metaphysics and physical science have coincided with occasions of renewed interest in, or remarkable progress of, physical science. The emergence of this tendency to regard the world as a material process is in part a consequence of the epoch in the history of thought, is evidence that materialism strongly commends itself to many minds, especially to those whose studies chiefly lie in the sphere of the physical sciences. There are many reasons for the attractiveness of materialism as a metaphysical theory or view of the world to such minds, and the view possesses great plausibility when it is contemplated from the epistemological standpoint which the natural sciences, as well as the philosophy of common sense or ordinary social intercourse, take for granted. These reasons may now be specified, and the extent to which it is received and the reasons that derive their plausibility examined.

One reason why, as H. Höffding says (*Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1905, p. 140), ‘ever again psychology has sought a metaphysical direction, although—since the advent of the critical philosophy—not with such dogmatic assurance as formerly,’ is that our knowledge of matter, its changes and its properties, is less circular, and is so much more easily obtained, than our knowledge of mind. Psychology is a comparatively young science. In so far as it embraces psychology and is pursued in its relation to physiology, even psychology deals with matter rather than with mind. And in so far as it is pursued by the analytic method—the only truly psychological one—it is a study beset with enormous difficulties. Moreover, such psychological knowledge as is now forthcoming and is acquired by the investigator of physical phenomena, so that he proceeds in abstraction from essential elements involved in every objective fact that he examines and classified. Psychology, again, more immediately involves metaphysics, which makes the most important part is as yet disputed ground. Lastly, the physical sciences owe much of their prestige to the fact that they are based on measurement, and, being thus quantitative, are capable of mathematical treatment, whereas in psychology (of the pure or analytic kind) measurement is out of the question.

The physical sciences, again, impress us with their connectedness. The connectedness of the material world exercises an overwhelming power on our minds, and especially upon the imagination. Mind, on the other hand, is discontinuous; it is known only in the form of individuals; and these minds are not known, as yet, with anything like certainty, to communicate with each other through any other medium than that of matter. Further, we know nothing in connection with bodies or material organisms, and, similarly, as observation goes, we have no knowledge of mind existing independently of body, though—again, so far as observation goes—it seems that most material things exist without a mind. Verily, we might also add, is the array of facts furnished by physiology, comparative anatomy and psychology, and pathiology as to the concomitance of psychological processes with physical, their denial is literal phenomena such as the functioning of the brain, the correlation of mental development throughout the animal kingdom with organization and complexity of brain-structure, the effects upon mind of injury or disease in brain tissue, and so forth. Thus a very strong, clear, and convincing case for the priority of matter to mind, and for the dependence of the mental on the material, is presented by science; and there is much to suggest that consciousness is a property, and, indeed, a product or an effect, of matter or material process. The progress of science would seem, as Huxley put it, to have meant the extermination of man as a metaphysical concept, and to have the realm of matter, and the concurrent abandonment of all reference to mind, and to afford as good ground for asserting mental phenomena as effects of material as for asserting heat to be due to physical causes.

Moreover, it may be added, it is impossible to invalidate this coherent and cumulative argument for materialism from the standpoint of the physical sciences. No counterease can be made, for instance, out of the fact, if it be a fact, that to some mental events no correlated material changes within the brain have been discovered; for future research may possibly discover them. On the other hand, it is precarious to stake our metaphysical theory on gaps in scientific knowledge. Nor can materialism be refuted by saying that thought, or consciousness in general, may still prestige in activity or properties of matter. Heat, light, sound, and electricity are qualitatively different, yet all of them are properties of matter or of ether possessing some of the characteristics of matter. It is a baseless dogma that there must resemble the cause, so long as we refer to phenomenal causes and effects. Science, in its more abstract developments, does indeed reduce all diversity to quantitative difference, all causality to identity, so that
heat, light, electricity, etc., are resolved into motions of matter—i.e. of extended and inert substance; but at this level of analysis consciousness, looked upon as one kind of phenomenon among others, and regarded from the purely or abstractly objective point of view adopted by science, might similarly be held capable of resolution into physical elements, the properties that can be urged from this epistemological standpoint, in opposition to materialism, is that the adoption of it as metaphysical truth would involve us in absolving, and the disbelief as to the validity of materialism. For, if thoughts and all other modes of being conscious are produced by material causes, and their co-existences and sequences are mechanically determined (so that all purposiveness is excluded), there would seem to be no reason for believing that any of our thoughts and judgments, even concerning matter, are true. This argument should suffice to dispose of the dogmatic certainty of materialism, though not necessarily the possibility of its (indemonstrable) truth. That material change, while ever pursuing the sole path of least resistance, should throw off, epiphenomena, the condition of which is that of logical sequence, is a possibility with which the materialist must be credited, and to which, perhaps, his opponent will allow him to be wedded, if he can prove that there is no order in the universe. If there be an enemy of the spiritualist and to put the thesis in a difficulty, there is surely too much order in the world to allow the materialist to feel at home there.

3. Rebuttal of materialism.—But there are more telling arguments against a materialistic metaphysics than any of those hitherto mentioned. They emerge only when the question of the epistemological standpoint of physical science is raised, and the first principles and presuppositions of such knowledge are exposed to the searching light of criticism.

When science boasts of the 'objectivity' of its knowledge, it does not merely imply possession of knowledge (concerning fact) such as is universal, or capable of being common to all subjects—which is a perfectly legitimate contention; it further drops out of sight altogether, as convenient or essential to its own practical procedure, all reference to subject, or to the subjective elements which are essential to the very existence of knowledge at all, and which survive in some form even when science has developed its abstract results. Furthermore, even if arbitrarily recognizing that any object of universal human experience, such as the sun, is 'independent' of any individual subject's consciousness, we are often apt to speak as if such an object were similarly independent of the experience of human subjects collectively—which is a very different matter. The phenomena which science studies are not indeed the objects of individual experience, the nature of which—in complete isolation from intercourse with other individuals' experience—we can only guess or reconstruct in part; but they are the sum of subjective elements common to my individual experience, and are owned, a cognition which is nobody's, a phenomenon which does not appear to some subject—these things are impossible, inconceivable, and metaphysical. Know to the contrary, moreover, as distinct from pure passive sensation (if there be such a thing in reality), reveals the work of subjective activity and creative elaboration; and the emergence of consciousness, the object which is not owned, a cognition which is nobody's, a phenomenon which does not appear to some subject—these things are impossible, inconceivable, and metaphysical. Know to the contrary, moreover, as distinct from pure passive sensation (if there be such a thing in reality), reveals the work of subjective activity and creative elaboration; and the emergence of consciousness, the object which is not owned, a cognition which is nobody's, a phenomenon which does not appear to some subject—these things are impossible, inconceivable, and metaphysical. Know to the contrary, moreover, as distinct from pure passive sensation (if there be such a thing in reality), reveals the work of subjective activity and creative elaboration; and the emergence of consciousness, the object which is not owned, a cognition which is nobody's, a phenomenon which does not appear to some subject—the one thing which cannot be doubted or explained away without involving the assertion of its reality—is always essentially a duality in unity, subjective and objective; either aspect without the other is an impossibility. Science can ignore—so long as it confines itself to its own business—the one element in experience, the subjective, though of course its whole procedure involves subjective activity; and it ignores it so completely that its students have sometimes come to look upon what they have agreed to leave out of sight (it being none of their business) as non-existent. Objects recur to be talked of as if they were really subject-less; their independence, their priority, their exclusive reality come to be affirmed. The scientist, leaving himself out of account at the beginning, cannot discriminate materialism from the first encounter on the order in the universe. If there be an enemy of the spiritualist and to put the thesis in a difficulty, there is surely too much order in the world to allow the materialist to feel at home there.

Once, then, the materialist is allowed the right to talk of objects without implicated subjects, of 'purely objective' facts, of phenomena per se, he can proceed to lay before us an array of imposing facts and arguments which, from the standpoint conceded to him, are as irrefutable as they are impressive. But science, by that same condition of things, as known to us, can exist to be known independently of all experiencing subjects is shown to be impossible, the tables are turned. Not only can we demand in question, but their apparent force, but consciousness, which materialism would resolve into an epi-phenomenal effect or property of self-existent matter, is seen to be the primary reality, and matter as we know it is shown to be a conceptual construction of mind. Materialism, we conclude, misunderstands human experience, in which subjective and objective form one whole, while they are gradually differentiated only through increasingly complicated processes of conceptual distinction. The objective, moreover, is not to be identified with the material, as these were convertible terms. Matter is a conceptual abstraction, which may be taken for the ground or source thereof. Atoms, again, are only figurative ideas; and that they have to be endowed with the very attributes which, in gross matter, do not indeed with attributes that contradict all observation, is a sufficient warning against adoption of the naively realistic view that they are material.

Materialism also involves the old and obsolete assumption that the so-called secondary characters of matter (colour, tone, odour, etc.) are fundamen-
tally different from the so-called primary (extension, impenetrability, etc.). It was one of G. Berkeley's
great contributions to philosophy to show that this distinction is untenable. The secondary qualities of
matter have been called 'of physical enough to be 'in
our mind' and not 'in matter.' But on closer
examination it is to be seen that the primary
qualities are in precisely the same case. Our idea of
extension, for example, passes through feeling for
touch or sight; and the perceived 'size' of a body
depends on our distance from it. That a material
object is of the same size, though at one time it
may appear larger and at another smaller to a
perceiver, is an inference, and involves the revision
of the evidence of our senses by reasoning. The
extension which we attribute to a physical object,
then, is inferred, and not perceived, extension;
and, if we abstract from our idea of extension the
sensation-elements supplied by touch or sight,
nothing remains. Therefore matter possesses
extension no more than it possesses colour, except
as perceived by our minds. If, then, there be any-
think at all (which Berkeley denied) other than
our minds and the direct action of God upon them
which causes the sensations whence our idea of
extension (or of matter) is derived, it is obvious that this something
cannot be matter as it is perceived. There may be what
J. S. Mill called a 'permanent possibility of sensa-
tion' independent of us, whose ease is not percipi;
but it is inferred from the evidence of our
(i.e., of matter) from the 'matter' of physical science and common
sense, and, for all we know, may just as aptly be
described as mind or spirit. We can, therefore,
without self-contradiction, ascribe our sensations
of God (Berkeley) or to other spiritual existences
(pluralism); but we cannot ascribe them to matter
as perceived. Either of the views just mentioned
would be as tenable as one which unjustly
ascribe our sensations to the influence of other
spiritual existences endowed with 'being for self,'
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There are several other inconsistencies involved
in materialistic doctrine, one or two of which may
briefly be mentioned. Materialism implies that
everything which happens is accompanied by
consciousness of its happening would happen equally
well without consciousness; or, in other words,
that consciousness makes no difference to the
course of the world. But, if so, it is difficult, on
the theory of evolution by survival of the fittest,
which is the current scientific explanation of the
origin and permanence of every organ and every
function, as well as of every individual organism
and every species, it is not for the emergency,
and still more for the development, of mind.
Materialism, again, of the more thoroughgoing type,
regards consciousness as the product or effect of
matter. This is the principle of 'nihil ist
nihil fit'; and in its application to what physicists call
'energy.' The law of the Conservation of Energy
is often held—though doubtless quite errone-
ously—to assert that not only is there quantitative
equivalence between the energy of light, in any
physical change, disappears in one form and that
which appears in another, but also that the sum-
total of energy in the universe is constant.

Tally different from the so-called primary (extension, impenetrability, etc.). It was one of G. Berkeley's
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total of energy in the universe is constant.

The latter, and illegitimate, part of the generalization
has been a tenet of materialists; and it is difficult
to reconcile it with their assertion that mental
phenomena are caused by material. For in every
such production of consciousness a disappearance
of matter is involved, and this disappearance is
also attributable to consciousness. The last
view is so objectionable on many grounds to
materialists, partly because it opens the possibility
that mind may produce physical effects, that they have avoided working it out. Lastly, it is generally
admitted that materialism cannot explain even
the simplest type of conscious process. The diffi-
culty of conceiving how a sensation or a feeling
could be the necessary consequence or effect of
motion in matter or mass-points, and of imagining
how mathematical physics would cope with such
a possibility, is overwhelming; and, of course, it
has never been faced.

4. Recent substitutes for materialism: hylozo-
ism.—It is not surprising, under the pressure of
all these difficulties and in the light of the self-
criticism to which the structure of physical
materialism has of late been subjected, that materialism should
at the present time be a practically abandoned
philosophical theory. Useful as a method, it is
waning as a metaphysic; and representatives of natural science are leaning towards a more
materialistic speculation and a preference for materialistic
terminology adopt in its stead a monism which has
much in common with the ancient doctrine of
hylozoism, according to which all things are
— as mathematical physics asserts for its necessary
postulate—but living. Thus J. Tyndall was willing
to endow primordial matter with 'the promise
and potency of life'; and W. K. Clifford, in his 'mind-
dust' hypothesis, and Haeckel, in his imaginative
theory of atoms indwelt by rudimentary souls, go yet
further, and couple hylozoism with pan-psychism.

Hylozoism is as ancient as the Ionian school of
Greek philosophy, and was taught in a crude form
by Thales. The Stoic doctrine of a world-soul is
another form of it, revived and developed by several
thinkers in the period of the Renaissance (Fara-
celus, Telesio, Bruno, etc.). Hylozoism reappears
again in the writings of the Cambridge Platonists
(g.v.), as well as in the speculations of philosophers
such as J. B. Robinet and G. T. Fechner; and
pan-psychism—the view that all matter is psychical
or has a psychical aspect—which was held by
Spinoza ('omnia quamvis diversigradibus animata')
(Ethica, ii. prop. xiii. note) and Leibniz, is common
to the numerous advocates whom pluralism finds
at the present day. It is doubtless a better hylozo-
ism, with its assertion that all matter is
organized or living, or may be maintained without the further assumption of pan-psychism, that the real
elements of the world, and all that we call 'things,' are
psychical entities endowed with 'being for self';
and, indeed, many writers seem to use the term
'hylozoism,' as if it included the latter doctrine.

But, without this added implication, and taken in
the etymological sense alone, hylozoism involves
the repudiation of most of the consequences drawn
from rigid materialism. For it denies the inertia
of matter and the statement that motion is exclu-
sively caused by external forces, credits physical
bodies with capacity for self-movement, and re-
gards life as an inherent or essential property
of all matter as such. Thus, as Kant saw, hylozo-
ism is the death-blow to science—'science being
understood, as Kant understood it, to mean a
priori pure or mathematical physics. The latter
kind of knowledge being assumed by Kant to be
necessary and universal, he could write thus:

*The possibility of living matter cannot even be thought; its concept involves contradiction because all living constitutes the essential character of matter' (Kritik of Judg-
While Kant thus saw that hylozoism meant ruin to science in so far as it involves the calculability (by an intelligence higher than ours, though strictly finite like that imagined by Laplace) of all past and future states of the world from a sufficient knowledge of the position and motion of each of its mass-points at any given moment, modern upholders of the mind-stuff hypothesis, and Haeckel's Eng. anti-theistic sympathy, have not been so clear-sighted. They would retain materialism, for all intents and purposes, while changing its name. Qualitative monism is, indeed, in all its forms a position of unstable equilibrium; or, to change the metaphor, it is a half-way house (for temporary lodging) between materialism and spiritualism. And, as retreat upon materialism becomes more and more impossible, as hylozoism is seen to possess greater capacity to explain actuality than the doctrine of dead and absolutely inert matter, and, as, finally, life means the power to act or change according to an internal principle, while only one such principle is known to us,—i.e., thought, together with feeling, desire, and will, which depend upon it,—it will doubtless come to be more and more plainly seen that the implications of this science are not materialistic but spiritualistic.


F. R. TENNANT.

MATERIALISM (Chinese).—Chinese religion and philosophy have been declared by many writers to be materialistic; one of them 1 went even so far as to regard materialism as a special creed taking rank with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. This view implies a misconception of materialism: a philosopher who does not believe in a personal God, or who assigns to a Supreme Being a substantial body, is not a materialist. Materialism assumes matter to be the only basis of reality. This is 'cosmological materialism,' to be distinguished from 'ethical materialism,' which sees the aim of life in egotism, pleasure, and sensuality. Both are to be found in China, but they are not at the root of her great religious systems, although materialistic tendencies may be found occasionally. Nobody will seriously think of imputing materialistic faith to those Monotheists who declare that the visible world is nothing but a semblance, a vision without any reality. Taoism takes a similar view-point: there exists nothing except Tao, the Absolute, an incomprehensible, incomprehensible entity. But how about Confucianism, which has often been described as materialistic? Confucius himself owned to a 'benevolent agnosticism,' declining all metaphysical speculations, but was not averse to popular beliefs and customs. To a disciple asking him about death he replied, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about death?' and on another occasion he made the remark, 'Show respect to the spirits, but keep aloof from them.' 2 He believed in a superior being which he called Heaven, but never used the personal name God—a fact by which he laid himself open to the charge that he held no clear notion of heaven, but certainly he did not conceive it as an anthropomorphic god. Still more than Confucius himself his followers, especially the philosophers of the Sung period (12th cent. A.D.), declared themselves to be non-materialists, but unjustly. The system of Chu Hsi, the head of this school, is a pure dualism. He recognizes two principles, matter and reason, and to the latter

1 M. A. Giles, Religion of Ancient China.
2 Ann. x. 1, v. 25.
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round the idea of heaven or God. The human body is formed of the two fluids, the yin producing the body, and the yang the vital spirit and the mind. At death they again disperse, the yang, or soul, ascends to the sky, and the yin, the original state of unconsciousness. Consequently there can be no immortality, which Chu Hsi likewise disclaims.

Wang Ch'ung's materialism has not had any serious effect on the Chinese people, not because they had a horror of materialism, as many Westerners have, but owing to Wang Ch'ung's bold criticisms on the national sages, Confucius and Mencius. So far as we know, Wang Ch'ung is the only Chinese thinker who set forth a scientific system of cosmological materialism.

Already in the 4th cent. B.C. ethical materialism found an advocate in Yang Ch'i, the philosopher of egoism and pessimism. He maintains that in human life happiness is far exceeded by misfortunes, and that this is the result of the laws of the world and of man's own doing. The practice of virtue is of no avail, because in this world the wicked thrive, and the virtuous are visited with disasters. Therefore men ought not to harass themselves to be virtuous or use those aids such as wealth, honour, or fame, or sacrifice themselves for others, but should enjoy their short span and be satisfied with the good that they have, for the consequences of the veheHent impeaHeHents of Mencius this doctrine has never got a hold on the Chinese mind.

Both Yang Ch'i and Wang Ch'ung have been buried in oblivion, until they were redeemed from it by the congenial interest of foreign admirers.


MATERIALISM (Indian).—1. We possess several comparatively modern works which set forth the doctrine of materialism in the philosophical systems of India, e.g., Summary of all the Systems, and Resumption of the Size Systems. The systems are arranged in the order of their increasing orthodoxy, from the accepted to the opposed. The first, the Vaisäkhi, as we shall see, materialism is a suitable name, is the worst of all, and the only one which is expressly in contradiction with the general conception of Indian philosophy and mysticism.

In more ancient sources— in the Mahabharata, on the one side, and in the Buddhist scriptures, canonical or scholastic, on the other—we find data concerning this materialistic system which are scanty but generally in agreement.

As regards the sources that would give us direct information about the materialist school only a few citations can be brought forward, and their authenticity is not certain.

We are not convinced that a materialistic 'school,' a 'system,' in the original sense of the word, existed. There have been 'materialists' who have entertained some very well-defined theories, to whom the 'spiritualists,' whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or their followers, are related; those are, perhaps artificially, grouped in the works of which we have spoken.

The most characteristic names are Nâstikas, literally 'deniers,' 'teachers of a materialistic system,' those who are termed 'skeptics,' 'materialists,' 'adherents of the doctrine of the world and of men; Spuren der Welt und der Menschen,' the so-called 'worldly,' 'difficult to interpret; Chârvâka is said to be the founder of the sect; he is undoubtedly the deno

1. In the 'summary' mentioned in notes 1 and 2 on previous p., and also in the Mahabharata (see the first book, 2nd canto, 18th chapter, as well as in the other books of the Mahabharata). This name originally extended to all kinds of sceptics, deniers of the Vedas gods, or of the Brahmanic religion (see below).

2. See O. Böhring and K. Boeckh, Sastra-Wörterbuch. Petropo
ger, 1826-1827, 5-6.

3. See E. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, i, (Oxford, 1899) 14, 159, 129, 166. C. C. Rajaguru (v) (1906 June 19) rightly remarks that Rhys Davids is wrong in saying: 'Of the real existence of a school of philosophy that called itself by the name (Lokayata) there is no trace.' The traces are numerous. See also art. Lokayata.

4. Dipika Nikāya, i, 50; Sutta Pitaka Nikāya, iii, 307; Mahābhārata Nikāya, 106, and also in the Sandristi sources. This passage has often been translated. The version reproduced above is that of Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, i, 22. Attention should be drawn to those of E. Burnouf (Le Livre de la bonne loi, Paris, 1857), P. Grund, (Sept Suttas pâli, do, 1785) and D. R. P. J. Boll, (Paradigmata Buddh. in J. R. P. Jacobi, Jaina Sutras, ii, pp. 329, 333, 336; SBE xlv (1895).

A more complete study would describe the opinions of Paripakrathā, another name for Sāntideva, by Rhys Davids (ibid., ii, 3, 2); of of Mahākālla (ibid., ii, 13); of by Mah adec (ibid., ii, 52), who denies responsibility, and teaches what is called the 'theory of non-action'; if with a discussion with an edge sharp as a razor he should make all living creatures on the earth one heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting; no increase of happiness and no decrease of the happiness of Mahâkâlla, who denies liberty. 'There is no such thing as power for the ego, or human will, or knowledge. Arguments are bent this way and that by their fate, by their individual nature,' and comes near the wall with minor alter ego, the Mahabharata, namely, the omnipotence of fate (dharma) and the weakness of human activity (pravritti). It was buddha who said that good fate (dharma) is only the man of our former actions.
MATHURA

into the primitive community, and for whom the tone of novitiate was shortened 'because they believed in the retribution of actions.'

He does not believe in an after death or rebirth; he believes only in the four elements, earth, water, air, fire, conceived in a materialistic sense; he therefore denies the fifth element, consciousness (swarga), which, under different names and in different manners, constitutes, in the 'orthodox' or 'spiritualistic' systems, the essential of what the West calls the 'soul.'

If the doctrine attributed to the materialists by later sources, viz. that 'thought develops in the human body from a special mixture of the elements like the intoxicating power of the fermentation of the grain or of the juice of the sugar-cane,' arises quite naturally from this ancient theory of Ajita.

(3) Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions, and, consequently, morality. He is a Nastika, a 'denier.' He certainly denies sacrifice, super-natural births, etc., but, of all these denials, the denial of the remuneration of good and bad actions is the most monstrous. The Buddhist works teach this theory (for the materialists essentially in this denial, which destroys the roots of merit) and causes a man to commit all kinds of sin.

Ajita seems to have led an ascetic life; but 'asceticism' to materialists are usually 'libertines.' If we believe our sources, which attribute to them sayings like the following:

"As long as we live we ought to live happily, enjoying the pleasures of life, in the hope that we can the body reap once after it has been reduced to ashes" (Pp. 5. 7.1)

3. What leads us to believe that there was, properly speaking, a materialist school, is the double philosophical theory that our texts attribute to the deniers.

(a) 'The only means of knowledge (pratmada) is the immediate evidence of the senses.' All orthodox Indian schools are wrong in appealing to induction (anumana) or to authority (the word of a competent person, of an omniscient being [brahmacaryas], or of the Veda).

A sentence belonging to the literature of the materialists says: 'There is nothing in man except what is visible to the senses. Look, dear friend, at these so-called scholars call the traces of the wolf.' A man who wanted to convert—let us say 'pervert'—a woman to his materialist opinions, went out of the town with her, and on the dust of the road he drew with the thumbs, index fingers, and the nails of his two hands, marks resembling the footprints of a wolf. In the morning the scholars said: 'Assuredly a wolf came last night from the forest; for otherwise it would be impossible that there could be a wolf's footprints on the road.' And the man said to the woman: 'See, dear friend, what clever thinkers these men are who maintain that induction proves the existence of supra-sensible objects, and who are regarded as scholars by the crowd.'

(b) Denying induction, these philosophers without philosophy are forced to deny causality. The name Siahbavikas is given to the scholars who believe that, in the sense which the Buddha refused to examine (see Asaṅgavasa [Buddhist]), vol. i, p. 219) occurs this one: 'Is the true principle (jiva) the same thing as the body (arūpa)? Is it different from the body?' The Buddha condemns the two opposite opinions and constructs a middle way.

In order to meet the Pāli material on the question of materialism, one must read also the Pajñā Suttanta (see the tr. in Rhys Davids, op. cit. 317) which is not only on the existence of another world, gods, etc., but also on the existence of the soul.

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2. Lakatta-muchachyia (Oriya, Soc. asiat. Itali, xii. 1900) 299; Saddhakarnanamuchachyia, in Museum, xx. 1890; Mathyama-

3. L. de la Vlalle Poussin.

MATHURĀ (Muttra).—The name Mathura, or Muttra, is borne by both a district and a town in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The District (1448 sq. m.) lies to the north of the Agra District, and includes many places sacred to the worship of Krishna, the notable being the small towns of Brindāban, Gobardān, Gokul, and Mahābāhī (qq.v.). Mathurā town or city stands on the right bank of the Jūnūnī, on the main road that goes from Agra to Delhi, in 27° 30' N. 77° 41' E. (the town in 1901, 60,042). The city, which is of immemorial antiquity, was placed by early Hindu writers in the country of the Saurasenas, and was reckoned by Ptolomy among the seven cities of the Kaspeiraioi. He calls it Modoura (Mōdeo), 'the city of the gods' (Vit. i, 50).

Arran writes the name Mathora (Mōdeo [Indices, viii. 5]), and Flinn (H N vi. 19) uses the same spelling.

An alternative Hindu literary name was Mathūpura, now represented by the village Maholi, which 'is so close to the city as almost to form one of its suburbs' (Growse, Memoir, p. 4), and who destroyed the temples, changed the name to Islamabad or Islāmāpur (ib. pp. 35, but the new name never became current (see Num. Chron., 4th ser., ii, 1905) 232).

The city was plundered by Mahmūd of Ghazni in A.D. 1008-9 and again by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1757. The greater part of the District came under British rule in 1803.

Mathurā, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindu, is second only to Benares (q.v.) in the city. The city and the western half of the District, known as the Braj-mandāl, are now associated almost exclusively with the legend and cult of the cow-herd deity of Mathura, known as Krishna, the name of which was sacred to Jains and Buddhists as it was to Brahmānical Hindus. The literature concerning the religious history and antiquities of Mathurā is extensive, and new discoveries in this remarkable city are constantly coming to light. It is impossible here to do more than indicate the importance of the locality in the history of Indian religions and the exceptional interest of the broken remains which have escaped from repeated Muslim violence.

Mathurā, being situated between the Muhammadan capitals of Agra and Delhi, was specially exposed for centuries to inclemencies attacks. hardly any ancient Hindu building of importance is now standing, and the valuable sculptures which make the district famous among archaeologists have mostly been discovered by modern collectors.

The sculptures and remains of buildings in an extremely fragmentary state are found in the city and for many miles round.

The objects connected with the Jain cult have been discovered for the most part in the Kankali or Jain Temple (mound) to the S.W. of the city, which is situated on the site of J. H. Marshall's, Digambara, and the other Śvetāmbara, as well as of a remarkable stūpa, the only Jain monument of the kind about which details are known. In its earliest stages, dated in the remote antiquity, it is from 600 or even 700 B.C.

The Jain faith was vigorous in the Kusāna period early in the Christian era, and the images found came down to the 11th century. At the present day Mathurā and a few temples in the Mathurā District, their principal settlement being at Kosi, where there are three temples.

The numerous Buddhist remains, which are of great interest, disclose the former existence of an important monastery founded by Hūsiṣa Kusāna, probably early in the 2nd cent. after Christ. In Fa-Hian's time (A.D. 405) there were twenty Buddhist monasteries with some 3000 monks in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. When Huien Tsang travelled, more than two centuries later, the number of monks had diminished. The Maḥāmāyā attacks from A.D. 1813 onwards wiped out the Buddhist establishments. There are plain indications that the popular Buddhism of Mathurā included a sensual erotic element, which probably has contributed to the subsequent development of Mathurā Kusāna and Kusāna worship now specially associated with the Mathurā region. Nāga worship was much practised during the Kusāna period.

Tārā, a Brahminical Hinduism appears to be the most ancient of the Mathurā religions. The Greek writers call the chief local god by the name of Herakles, and the sculpture representing the fight of Herakles and Kīrtimāla, that is, Nāga, is one of the most famous of Mathurā antiquities.

The temple of Kesava Deva at the Katrā on the western side of the city, rebuilt early in the 17th cent., was described by J. B. Tavernier (c. A.D. 1651; *Travels in India*, tr. V. Bell, London, 1889, ii. 240) as 'one of the most sumptuous buildings in all India.' Anuragārī destroyed it in 1669, and built a mosque on the site. All the old Hindu temples in the city were destroyed by the Maḥāmāyās at one time or another.

Archaeological evidence shows that the cultus of Kṛṣṇa was well established as early as the 4th and 5th cent. A.D., and was strong in Skanda-gupta, c. A.D. 456; sculptures at Mandor in Mārvarī (*Arch. Surv. A. I. Rep.*, 1905-06, p. 140), but the Vaiṣṇava cultus of Mathurā in its present form was not developed until the close of the 16th cent. under the influence of the Bengali Gosīns of Brindāvan. The history and character of the cult are well described by Growse, to whose book the reader is referred. The great temple of Vaiṣṇava under the name of Bhajā, built between 1845 and 1851 by local merchant princes, is remarkable for being designed on Dravidian lines. It cost 44 millions of rupees. The notorious erotic sect of Vaiṣṇavas founded by Vallabhāchārya (g.p.) (born A.D. 1479) has its headquarters in the town of Gokul.

Three Christian missions (Baptist, Missionary, and Methodist Episcopalian) are established in the city.


See also the Travels of Fa-Hien and Huien Tsang, the Chinese pilgrims, and the study of the text, architecture, and iconography in *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911.*

VINCENT A. SMITH.

MĀTRACETĀ.—Mātraca is the name of a Buddhist, author, identified by the Tibetan historians of Buddhism, Tārānātha, with Āśvinīkumāra, concerning whom and the identification itself see art. ĀŚVINĪKUMĀRA, and the works there mentioned. It may be pointed out that the identification is made only by Tārānātha, while a much older writer, the Chinese traveller I-tsing (2nd half of 7th cent. A.D.), plainly distinguishes the two authors; further, the inscriptions of works seem not to betray either in the Chinese tradition or, with one exception (see Kauśāmīkṣa-nāma-khāṇḍa, ed. W. F. Thomas, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, new ser., no. 1399, pp. 25-29), in the Tibetan, who is given for the identification is the fact that both writers stood in relation to Kaniṣṭha. But this reason will be seen upon reflection to have actually a contrary bearing; for nothing is more certain concerning the Buddhist monk than that he was a figure of the first order of his time, whereas we have an epitome from Mātraca declining, upon grounds of old age and sickness, to visit the King. Perhaps this is the reason why Tārānātha, identifying the two poets, makes an untenable distinction between the Kaniṣṭhas and Oṣasunca and the Kaniṣṭhas and Mātraca.

According to Tārānātha, Mātraca was the son of a rich Brāhmaṇa named Vaiśvakarṇa who married the youngest of ten Buddhist daughters of a merchant belonging to the city of Khota (Gadgā). The time is given as during the reign of Śrīchandra, nephew and successor of Bindusāra—a statement which reflects the confusion of the Tibetan author's chronological system. The name is given to the child at birth is said to have been Kala; that he was subsequently known as Mātraca and Pitṛṣeṣa is set down to his filial devotion. We must, however, distrust the whole story; Sanghaṅguṇa is not a suitable name for a Brāhmaṇa, nor is a marriage with a Buddhist woman as a possibility. The story probably represents a late invention, and in later times was attached to other persons, means, no doubt, like its equivalent Mātrada, 'servant of the Mother (i.e. Durgā), or of the Mothers (i.e. the forms of Durgā)'; and this is quite in harmony with the fact that Mātraca was at first a worshipper of Mahāvāra-Siva (Tārānātha and I-tsing) and composed hymns in his praise (I-tsing). He became an expert in Mantra and Tantra formulas and a master of dialectic. In the latter capacity he entered upon a course of controversy with the Buddhists of Odiśa (Orissa), Gauda, Tārānātha (I-tsing), Kāmaruṣa, and elsewhere, forcing them to join the heretics, whereby he acquired the sobriquet Durtṛṣa-Kalā, 'the unassailable Kala.' At the suggestion of his mother, who hoped for his conversion by the leading doctors of her faith, he proceeded to the great Buddhist centre of the Nālandā, where, in fact, he was overthrown in argument and joined the order.

According to Tārānātha, the agent of his conversion was Arya Deva, who showed him a miracle, and he was converted. If we must reject the introduction of Arya Deva, which involves an anachronism and is due to a certain confusion (see *La xxix. (1903) 340*), the incident is connected by the statement of Tārānātha, that Buddha, hearing the states a nighttime,
had said: 'The bird, transported with joy at sight of me, unconsciously utters its melodious notes. One would think, if one sees this deed, after my departure (Nirvāṇa) this bird shall be born in human form, and named Mātrčeta; and he shall praise my virtues with true appreciation' (Licord, tr. Tr. i 156 f.). It is recorded here one of the prophecies (vydkarana, visvarkara) narrated in connexion with many Buddhist divines and others, in this case involving, perhaps, also an interpretation of the name in Prakrit form Mātikētha = matichettha, 'transported with joy (at sight of me).'

Thus this may be, we have in Māṭechet's own work (Varnanāhavārya, vv. 1–3 and 30 f.) allusions both to his previous heretical poems and to the supposed prophecy of Buddha.

The remainder of Māṭechet's career may be recorded in the words of Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 145 f.). 'At the time when Māṭechet was converted to the Buddhist doctrine, the number of heretics and Brahman in the Vibhars of the different schools had greatly increased.

It was thought that, if the greatest ornament of the Brahman, Dvārakācārya himself was to adopt a new system of life, he would put to an end the whole edifice of Brahmanism and even an equal number from the heretics. The Abhaya, being fully conscious of this, wrote, composed daily penitential compositions in the city for huge quantities of food, whereby he entertained five hundred Bhikṣus, namely two hundred and fifty of the Mahāsanghikas and fifty of the Mahāyānas. After this, he made five hundred and fifty studying, leaving them to their uninterrupted occupation.

Thus the abhaya is also not without a merit in all lands, as many singers and strollers chanted them and faith in Buddha grew mightily among all the people in the land; greater service was rendered both to the traditions and the religion, collected in his daily penitential compositions in the city for huge quantities of food, whereby he entertained five hundred Bhikṣus, namely two hundred and fifty of the Mahāsanghikas and fifty of the Mahāyānas. After this, he made five hundred and fifty studying, leaving them to their uninterrupted occupation.

Towards the end of his life King Kaniska sent an envoy to invite him to the Mahābhikṣuṇika, where he, however, as he was prevented by old age from going, composed an epistle and converted the king to the doctrine. He sent his own pupil Jñānaptitya to the king as an interpreter of the Jñānaptitya and others, he desired to put into writing the ten times ten hundred births, corresponding to the ten Pāramitās, which were transmitted from ear to ear by the Padgis and Ajārāyas; but after composing thirty-four he died. According to some biographies, it is related that, having redacted that the Bodhimitra had given his body to a tigress and so forth, he had thought he could do the same, as it was too unbearable. Scaling, accordingly, a hungry tigress attended by her young, he escaped to surround his body, but at first hardly accomplished it. But, when a skill stronger faith in Buddha was kindled in him and he had with his own blood written down the prayer in seventy verses, he first gave the tigress his blood to drink, whereby she let her weakened frame a little strength, and left his body to him to be transformed into a tigress and rise. He removed the tigress, and the tigresses were very devoted to him, he was greatly renowned as a general hero of the orthodox.'

The testimony of I-tsing (tr. tr. i 156 f.):

'He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred slokas, and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhimitras Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly.'

Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Māṭechet's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Sils). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools.

... There are many who have written commentaries on them, nor are the interpretations of them few. Bodhimitra Gira (Hiuen Tsang) is said to have composed such an imprint. He added one verse before each of the one hundred and fifty verses, so that those dozen slokas and three hundred verses, called the 'Mixed' hymns... A celebrated priest of the Deer Park, Sākyadeva by name, again added one verse to each of Gira's, and so it was further augmented to four hundred and fifty verses (slokas), called the Doubly Mixed' hymns.'

He proceeds to include Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa and other imitated Māṭechet. The renown and influence echoed in these statements are further substantiated by the fact that the two hymns particularized were translated, as well as others, into Tibetan, and one of them, the 'Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Verses' also (by I-tsing himself) into Chinese; moreover, the originals have been found in various fragments among the MS. trouvailles from Chinese Turkestan, so that in due time it will be possible to form a first-hand appreciation of the poet's work. Pending the complete publication, we may set our estimate upon what has already been made public and upon the very literal Tibetan versions and the English rendering of a portion of the Varnanāhavārya hymn, and of the whole of the Kīrtivera stotra of Śakyadeva is not known.

Concerning the minor hymns nothing need be said.

There are also two short tracts in verse, entitled respectively Varnanāhavārya-Prakritamātrscetavārya and Prakritamātikētavārya, the former treating of the miseries and deceptions of life, and the latter of the evils of the present Iron Age.

Undoubtedly the most interesting of Māṭechet's writings is the 'Epistle to King Kaniska' (Mahârâja Khama-lekha). Beginning with excuses for not accepting the king's invitation and for boldness in offering advice, he proceeds to counsel the young sovereign as to his moral policy, the concluding twenty out of eighty-five verses containing a pathetic appeal on behalf of dumb animals and deceasing the chase. The latter topic was familiar on Buddhist lips, as we may see from the Edicts of Asoka. The whole epistle is full of mildness, gracious courtesy, and moral worth; that it is an old man's writing appears on the surface, and no doubt it is the latest of Māṭechet's compositions.

The statement that Māṭechet set the type for all later hymnologists is certainly so far true that all subsequent compositions are in the same form. This may fairly represent his quality as a poet; he displays great art in the use of language, much rhetorical skill, flow, and copiousness of matter. But the abstract nature of his conceptions, which are largely concerned with the dogmatic characteristics of the person and teaching of Buddha, and in consequence their often conventional character, place him upon a different level from his junior contemporary, the author of the Mahābhikṣuṇika.

Concerning the other writers who have been identified with him, Arya-Sūra, Triratnadasa, and Dārāmik-Subhūti, reference may be made to the literature given above.


III. E'enmore, The Jaina and Buddhist Schools of India, 1892.  Another remarkable work (as concerns Aśvaghoṣa see the literature at Aśavaghoṣa),—T. Suzuki, Asvaghāsa's Life and Works on the Aventures of the Buddha, Tokyo, 1906, Introd.; F. W. Thomas, The Works of Arya-Sūra, Triratnadasa, and Dārāmik-Subhūti, is
MATTER

In metaphysics matter is one of the ultimate principles or 'stuffs' of which phenomena are appearances or manifestations (dualism), or the sole substance in terms of which the universe is ultimately to be explained (materialistic monism, or materialism [g.v.]). In this sense matter is the reality, unknowable in itself, which underlies the properties of all particular things, in which those properties inhere, or by which, as impressions made on our senses, they are caused. It is the support, or substratum, of such qualities, supposed to be necessary in order to explain, in any given case, their constant coexistence as a group. The British empiricists, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, who were postulates the importance of the conception of substance. Locke found the concept obscure and of little use; Berkeley dismissed matter as an abstraction and a superfluous thing; and Hume, in his 'A Treatise of Human Understanding,' retained the conception in the sense of the permanent in all change. Modern phenomenalism, in so far as it preserves at all the concept of substance, and describes matter, regards it as denoting the unknown existent upon which physical properties somehow depend.

In the physical sciences matter is the substance—not in the sense of a metaphysical first principle, but rather in that of the 'stuff'—of which the sensible universe is composed. Its supposed action upon our sense-organs and nervous system gives rise to the totality of changing physical phenomena. Physical science dispenses with metaphysical 'matter,' as perhaps an anthropomorphism, and employs 'matter' to denote simply what is common to all material or sensible bodies, affording explanation of all their particular and diverse characteristics.

The time of Descartes, Boyle, and Locke a distinction was drawn between the primary and the secondary qualities of matter. The properties regarded as primary were extension, lightness, heat, cold, and resiliency; and these alone were believed to inhere in matter, and to be in no way conditioned by our mind. The secondary qualities, such as colour, sound, and taste, on the other hand, were held not to subsist in matter itself; the ideas that we have of them were not supposed to be copies of anything existing independently of the mind—i.e., whether perceived or not—but were regarded as due to sensations occasioned by the different size and motions of the minute particles of which matter is composed. It is doubtful whether in this respect there is any difference between the primary and the secondary qualities; and modern science retains the distinction only so far as it tends to resolve the secondary qualities into quantitative relations, and to describe them in terms of analogies with the primary qualities.

Absolute impenetrability, as a universal and essential property of matter, is not suggested by actual observation. Indeed, it was in all probability the observed penetrability of matter, especially in the gaseous form, that led to the first attempt to explain the properties of matter in terms of its atomic constitution. The happy guess of Democritus, who based upon experiment or observation, was revived as a genuine scientific theory at the beginning of the 19th cent. by Dalton. The observed fact which seemed to this investigator to demand an atomic hypothesis of the constitution of matter was that chemical elements combine with one another in definite and invariable proportions by weight. This would naturally ensue if combination were the union of one or more atoms of the one element with one or more atoms of another, the atoms of one element being of different weight and in other respects, but different from those of other elements. The atomic theory has ever since Dalton's time been the foundation of the science of chemistry. But the atomic hypothesis its facts and laws would be unintelligible.

But the notion of simple, impenetrable, hard atoms, such as Democritus postulated, is not free from difficulties. These atoms must be endowed with elasticity if they are to serve to explain certain physical phenomena; and this is incompatible with their simplicity. Difficulties of this kind led to the suggestion of Boussovich, that the atoms composing matter are not extended, hard bodies, but points, and centres of attractive and repulsive forces—forces whose magnitude varies with the distance between the points in such a way that no force, for example, is capable of penetrating any other in a way that no force, for example, is capable of penetrating any other in a way that no force, for example, is capable of penetrating any other in this way.

But Boussovich's theory was never generally accepted because it requires the rejection of 'action at a distance,' or, in other words, because of the ingrained tendency to regard interaction between atoms to be conceivable only in terms of the kind of action with which we are familiar, viz. contact action, collision or pushing.

Another hypothesis as to the nature of the atom, and, therefore, as to the constitution of matter, is that devised by Lord Kelvin, according to which an atom is a vortex-ring of 'ether,' in an eternal plenum capable of transmitting vibrations or waves. This hypothesis escapes at the same time the difficulties attending the notion of the impenetrable, solid, elastic atom, and those denoting the idea of action at a distance, or between isolated points. The other had been postulated to explain the phenomena of light, and, later, those of electricity. It now also served to explain the constitution and properties of matter, of all hard or not furnished an explanation of gravitation, and it seems to require modification if it is to supply a mechanical representation of what physicists call an electric discharge. If the atoms of material, it is indeed unreasonable to expect it to admit of mechanical description; for mechanical conceptions are derivable only from acquaintance with matter. On the other hand, the success which has attended such mechanical, or semi-mechanical, descriptions suggests that, if ether be not matter, it is at any rate very like it.

Lord Kelvin's kinetic theory of matter, which resolves matter into non-matter in motion, differs from that of Boussovich in that it offers a plenum instead of isolating and empty space; this plenum provides for action and reaction without resort to the notion, distance, of action at a distance. It differs again from Newton's in dispensing with hard atoms, while furnishing atoms which are not only extended, but also, in virtue of their rotational movement, elastic.

It has been claimed on behalf of this kinetic theory of matter that it enables the physicist to deduce material phenomena from the play of inertia, composition, and the motion of the fluid, and so achieves the ideal of ultimate simplification which scientific description or explanation seeks. This is so, though it must be borne in mind that the explanation attained is an explanation of the word only as it has been most artificially

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simplified by science. The further claim that physics is thus capable of reduction to a branch of pure mathematics is, however, not allowable; in going too far it refutes itself. For physics proceeds to deal with the real or sensible material world; it indeed passes, as it becomes more and more abstract, into 'pure' physics; but then it is no longer theoretically distinguished from the ideal or conceptual. Conceptual or pure science applies to the real world, indeed, but only partially or fragmentarily; it exhaustively describes the world, as interpreted by others out of account. Thus pure or abstract science of the material is valid, within limits, for economical description; it is not adequate to full explanation. That this is true in particular of the kinetic theory of matter can be seen at once when we grasp the fact that the primordial fluid—the non-matter to which matter is reduced, or which science substitutes for matter—is not a real thing, but an abstraction. A perfect fluid, in the first place, is a fiction, not anything known to observation. In the second place, Lord Kelvin's medium, in so far as it is describable by the negative terms incompressible, frictionless, inextensible, and structureless, differs in no respect from empty space. The one property in virtue of which it has been argued that the other differs from space is that of inertia. But, as R. P. Mitchell, in his Naturalia and Agnosticism, vol. i. lect. v. j., inertia, in the qualitative sense, does not suffice to supply determinateness to the primordial fluid; inertia is a property of matter, but not of modes of motion, and it is precisely the property of mass in molecular bodies that, as both Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin recognized, the kinetic theory of matter fails to explain. This theory of the constitution and nature of matter, therefore, belongs to the realm of symbolic description, not to that of explanation or interpretation. Science, indeed, in its higher or more abstract reaches, fails so far short of furnishing, as it was once thought to find, a complete philosophy of the world in terms of Newtonian mechanics that it professes to do no more than describe natural phenomena in so far as these are to be regarded as changes in the motion of mass. It abstracts from the qualitative properties and changes of matter, because these are not amenable to scientific method, and replaces them by hypothetically representational movements of ideal 'molecules' moving in potential spaces. In the realm of perceptual experience, is not only one in kind for abstract science; as the goal and limit of abstraction is reached, or as physics passes into pure mathematics, matter becomes indistinguishable from space. It may similarly be shown that causality is eliminated by abstract science, and replaced, for descriptive purposes, by identity, change being explained and further explained until at last it is literally explained away. The development of scientific generalization in the direction of the ideal of unification and simplicity has thus not established a materialistic metaphysics or a mechanical philosophy, but has only provided a provisional symbolical description of certain aspects of the material world, valid so long as other aspects may be neglected. Such is the philosophical outcome of the scientific mode of dealing with matter.

Until recently matter was regarded as divisible only so far as to the chemical atom. There were held to be some four score fundamentally different, simple or irresolvable, kinds of matter. Matter was the primary concept of the physicist, and electricity was described more or less in terms of it. The lattice of things, held to be unchangeable in its elementary forms, the atom being supposed to be indestructible. Quite lately, however, all these beliefs have been reversed. It has been found, by a series of researches mainly conducted at, or in connection with, the Cavendish Laboratory, in Cambridge, and also at many of our other laboratories, that portions of them can be split off and exist separately, and that these detached fractions, called by J. J. Thomson 'corpuscles,' are identical, from whatever different kinds of atom they may have been broken off, and possess the same 'mass' or inertia. Thus it has become necessary to regard the atoms as complex systems, and, in spite of the diversities of their constitution, as being of certain types which are identical. Further, the corpuscle has been found to bear, or to be, a constant electrical charge (electron). Corpuscle and electron would seem to be identical, because the whole mass of the corpuscle appears to be due to its electric charge and its motion. Thus 'mass,' the most fundamental and characteristic property of matter, becomes resolvable into an electrical phenomenon: the electron is the fundamental unit alike of electricity and of matter, and matter is 'explained' in terms of electricity. An atom, in fact, is composed of a large number of units of negative electricity (electrons) and positive electricity (protons) each of equal mass; thus, the cause of the excitation of the other waves which produce light, and also render comprehensible other phenomena not belonging to the realm of the material. But it may be noted that the atomic (or, rather, the ultra-atomic) structure of matter, hitherto a supposition or indirect inference, has at length been experimentally demonstrated. The recent discovery and investigation of radium and other radio-active substances led not only to the proof that the chemical elements are transmutable—holium, e.g., is produced by the breaking up of radium—but also to the revelation of simple atoms.

'Single atoms of Helium, shot off by Radium as a ray, have been revealed in two ways. Each atomic projectile produces a long train of electric ions as it passes through a gas before its energy is exhausted, perhaps by knocking those corpuscles out of the molecules it encounters in its path. These ions have two effects. They make the gas a conductor of electricity, while they exist, so that, by placing the gas in a circuit with a battery and an electrometer, Rutherford has shown the effect of each electron on a particle by the sudden throw of the needle of the instrument. Secondly, the ions are not stable for the period of the years, or months, or, R. Wilson has made visible as a line of cloud the track of each particle' (W. C. D. and C. D. Whitham, Science and the Mind, London, 1919, p. 88).

Recent progress in science has thus furnished new light upon the question of the constitution of matter. But the ultimate question as to what matter is remains, as before, unsolved, and perhaps, as P. G. Tait (Properties of Matter, Edinburgh, 1885, p. 14) seemed to think, insoluble. To have learned that matter is electricity is not to have diminished the mysteriousness of its nature. To physical science indeed, matter, like a 'thing' or a fact, is a datum. The data of science, however, are for philosophy or the theory of knowledge constructs. Hence it is to philosophy that we must turn, before we can say whether or not in the other elucidation of the problem contained in the question what matter is. As we have already seen, the more abstract departments of science cannot help us, because those departments proceed from an abstract notion of matter derived simply to make abstract science a possibility.

'The bodies we deal with in abstract dynamics are just as completely knowledgeless as to what they are, or have what properties whatever except those which we explicitly assign to them' (A. Clerk Maxwell, in Nature).

'Matter is the fundamental property thus conventionally assigned to matter with a 'let it be granted' is mass or inertia; and the science of matter is then
valid of matter if it be wholly inert, or in so far as it is characterized by inertia. Whether any matter is wholly inert is a question; that everything is inert must be denied. The science of matter is no question.

For other philosophical questions connected with matter see art. MATERIALISM.


F. R. TENNANT.

MAURICE.—The position of Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72) in the history of English 19th century theology is difficult to define. He regarded himself as a simple old-fashioned Christian; but to the religious world of his time he was a most obscure and dangerous heretic. Julius Hare spoke of him as the greatest thinker since Plato, and Mill thought his intellect one of the most powerful of the age; but to most of his contemporaries Maurice seemed an obscure mystic, with a strange love for the Athenasian Creed and the Thirty-nine Articles, which much of his teaching appeared to contradict. The combination of the DGattin Church Party, he indignantly repudiated the epithet 'broad,' and still more the suggestion that he belonged to any 'party.' He spent much of his energy in controversy, sometimes bitter and occasionally hardly fair. Yet he was constantly on the look-out for points of agreement with his opponents, and those who knew him best were deeply impressed by his spirituality and goodness.

The paradoxes of his position may be partly accounted for by his family circumstances, and by the character of the age in which he lived. He was the son of a Unitarian minister, whose wife and daughters were converted to various forms of Evangelicalism, chiefly dissenting and Calvinistic. They were pious, clever people, much addicted to argument; and Frederick learned much from each, though he was repelled by all their theological systems. He combined his father's enthusiasm for the Fatherhood of God with his mother's conviction of the Divine Will as the root of all. His intense reverence for family relationships, together with the discordant doctrines of his loved ones, drove him to seek for some ground of unity more fundamental than doctrinal agreement. This he ultimately found in the conception of the Church as the conscience of the world, in the thought that God feels about us is far more important than what we feel about God. His view of Christ as ethically absolutely at one with the Father separated him from his Evangelical mother as well as from his Unitarian father. It precluded all idea of the Atonement as a changing of the Father's Will, as a bargain, or as a legal fiction. Similarly the popular beliefs about the Bible, the future life, and all the divine ways of working seemed to Maurice tinged with materialism. He was especially repelled by all sects, because he found in himself tendencies which seemed to have led to their errors. His controversial bitterness was often directed in reality against elements which he knew to be lodged in his own nature. Everywhere he discovered good, but also evil; and his position was generally a puzzle to his contemporaries.

His attitude towards politics showed the same characteristic. Growing up in the Tory reaction that followed the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, he was very far from holding any radicalism. He repudiated the brutalities and bigotties of this reaction. But he was almost equally opposed to a Liberalism which consisted mainly of destruction of abuses. The forces which carried Wordsworth and Coleridge into Conservatism and High Churchmanship operated strongly upon Maurice, with his reverence for the past and his attraction towards sacramentalism. For a time he hesitated. At Cambridge, after a distinguished career, he refused to go through another undergraduate course, this time at Oxford. Then he published a defence of the tests by which acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles was required from all who would obtain an Oxford degree. His arguments were, of course, fundamentally different from these used by ordinary Tories, and perhaps equally unreasonable. He afterwards admitted that his main position was untenable.

Maurice's first really important book was *The Kingdom of Christ* (1842). The book was primarily intended for Quakers. Their doctrine of the 'Inner Light' and of the supreme value of the spiritual was enthusiastically accepted by Maurice; but he set himself to proclaim the sanctity of the visible. Forms are witnesses to the invisible, and channels through which the divine spirit works. The Church is the combination of the Divine Brotherhood, and protesting against human self-assertion and individualism, which would, if uncontrollable, destroy society. The author sometimes seems intensely spiritual, sometimes absolutely Catholic, sometimes a rationalist and a sort of socialist. He passes from an obscure mysticism to teaching so simple that it seems commonplace; he glances through the whole history of philosophy and theology; everywhere he discovers two tendencies, 'one belonging to the earth, one claiming fellowship with [the] Divine'; and the upward tendency is the search for that kingdom which God has provided in the Catholic Church. All this seemed orthodox enough. Its implications were not generally recognized, and in 1840 Maurice was elected to the professorship of Divinity at King's College, London.

It was characteristic that his next book dealt chiefly with the value of the non-Christian religions, the pagan philosophies, and the medieval philosophies. The *Churches of the World* appeared in 1847, and one form of the *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* in 1848. The latter had originally been published in 1836, but it was expanded in a series of later editions. It illustrates the wide learning of Maurice and the love of the unexplainable he discovered his points of agreement with diverse and mutually contradictory thinkers. As a history it is open to the criticism that, instead of giving a well-balanced account of systems, it presents only those aspects of them towards which the writer was attracted.

At this period Maurice was keenly interested in social movements. He invented the phrase 'Christian Socialism' as a protest against un-Christian Christians and un-Christian socialists. He recognized the good in the aims of Chartists and Revolutionists. He sympathized intensely with their protests against thecondition of the poor and the competitive basis of society. He set himself sternly against appeals to force, and was utterly distrustful of democratic ideals; but he started little newspapers, like *Politics for the People* and *The Christian Socialist*, with more revolutionary friends. Naturally Maurice was made responsible for the views of his less eminent associates, whom he warmly defended; but he was also touched by the brutalities and bigotries of this reaction. But he was almost equally opposed to a Liberalism which consisted mainly of destruction of abuses. The forces which carried Wordsworth and Coleridge into

**MAURICE.**
sidered as the due subordination of the working classes. The 'respectable' press, secular and religious, fulminated against Maurice, and at length the Council of King's College appointed a committee to investigate the matter. But there was nothing in the Christian Socialism of Maurice inconsistent with his duties or his position as a Divinity professor. The controversy then shifted from charges of socialism to charges of theological heresy. In 1833 Maurice published the volume called Theological Essays. On most points the new book was only reiterating and expanding views previously expressed; but it made clearer the author's divergence from traditional and conventional theology, especially on the subject of eternal death. He maintained, in effect, that 'eternal' means spiritual. Knowledge of God, love, truth, and the like are eternal life. Eternal death is not a matter of time or place, but of spiritual separation from the divine. The locality and duration of future punishment were matters outside Maurice's message, and he seems to have believed that it was also outside the message of the Bible and of the Anglican formularies. The religious world felt that much of the book was an attack on what it held as orthodox, but it was expressed in such orthodox language that it was difficult to see how Maurice could be convicted of heresy. He must, therefore, be ejected from his professorship within the framework of any specific charges. The Council of King's College refused to adopt Gladstone's suggestion that Maurice's writings should be submitted to theological experts; and they compelled him to resign. The responsibility for their decision cannot be laid on any one party in the Church. It represented the view of the High, the Low, and the Moderate. Some were puzzled at first attracted by the fervid sacramentalism of Maurice; but they soon came to suspect that his meaning was something very different from theirs. At length Pusey declared that Maurice and he were not worshiping the same God. Low Churchmen were even more disgusted with books full of intensely Evangelical sentences, which were yet fundamentally opposed to their whole scheme of salvation, their doctrine of the Fall and of the Atonement, and of the doom awaiting those who did not accept the Evangelical tenets. Broad Churchmen alone protested against the expulsion, and even they were puzzled and puzzled. But finally, in agreement with their hostility to the prevalent doctrines of the religious world could yet enthusiastically accept much that seemed to them superfluous and out of date. Nevertheless, the Broad Churchmen stood by Maurice, though he vigorously repudiated Broad Churchmanship. The Evangelicalism of Wilberforce and Simeon and the Anglo-Catholicism of Keble and Newman were the dominant forces in the religious world. Maurice had learned much from both. But at bottom he was opposed to both powerful parties, and few were disposed to forgive this attitude, in consideration of his enthusiastic support of some at least of their cherished principles. Time has revolutionized the situation. At present many of the best High and Low Churchmen speak with grateful reverence of Maurice, and a few high-minded men with which separate his views from their own. The fervent sincerity and pith of the Theological Essays are unmistakable, though to most readers much of the book seems tantalizing and obscure. More popular are The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament (1853) and The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament (1855). Maurice meant by revelation a literal un- veiling of truth, and especially of God's character, by a direct inspiration which harmonizes with their reverent views and keeps their Christian personality admirably in the background; shorter and more controversial, but adequate, biographies are given by C. P. G. Masterman (London, 1887) and W. E. Collins (do. 1908). See also T. Hughes's Preface to Maurice's Defence of the Church of England (1874); Leslie Stephen, art. 'Maurice,' in D.N.B., do. 1894; and the references to Maurice in J. McDowell Campbell, Memorial, do. 1897, and Caroline Fox, Old Friends, do. 1892.

J. E. SYMES.

LITERATURE.—Frederick Maurice, The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, 2 vols., London, 1884, is an excellent compilation in which the views are kept clearly in the back- ground; shorter and more controversial, but adequate, biographies are given by C. P. G. Masterman (London, 1887) and W. E. Collins (do. 1908). See also T. Hughes's Preface to Maurice's Defence of the Church of England (1874); Leslie Stephen, art. 'Maurice,' in D.N.B., do. 1894; and the references to Maurice in J. McDowell Campbell, Memorial, do. 1897, and Caroline Fox, Old Friends, do. 1892.
MAY, MIDSUMMER.—Agricultural peoples throughout the world have established a ritual, more or less elaborate, about the critical periods of their common industry. This ritual, in effect, is the culmination of all pre-ethical animism, and its most important development prior to the great organized faiths. In the form of holyday customs it seems to permeate the whole of Europe, and probably not a little of its belief is latent underneath Christianity to-day.

We shall discuss its meaning below. This is perhaps the complex than has yet come to be understood; but it is clear that the agricultural meaning is associated with the popular attitude towards the changes of the seasons, lunar and solar movements, and the growth and decay of vegetation in general. The calendar of this cult is that of the countryside, and this is even suggested by the three categories to which the terms May, midsomer, and harvest belong.

A. May.—The typical European celebration of May Day is well known. Trees, green branches, or garlands are carried round, and a King and Queen of May are appointed from among the young people who are to be wedded. According to Mannhardt and Frazer, these objects and persons represent the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation:

‘The intention of these customs is to bring home to the village, and to each home, the blessings which the tree spirit has in his power to bestow.’

‘The custom is usually a serious and, so to speak, sacramental significance; people really believed that the god of growth was present unseen in the bough,... The idea of the spirit of vegetation is blended with a personalization of the season at which his powers are most strikingly manifested.’

The custom of setting up a May Tree or May Pole has been widely spread in Europe. A typical example is that of Swabia; on the first day of May a fir-tree was brought to the village, decorated with ribbons, and set up, and the people then danced round it. It remained on the village-green till the next May Day, when a new tree took its place.

At a later stage, at least in England, the May Pole was permanent, while in Bavaria it was renewed at arbitrary periods of three, four, or five years.

When the meaning of the custom had been forgotten, and the May-tree was regarded simply as a centre for holiday merrymaking, people saw no reason for felling a fresh tree every year and preferred to let the same tree stand permanently, only decking it with fresh flowers on May Day.

Instead of a tree or a branch, a branch decked with flowers, or simply garlands of flowers, are frequently employed. English children use two hoops of osier or hazel, crossing at right angles, and twine flowers round and round the hoop, or a bunch of flowers fixed on the top. In modern English folk-custom the essence of the May Pole is the long ribbons attached to the top: each of these is held by a child, and as they dance round the pole the ribbons twist round it, to be untwined when the dancers reverse.

The tree-spirit is often embodied in human form or in a living person. English children carry a doll in the garland, sometimes styled ‘The Lady of the May.’ In Alsace a little girl is selected to be the Little May Rose, and carries a small May Tree. The Russian Lithuanians crown the prettiest girl, and address her ‘O May! O May!’ In Brie a boy is wrapped in leaves; he is styled ‘Father May.’ The ‘Green George’ of Carinthia and Rumania is a boy covered with green branches; at the end of the procession an effigy of him is swung into the water.

Here is what Frazer terms the double or bilingual representation of the tree-spirit by a tree and doll:

If the Christian Lent was developed out of a period of agricultural tabu, there is complete continuity between the old and new faiths. The exact date of Midsummer may here be no more noticed. European folk-custom has a large body of similar ritual celebrated previously to and during Lent, such as the Death of the Carnival, the Burial of Shrove Tuesday, Carrying out Death, Saving the Old Woman, followed by a dramatic advent of Spring, Summer, or Life. The former generally are dated on Shrove Tuesday, sometimes at Mid-Lent, the latter sometimes follow immediately, or at a later date—the fourth Sunday in Lent, for instance—while in Russia similar ritual in both forms is celebrated in spring and at midsummer, and also on St. Peter's Day. These dates suggest that the old agricultural calendar was altered to suit the ecclesiastical.

In the majority of these Lenten customs the tree or branch or doll or person is termed Summer or Summer-tree.

The "customs" of bringing in the May and bringing in the Summer are essentially the same. The Summer-tree must likewise be an embodiment of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation.

With regard to the representation of Death, more prominent in the 'Summer' (Lenten) ritual than in that of May, Frazer's view is that it is an embodiment of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation, the Summer-tree being often a "revivification of the effigy of Death." The idea is that the death and slaying of the spirit of vegetation in spring. There is also, as already noted, a natural identification of season or date with the spirit. The death is represented frequently by killing, and this may be connected with the idea of slaying the incarnate, embodied spirit while still vigorous, in order that its successor's vigour may be guaranteed.

Another feature of May ritual is the kindling of bonfires, though this is most conspicuous at Midsummer-tide.

The Beltane fires of Scotland were kindled on May Day as late as the 18th century. The traces of human sacrifices at them were particularly clear and unequivocal. The most significant example is that of the north-east of Scotland. Here the Beltane fire was lit on the first but on the 2nd of May, O.S. They were called bonfires. The belief was that on that evening and night the witches were abroad in all their force, casting ill on cattle and stealing cows' milk. To counteract their evil power pieces of the rowan-tree and woodbine, chiefly of the district, were placed over the byre doors, and firewood kindled by every farmer and cottar. Old thistles, or straw, or corn, or green was piled up in a heap and set fire on fire a little and assisted by a candle. A great number of these present kept a constant trimming to the blazing mass, and others seated portions of it on pitchforks or other wooden frames, and assisted in kindling and holding, them as high as they were able, while the younger portion, that assiduous, carried round the fire or ran through the smoke, shouting, "Fire! Fire! Fire!" An old woman in one instance fell asleep and was burned. When the material was burned up, the ashes were scattered far and wide, and all continued till quite dark to run through them still crying, "Fire! Fire! Fire!" Buries the witches.

In Ireland, Sweden, and Bohemia bonfires were lighted on the first day of May; and in the last-named country the 'burning of the witches' is prominent.

Bathtub, washing the face with dew, and drenching effigies and mummers are common customs on May Day. May processions are also among some peoples, celebrated at Whitsuntide. This date is especially marked in Russia, but also occurs in the Altmark, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany, Swabia, and Austria-Hungary. These are elsewhere celebrated at Midsummer, and on St. John's Eve or St. John's Day. One or two other dates are elsewhere found, cases apparently of arbitrary selection of a spring or summer critical day. The Swedes celebrate a minor form of the ritual on May Day, but are remarkable among European peoples for concentrating these customs upon Midsummer-tide, when May Pole, garlands, arbours, and jumping over bonfires are in great evidence. In parts of Bohemia have the same date, while in Russia both Whitson and Midsummer are celebrated similarly. The same ideas and practices are more or less equally applicable to May Day and Midsummer Day, but a Pyrenean custom suggests a special causal connexion. Here a tall tree is cut down on May Day and kept until Midsummer Eve, when it is ceremonially burned.

Similarity there is a continuous connexion between the ritual and beliefs belonging to the whole trio of the critical periods, May, midsummer, and harvest. In Morocco the first day of summer (17th May) is the death of the earth, the first day of a new season, and the first day of harvest. It is quite natural that green trees and green branches should be most conspicuous on May Day, and corn-sheaves and the like at harvest; the prevalence of bonfires at midsummer, however, is a curiously difficult problem, whether on the theory of the tree-spirit with its corollary of sun-charms or on that of purification and barrier.

1. Midsummer—Turning to the midsummer celebrations, we find that in Sweden May Poles are set up and decorated, and the people dance round them, and bonfires are lighted to be danced round and jumped over. In Bohemia the May Pole itself is burned.

In Russia on St. John's Eve a figure of the mythical personage, Kalpis, instead of straw, and 'is dressed in women's clothes, with a necklace and a floral crown. Then a tree is felled, and, after being decked with ribbons, is set up on some chosen spot. Near this tree, to which they give the name of Markia [Winter or Death], the straw figure is placed, together with a table, on which stand spirits and viands. Afterwards a bonfire is lit, and the young men and maidens jump over it in couples, carrying the figure with them. On the next day they strip the tree and the figure of their ornament and throw them both into a stream.

In some parts of Russia the ceremony is accompanied by weeping and wailing for the destroyed effigy, or by a mock combat between those who attack and those who defend it. In Sardinia there is a ritual which seems to be a survival of the ancient British gathre ['Gardens of the Sun']. The village swain proposes to a village girl early in spring. Then in May she sows in a pot a handful of corn, which is well grown by Midsummer Eve, when it is named Ermn or Jermn. Midsummer Day the young couple go out procession and break the pot against the church door. Feasting follows, and in some districts a bonfire is lighted, round which the people dance. A young couple who wish to be 'Sweethearts of St. John' clap hands across the fire. The two 'gossips,' suggests Frazer, may correspond to the Lord and Lady of the May, and ultimately represent in metal and blood the reproductive spirit of vegetation.

In Morocco smouldering fires are made on Midsummer Day or the evening before.

A similar custom children leap over, believing that by doing so they rid themselves of the evil or evil which may be clinging to them; the sick will be cured and married persons will have offspring. Nobody is burnt by the fire since there is baraka in it.

In the Moroccan custom the smoke is more

important than the blaze; the practical point is
fumigation of men, cattle, trees, and various
belongings.

It is also noteworthy that in Morocco at midsummer magic forces are supposed to be active in certain species of vegetation.  
Fumigation by burning certain kinds of plants and the more aromatic species of leaves and branches promote fertility, act as charms against the evil eye, and assist general well-being. There are many local beliefs and medi-scientific notions, special foods, in which there is fumaca.  

There is probably no corner of Europe in which it has not been the custom to kindle bonfires at Midsummer-tide. Besides the leaping through the fire, there are customs of throwing blazing disks through the air and of rolling burning wheels downhill.  
A certain sanctity, as in the need-fire ceremonies, attaches to the kindling of the fire in some instances. A frequent custom is that of making gigantic figures of wicker-work, which are paraded and then burned, these midsummer giants being apparently analogous to the May Kings in their leafy garb. There are also traces of burning animals alive.  

Frazer derives these customs of modern Europe, designed to provoke the 'sacri-

ficial rites of the Celts of ancient Gaul, as typified in the druidical sacrifices, and mythically in the death of Balder.  
Two main interpretations of these fire-rituals
have been put forward. Mannhardt, originally followed by Frazer, explained them as sun-

charms.  
At the 'great turning-point in the sun's career,' the summer solstice, primitive man 'fancied that he could help the sun in his seeming decline—could prop his failing steps and rekindle the sinking flame.'

The wheel and disk are suggestive shapes. Frazer also noted the purificatory aspect of these customs.  
Fire is a cleanser, and is frequently used for the purpose, as in the need-fire. Westermarck emph-
ized this aspect.

'Their primary object in many or most cases is to serve as a protection against evil forces that are active at Midsummer.'

In the Moroccon custom of fire-bathing by fumigation is the chief idea, although there is also the ascrip-
tion of positive virtue to the smoke. Westermarck finds no evidence for the sun-charm theory.  
Later Frazer regarded the two views as being not mutually exclusive, but admitted the purificatory theory as being the more probable.  

Traces exist of what has been interpreted as human sacrifice by drowning on this date. Various such practices have been interpreted as race-

charms.  
In Morocco, however, midsummer cer-

emonial bathing is connected with the idea of securing health by bathing, and the same idea is translated to the European custom of rolling

in the water.  
Various kinds of divination, as is natural on special dates introductory to a new season (as midsummer is often regarded), are practiced. Mock lights, tugs-of-war, games, and abuse of the ceremonial figure are common incidents. These have been interpreted as dramatic survivals of a ceremonial and magical representation of a struggle between good and evil influences, or designed to prop of Nornor, from the 'mov-

ment' in the weather or in the growth of the crops.  
Magical plants are gathered at midsummer

(see art. Dioj); such are fern-bloom, fern-seed, mistletoe, and St. John's work.  

For the special harvest-rites see art. Harvest.

3. Basis of agricultural rituals.—The general theory of agricultural ritual promp-
ted by Frazer can be connected with such primitive magical rites as the Australian intchilhanna for developing the growth of crops, and with the calendrical and agricultural beliefs of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks.  
In many European cases it seems that the main object is to purify the sphere in which the corn grows, and many rites are concerned not with a spirit of vegetation, but with the blight of evils, often in the form of witchs.  
The burning or destruction of the tree-spirit is often a doubtful proposition. It is impossible to dogmatize on the origin and first intention of these agricultural rites, but it is necessary to note the possibility that beliefs in corn-spirits and the like, and even the magical practices themselves, may be late accretions upon some simple psychological and even utilitarian facts. There is also the sense of crisis, very strong in the primitive mind.

Thus, psychic reactions in sympathy with the objects concerned might lead to dramatic, but unconscious, conjurations—e.g., the corn grow; in the same way imaginative explanations might be made of such necessary processes as weed-burning. When established, these ex posto facto explanations, magical, myth-

ical, or theological, obviously tend to usurp

precedence.

LITERATURE.—This is very extensive, but the main critical works are cited in the text. A. E. CRAWLEY.
With the knowledge of self phenomena become known as phases of it; they are provisionally real to a certain extent, but ignorance of the delusion regards them as independent of the atman. We have not quite reached the stage of the later Vedānta, which regards phenomena as absolutely unreal, like a mirage. Ignorance, in the Upanisads, is an absence of true knowledge. In the later Vedānta it is rather an active force which defence up the illusion of phenomena for the deception of the soul. In the Upanisads also we find a kind of pantheistic compromise which says the world does exist, but holds that the sole reality of the atman is not in the least degree affected, for all is the atman. This view pervades the Chāndogya Upanishad, e.g.:

"The atman is above and below, behind and in front. The atman is all the world" (VIII. xxv. 5).

As time went on, māyā gained an ever-increasing independence as the substance prakṛti (nature), which was at first subordinate to the atman. In post-Upanisadic literature the term appears frequently in a non-philosophical sense; a māyā-bandha is an "illusion-gaze" (i.e., not a real gaze); a man who craftily seeks to gain money does it through māyā; an ādhyātmya, lit. "without māyā," means "honestly." In these cases (for further references see Böhtlingk, Both., loc. cit.) the original meaning of māyā persists.

In the philosophical sections of the Mahābhārata the term is used in its philosophical sense. Thus Viśṇu, speaking as the supreme god, says: "Entering into my own nature (prosaic concept) is māyā" (VI. xxviii. 6f.); this explains the famous avatāras of the deity. "Māyāvin" is one of the thousand names of Siva (xlii. xvi. 1214). (On the question of māyā in the High Chantarūte, e.g., see W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, New York, 1901, pp. 138-142.)

The doctrine of māyā in the Vedānta forms the cardinal distinction from its great rival system, the Sāṅkhya (q.v.) philosophy. Vedānta is the system of advoce (non-duality); the phenomenal world does not exist; it is only māyā, arising from ādhyātmya, that makes us erroneously think it to be real; māyā is overcome when who ignorantly believed himself to be an individual realizes that in actuality he is one with the atman; then only is salvation (mokṣa, lit. "liberation") finally won. Contrary, the phenomenal world is real; the Vedantic atman is ignored (Sāṅkhya is atheistic); the soul (cit, lit. "thought") is involved in the woe of life because of āsvida (failure to distinguish between matter and soul), due to ādhyātmya, etc.; salvation is gained by the complete isolation (kauśalya) of the soul from matter; and the soul then exists as an eternal, but unconscious, individuality. (On the distinctions between Vedānta and Sāṅkhya see especially Max Müller, Six Systems, p. 279 ff.)

One of the most important of the early works on Vedānta is the Kāriṣṭā of Gaṇapatī (3rd cent. A.D.), one of whose pupils was a teacher of Saṅkara. He is an uncompromising advocate of the doctrine of māyā, and strongly denies the existence of the universe. The waking world is no more real than the world of dreams. The atman is both the knower and the known; his experiences exist within him through the power of māyā. As a rope in a dim light is mistaken for a snake, so the atman is mistaken for the variety of experience (jīva). When the rope is recognized, the illusion of the snake at once disappears; when true knowledge of the atman is attained, the illusion which makes us think of the multiplicity of experiences vanishes. The world has no more real existence than the snake, and, as one cannot remove or cast off what does not exist, it
is wrong to speak of obtaining freedom from it. The atman cannot be said to create or cause the universe any more than the rope creates the snake. Production would be either from the existent or from the non-existing, and the latter is equally impossible, for it would be producing what already exists, and the latter is equally impossible, for the non-existent—e.g., the son of a barren woman—cannot be the cause of anything; it cannot even be realized by the mind.

Gaudapäda's monism assumed its final form in the commentaries of Saṅkara (b. probably A.D. 788). The main aim of this is to withdraw the divisive line of reasoning of the various views of the Upanisads, and is further perplexed by the fact that as brahman (‘revelation’) they all ought to have equal weight; the latter difficulty he overcomes by his classification of knowledge as of two kinds: a higher, the knowledge of brahman, and a lower, including all that is not this metaphysical knowledge. He then investigates the cause of ignorance (prakrti), and concludes that it is to be sought in the knower. The phenomenal world is considered real so long as the unity of the atman is not realized, just as the creations of a dream are thought to be real. As a magician has a power to create a snake just as a magician (anyadyayin) causes a phantom, having no existence apart from himself, to issue from his body, so the atman creates a universe which is a mere mirage and in no way affects the self. It is the illusion of a being of samskrita, or reality, that there is really only the atman. Multiplicity is only a matter of name and form, which are the creations of ignorance, being neither the atman nor different from it. The fourth aspect of the second verse of Gaudapäda's Saṅkara's Sāṅgītavyaçāryam, tr. by R. E. Cowell and A. E. Goode, dox. 1882, and Deussen, Nachdr., pl. vi., 1882. Gaudapäda, Nând Mahatmottari, tr. by Deussen, Sochig Upanishaths des Veda, Leipzig, 1897, p. 373 ff.; Saṅkara, Commentary on the Vedântasûtra, tr. O. T. Thubna, SHF xxv., xxxvii. (1890-96), and Deussen, Sûtras des Vedânta, Leipzig, 1887; Rîminâma, Commentary on the Vedântasûtras, tr. Thubna, SHF xlvii. (1897), Prâkânâmbardhâna, Vedântadîsthânavatstahâvâlo, ed. and tr. A. Venedi, Benares, 1890; Sadananda, Vedântâra, tr. G. A. Jacob, London, 1898, Deussen, Nachdr., Phil., p. 250 ff.; G. H. Müller, The Systems of Indian Philosophy, London, 1899, pp. 157, 162, 185, 200, 455, 464, 472. Saṅkara's, dox. 1882. For the meaning and nature of prakrti as held by a modern Vedântist see Max Müller, Râmânuja's Life and Sayings, London, 1893, nos. 25, 45, 64, 71, etc.; N. A. Taittiriya, Upanishaths, Vedânta, J. ALLAN.

MAYANS.—The territory of what is now the Republic of Guatemala, adjoining parts of the Republic of Honduras and of the Mexican States of Chiapas and Tabasco, and the peninsula of Yucatán, was inhabited in ancient times, as is to the present day, by a number of different tribes, speaking allied idioms and forming a linguistic family usually designated as 'Mayan,' from the name of its most conspicuous members, the people of Yucatán. This family is to be looked upon as the second of the great culture nations of Mexico and Central America, equal to the Mexicans in material and intellectual civilization and in some cases surpassing them, but, being less known than the Mexicans, as regards the special traits of their civilization, their history, and the elements of their daily life. The chief of these ancient monuments in Central America—Palenque in Chiapas, Méneche Timanuit on the Usumacinta river, Quirigua in Guatemala, Copan in Honduras, Uxmal and Chiich'en Itzâ in Yucatán—are the work of members of that family. They were the great astronomers and mathematicians who calculated the duration of the revolution of Venus and, perhaps, of other planets as well, and were wont to write down and handle numbers exceeding a million. They had elaborated a system of hieroglyphic writing far superior to that of the Mexicans, but only partially deciphered as yet. They were unexcelled in the apprehension and reproduction of vision in exchanging men and animals; as a whole, their civilization and their religion were closely allied to those of the Mexicans.

In their religious practices they were not so sanguinary as the Mexicans, human sacrifices being much less numerated where any case being replaced by the killing of dogs. They resembled the Mexicans in their methods of prayer and offerings, fasting, and torture, and in piercing their ears and tongues and drawing threads through the holes. They also sacrificed living animals by fire to the god of fire, and in some places tortured themselves by running with naked feet over burning coals.

Like the Mexicans, the Mayans divided the year into eighteen periods of twenty days each, and they also commenced their ceremonies early in the year, in our month of January, by renewing all kinds of ceremonial utensils—incense-burners, clay- idols, and the like. This feast was called Oona, and was devoted to the chac, the gods of labour, i.e., the rain-gods. When they had to make a new wooden image or, as they said, to create a god, the work began in the preceding months, and with great precautions (fasting, etc.), the artisans being confined to the house as long as the work went on. In March they held a great fire-ceremony, performed by the old men and directed to the rain-gods (chac) and to the old god Itzamná, who may be considered the god of life and the god of fire. This ceremony was called tukkan, 'extinguishing the fire.' They brought together every species of animal that was at hand; and, after having kindled a great fire, they killed them by cutting the breasts and tearing out the hearts, which were cast into the flame. The larger animals, such as jaguars, pumas, caimans, were not so easily captured, as they made such heated stones, so that their hearts were torn out of them, and the fire they inhaled was set on fire by pouring water from their jaws upon it. This ceremony was intended to secure sufficient rain for the crops of the new year.

Another ceremony was connected with this performance. They made a kind of terraced pyramid of stones, which seems to have been regarded as an image of the clouds. The priests anointed the lowest step with mud and the upper ones with the blue colour, resembling the sky and Itzamná. This was, no doubt, another ceremony for bringing for rain.

In April the cacao planters, who were also the great merchants, cast onto the staple merchand-
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disc of ancient Central America, celebrated a great feast to the black god Ekceluah, the god of the caravan and the merchants, to the choc, and to Hobnil, the god of the horses and of the horses. They killed a dog of the spotted colour of the cacao-pod and offered blue iguanas, feathers of wild fowl, and incense. In the month of May there was another great feast, *Fornomare,* celebrated to Ocechah, the god of war. It began with a five nights' watch in the temple of the god of war, and during this time the war-chief, called *nacnu* and elected every year by the members of this tribe, was seated on a throne in the temple of the god of war and venerated like a deity with incense-burning. The people performed a dance called *holokon-akat,* 'warrior-dance.' At the end of the five days they performed the fire-ceremony described above, after which the war-chief was taken in a solemn procession all round the temple; a dog was sacrificed, and the heart offered to the god. The heart was put into a bowl and covered by another bowl, after which the assistant priests dashed to pieces some great jars full of water—undoubtedly another ceremony intended to produce rain for the crops. A great banquet of mescal and general drunkenness followed. The same banquets and drinking-bouts were repeated in the course of the next three twenties in all the smaller villages and towns. The 'warriors' were called *frecbicla thane,* and it is expressly stated that they were made in order that the new year might be a fertile one and bring rich crops.

The month of July was reckoned as the beginning of the new year by the Yucatecans at the time of the conquest. The twentieth (*uinal*) in question was called Pop, 'straw-mat,* meaning 'donkeys.' They swept their houses and the village streets and renewed all objects of domestic use—plates, jars, bowls, wooden chairs, garments, and the wrappings of their idols—throwing the old ones on the dust-heaps. The priests, who had fasted for one, two, or three months, eating only once a day and abstaining from sexual intercourse, assembled in the temple and kindled new fire by friction, twirling a wooden stick in the hole of another; this new fire was put into the brazier before the idol, and all the priests and principal men burned incense with it to the idol. In the following months all the professional instrumentalists sacrificed before the people—the books of the priests, the implements for casting lots and the fetishes of the doctors, the weapons of the hunters, and the fishing-nets of the fishermen—were consecrated by anointing them with blue colour. This feast was called *Pocom.* In the month of September the bee-keepers had a special feast at which they brought offerings of incense and honey to their god Hobnii. In the month of October, called Xul by the Yucatecans, there was a great ceremony in the village of Mani, dedicated to the god Kukulcan, the 'feathered snake,' the Yucatec translation of the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, who was venerated as a culture-hero in Yucatan, some of the most important towns of the peninsula, Mayapan, and Chich'en Itza, having been founded by Mexican emigrants. The last feast in the year, celebrated at the time of our months November and December, corresponded in a way to the Mexican *Zoomi,* ceremonies being performed to promote the growth of the yuca and to strengthen them. Contrary to the custom of the Mexicans, the Yucatecans performed very particular and important ceremonies in the last five days of the year, which they called *maa boke kin,* 'days with unlucky weather.' These were the five days, the names of which is dangerous to pronounce. On these days they set up in the midst of the village the image of the deity that was to govern the coming year, this god being one of four who corresponded to the four cardinal points and followed each other in turn. These gods were: (1) for the east and the south-east, *Kinich Ak'ab,' the sun-god;* (2) for the north and the west, *Chac, the moon-god and the god of fire;* (3) for the north and the west, *Kinich Ahau, the 'lord of the six under worlds,'* the god of the dead; and (4) for the south and the west, *Chacmool,* the 'lord of the six under worlds,' the god of the earth. The offerings were performed in honour of these gods, and the evil that was to befall the village, according to the character of the new year and of the deity that was to govern it, was taken, represented by the figure of a demon, out of the village in the direction of the coming year.

The priests were called *ah-kin,* 'lords of days,' i.e. 'lords of day-signs,' 'dealers in prognostics,' 'sooth-sayers.' They were the leaders and teachers of the people—the learned men whose principal occupation was with books, pictographs, and all the traditions of the temples. There is one marked difference between Mexican and Mayan priesthood; in Yucatan the office of sacrificer (nacnu), who had to kill the victim, was not a highly prized one. The highest priests and—in extraordinary celebrations, such as the inauguration of a newly-built temple—the kings themselves acted as sacrificers.

LITERATURE.—Diego de Landa, *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan,* ed. D. Juan de Dios de la Seda y Delgado, Madrid, 1884; Diego López de Cegolludo, *Los tres Siglos de la dominación árabe en Yucatán,* Compeche, 1912; F. Chase, *Geografía de las Indias Occidentales,* Madrid, 1891. There is one more difference between Mexican and Mayan priesthood; in Yucatan the office of sacrificer (nacnu), who had to kill the victim, was not a highly prized one. The highest priests and—in extraordinary celebrations, such as the inauguration of a newly-built temple—the kings themselves acted as sacrificers.

MÁZANDARÁN. The Persian region of *Mázandarán,* or Tabaristan, is bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea and on the south by the Alborz Mountains, and extends from Astarabád in the east to the Pul-i-Rúd in the west. The winds from the Caspian bring abundant rain, and the country is heavily wooded, in contrast to the arid regions south of the Alborz. The climate is decidedly unhealthy, and the difficulty of access to the country, increased by lack of good roads, has combined with the redoubled fanaticism of the people and the animosity of the priests to keep it from any generous share in the progress of Persia.

It is to these disadvantages that the district owes its place in the history of religion in Iran.

Of the aboriginal inhabitants of *Mázandarán we know nothing beyond the statement of Strabo (p. 515; cf. 520) that it was their custom to 'give their married women to other men after they themselves had had two or three children by them.' The *Bundakishá* (xx. 29) has a fantastic tradition of their origin, and the *Dinkart* (ix. xx. 19) describes them as filthy and dwelling in holes.

In regard to the latter point, we may note that Ferdusí (Sháh-námah, tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905, ii. 58) makes the *Mázandarán White Div inhabit a cavern, although one thinks involuntarily of the repeated Avestan statement that demons hide under earth or dwell in caves (Ys. ix. 16; Yt. xix. 2; Vend. iii. 60). In the *Avesta* *Mázandarán* is the abode of the *Mázánény daivas,* concerning whom E. W. West (52 E. xviii. [1882] 93, p. 10) expresses the general opinion that the name *Mázandarán* is not certain. The old native etymology (Ibn-i Isfandiyár, tr. Browne, p. 14) makes it a later form of *Mázandarán,* within (a mountain named) *Máz,* (so also Curzon, Persia, i. 344; Darmesteter's etymology [Zod-Avesta, ii. 375, n. 321 (incorrect)]: but it is more probably derived from the Mānas Gate (Ys. 1904) 178, n. 1). *Tabaristan, the Arab form of Shaplu Tapuris (or Tepuris or Tapuris (Vend. xii. 27, XII. 22, xx. 27), is the land of the *Diandós or Dianos of Fercows (Ys. i. 346, ii. 9, xi. 346, ii. 9);* Diodorus, ii. 32; Athenaeus (442 B: Marquart, Erdvahrn., p. 137). F. W. Mannewitz's identification of *Mázandarán,* with *Media* (Zooster. Stud., Berlin, 1893, p. 229) was wrong.
view when he says that 'these demons were, no doubt, merely idolaters,' while M. N. Dhalbta (Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1914, pp. 160) sees in it "the Savants and Gillân, 'who poured down in great numbers and pillaged the possession of the Iranians.' A number of the Avesta references to the Mazâïnaya daevâs give no information as to their nature or habitat (Yt. iii. 1, 3, 32; cf. Veld. i. 17). We have, however, more precise indications as to their location in the account of the threefold sacrifice by the hero Haöshyangar Parshâta on Mt. Hara to gain the "two-thousand" of the Mazâïnaya demons (Yt. v. 22, ix. 4, xv. 8. xix. 26), for Hara is, as it is called in the Avesta, Hara Berezaiti ('Softy Hara') is generally—and probably correctly—identified with Alberz, though construed in a mythological, rather than a geographical sense (e.g., Spiegel, Erân. Alterthumskunde, i. 191, 465, 482; Darmesteter, i. 101, n. 28; K. Geldner, GtP ii. 38, and especially Geiger, Outrân. Kultur, pp. 42-45, and the 'penk' (taeâna, Yt. xv. 7; cf. xii. 23; Bendl. v. 4; Ys. xii. 3) of Hara is probably Mt. Damavânt (Geiger, loc. cit.). The identification of Mazân (the noun from which Mazâïnaya is derived) with the demon by Nirto-sangh (c. a.d. 1200), who, in his Skr. paraphrase of the Pahlavi version of the Yasna, renders 'Mazâ-înaya' by 'Mâjзадaradaseya (Yasna xiii. 22, 49), is, I think, incorrect.

Closely associated with the Mazâïnaya daervâs are the Varency daevâs and dregvants, or 'adherents of the Lie demon' (Ys. xxvii. 1; Yt. vi. 22, xiii. 137, xv. 8, xix. 26; cf. Darmesteter, ii. 373, n. 23; Yt. x. 97, xiii. 71, and Vend. x. 14 are unimportant in this connexion.)

The land of Varena was the fourteenth best created by Ahura Mazda, but Angra Mainyu cursed it with the Mazâïnaya errunies and non-Aryan over-lords ('Vend. i. 17).

It was 'four-coured' (cesthu-sanirâs, i.e. four-square or quadrangular [?]; cf. Darmesteter, ii. 14, n. 38), and was the birthplace of the hero Thraetaona or Farûdîn, who overcame Ah Daâhâk (Vend. i. 17; Yt. x. 33)—a tale which was discussed at length in the lost Sûtrak Nask of the Avesta (Dinkart. ix. xxi. 17-24; cf. also Ys. xii. 9, xix. 4. 2).

The location of Varena is a matter of some dispute. It was certainly near Tabaristân (Spiegel, i. 545), but is hardly to be identified with the modern village of Verck, south of Sîrì, as argued by Spiegel (i. 529, 530; cf. Pavel von Fusti [Die Zend sprache, Leipzig, 1864, p. 270 [with earlier literature], GtP ii. 404). Equally uncertain is the view of C. de Hérêz (Avesta trad., Liège, 1875-77, i. 37, 38) that it was the modern Kirkma of A. V. W. Jackson (GtP ii. 663) and Dhalta (loc. cit.) identify it with Gillân, and Darmesteter (ii. 14, n. 38) with Tabaristân or Dâlam. Tabaristân was formerly preferred by Geiger (Outrâns. Kultur, pp. 127 ff., 184); his later view (GtP ii. 391), identifying Varena with the Caspian Gates, seems scarcely an improvement. Nirto-sangh was ignorant of the meaning of the term, for he renders Vareneya by viharmakarsa, 'confusing,' and kima, 'love' (on Yt. i. 19; Ys. xxvii. 1), confusing the epithet with the later Pahlavi Vareny, the demon of lust (Jackson, ii. 660, 663; Darmesteter, ii. 373, n. 23; C. de Hérêz, Philosophy of the Mazâïnaya Religion under the Sassanids, Bombay, 1889, pp. 91, 160). On the whole, Gillân appears to be the most probable identification.

It would seem that the legend of Haöshyangar refers to an early invasion of Mazândaran and Gillân by Iranians, and their conquest of it, at least in part. This is borne out by the local tradition of the early 13th cent., for Ibn Islâmâyî (p. 15) held that 'until the time of Dakhht it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and made them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the valleys, and after the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams.'

The Iranian religion found some place, at all events, in Mazândaran, for tradition sees in Spîti and Zerâkzâî, who were mentioned above (Yt. xii. 121, two pious men who came from Mazândaran to receive the grace from Frâshoashra, the father-in-law of Zarathushtra (Dinkart. ix. xxi. 17-24).

In the Pahlavi texts the most interesting passage in the present context is found in the Shâh-nâmeh Mazândaran is described with little geographical accuracy (Nâeldeke, ii. 178), and the Kârgâsra (Vulture-heads), who are frequently mentioned as inhabiting the country, like the Sâgârs ('Dog-heads), Buzgâsh ('Goat-ears'), and Narmpai, whose name is 'Strap-brake' and betrays the influence of pseudo-Caithnesses upon Firdâsî (Nâeldeke, ii. 146, n. 3). In its proper shape the king of Mazândaran had a boar's head (Warner, ii. 75). The land itself was 'mountain-tall, with shoulder, breast, and neck ten cords across' (ib. 66).

The magic exercised by the 'White Div' against Kâns was read like a description of a severe hail storm (ib. 40); the only other point worth noting is that his blood cured falling night (ib. 62).

Even in the Arab period Mazândaran remained imperfectly Islamized. As late as the 10th cent., many of the inhabitants of Dâlam and Gillân were 'plunged in ignorance' (i.e. heathenism), and some were Magians, this being particularly the case with those in the mountains, valleys, fortresses, and other inaccessible places (Masûdî, Priâries d'or, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pâvet de Courteline, Paris, 1864-77, iv. 5). It was a

1 With these 'non-Aryan over-lords' Geiger (p. 185, n. 2) compare the Areopagites, a tribe dwelling along the Caspian (Stevens, pp. 172, 184); cf. Pavel von Fusti, in Peulit. Wissena, i. 1923, P. Andreas, i. 2195).

2 In a Turanian fragment Ah Dâhâk, who was imprisoned in Dâlam, says 'No one has yet explained why the legendary subject has thus far been found in two other passages, but in both cases the accompanying passage (p. 71) is lost' (S. T. Tomasek, in Peulit. Wissena, i. 1923, P. Andreas, i. 2195).

3 In the Parthian fragment Ah Dâhâk, who was imprisoned in Dâlam, says 'No one has yet explained why the legendary subject has thus far been found in two other passages, but in both cases the accompanying passage (p. 71) is lost' (S. T. Tomasek, in Peulit. Wissena, i. 1923, P. Andreas, i. 2195).

4 According to Darmesteter (i. 373, n. 22) and West (GtP ii. 110), the Pahlavi Vâsarpand-nâmêz asks the question: whether the Mazâïnaya demons were demons or men, and where their souls went after death. It is also said that all men, that some of them followed the religion of Ahura Mazda and others the religion of Agra Mainyu, and that most of them went to heaven; but the text, as edited and translated by J. J. Mct (Bombay, 1903), contains no statement whatever on this matter.
The centre of the Hurrnate and Zaidite sects of Muhammatanism (ib. vi. 188, vii. 117; cf. also Ibn Isfandiyar, pp. 138, 189–193).

The full for no special remark, but the Hurrnates may be briefly described, as being one of the many attempts at religious syncretism in W. Asia.

The correct meaning of the name is not absolutely certain. It is usually explained as from Pers. curnam, ‘cheerful’ (cf. Euphrates’; so T. Haarbricker, in his note to his tr. of al-Shahrastani’s ‘Al-ras动静, the women and men of that realm, Halle, 1850–51, ii. 449, and Flügel, ZDMG xxxii. 331, note), but it has also been derived from the name near Aradîb, which appears to have been an ancient centre of Mazdaite teaching (A. Müller, Islam, Berlin, 1885, i, 500, note). The present writer is inclined to trace the term to the name of Mazda’s wife, Harunmah, who, after her husband’s execution, fled to Ray, where she carried on a successful propaganda of Mazdaite heresy, calling her teachings ‘Hurrman’ (Ed. C. Schrêber, Christianitiae persanae, Paris, 1833–35, I. 170–175, where the relevant passage of Niżam-us-Salâh’s Kitâb al-Siyasât (ed. and tr. in full by Schrêber, Paris, 1883) is given in text and translation; for the Mazdaite heresy see art. Mazda).

The Hurrnates were divided into the Bâbâyikah and Mazûriyah (the latter also called Muhammâr, ‘red-haired’). While there is abundant material regarding the rôle played for more than twenty years (185–838) in Tâbriz by Bâbây (the Arabic spelling of the Iranian name Pâpây), as well as by Mazûrâ, for a knowledge of the spread of their creed and the only known starting-points are sources—the ‘Fihrist of Muhammad ibn Iâbâq al-’Adîn (written in A.D. 957–988, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871–72, pp. 342, 30–344, 18, tr. Browne, Lâlî, Sûrî, and others; iii. 352, sect. iv., p. 352), from the Fihrist we learn that Bâbây was the natural son of an old-seller who migrated from Ctesiphon to the village of Fûléshahr, not far from Aradîb and Arraîan, and married, after an illicit amour with her, a one-eyed woman who later became the mother of Bâbây’s son. One day, while the woman was asleep, her mother a cow of blood under each hair on his breast and head, and from this she inferred that he was destined for some glorious mission in the faith. Bâbây later entered the service of Jâvîdîn, a Hurrnate leader, and, when the latter died, in consequence of a wound received from the rival Hurrnate chieftain, Iblîn-’Ali, Jâvîdîn’s wife, who had engaged in an intrigue with Bâbây, and who had concealed from the public the news of her husband’s death, told her lover that she would tell Jâvîdîn’s followers that he had decided to die and cause his spirit to pass into Bâbây, who was to slay the present rulers, restore the Mazda- kites, and enrich his adherents. The plan was completely successful, and Bâbây became the acknowledged leader of the sect, claiming to be God incarnate. After this, Bâbây’s followers ‘called for a cow, and commanded that it should be slain and its blood be poured over them, and on the skin she placed a bowl filled with wine, and into it she broke bread, which she placed round about the bowl. Then she called them, most of them were women, and made each of them wash the skin with her foot, and take a piece of bread, plunge it in the wine, and eat it, saying to each, O Spirit of God, I believe in thee, O Spirit of Jâvîdîn; and that each should then take the hand of Bâbây and kiss it’. She then ‘brought forth food and wine to them, and seated Bâbây on her bed, and sat beside him publicly before them. And when they had drunk three draughts each, she took a spout of oil and offered it to Bâbây, and he took it from her hand, and this was their marriage’ (Browne, p. 327).

It is thus clear that Bâbây held the doctrines of Hubal (the incarnation of God in human form), tânasq (passing of the soul from one body to another), and rîj (reincarnation), so that he became the arch-heretic and immoderate, so as described by al-Shahrastâni (tr. Haarbricker, i. 199 ff.; cf. Browne, p. 328). He appears to have been hostile to Islam, for Ibn Isfandîyâr (p. 153) that he ‘originally desired to bring Islam and Zoroastrism into conflict, and to destroy all traces of Islam to be removed’. It is doubtful whether he was of Persian origin, for, according to the Fihrist, his father sang songs ‘in the Nabatean tongue, and Bâbây’s own tongue was cramped out of Outlandish speech’ (see, further, Browne, loc. cit.).

To the information al-Shahrastani adds that the Mazdaity are opposed to the religion of the Muhammatans, and he says:

‘By night the Bâbâyikah to those mountains of Tâbriz agree upon even the soul of depravity will come, and playing, etc.; and therein (i.e. at night) the men and the women agree together. Then the lamps and fires are extinguished, and come the men of that realm, who who chance to sit with him. And these are the persons who in the ignorance they had a king named Shurâr, whom the people deem greater than the prophets; and when they protes for the dead, in his name they pay tears and laments, (even) their grief for him.’

It is clear that the Bâbâyikah were only a later phase of the sect founded by Mazdak, but in a degenerate form, marred by the cruelty which characterized the career of Bâbây, who is said to have slain at least 255,500 persons during his years of power.


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MAZDA.—See ORMAZD.

MAZDA.—History.—Mazdak, son of Bândâh, a Persian (probably a native of Susiana), was the leader of a communistic sect which towards the end of the 6th cent. A.D. became a formidable power in the Sassanian empire. According to some accounts, the original founder of the sect was a certain Zarâšâd, son of Khurânag, on whose behalf Mazdak is said to have carried on propaganda among the populace, but in any case was under Mazdak that the sect received importance. His temporary success was largely due to the state of anarchy then prevailing in Persia.

The emperor Kâwâd, who ascended the throne in A.D. 488, finding himself opposed by the nobility and the influential Zoroastrian priesthood, entered into a close alliance with the arch-heretic and embraced his revolutionary doctrines. The governing classes were strong enough to depose Kâwâd in favour of his brother Jâmâsp; but after his restoration, which took place a few years later, the power of the Mazdakites continued to increase, though Kâwâd did not seem to have been very active. In the concluding years of his reign a bitter struggle was waged over the succession, which the Mazdakites endeavoured to secure for one of Kâwâd’s sons who was devoted to their cause, while the Zoroastrian priests, in agreement with the emperor himself, regarded

1 See Justi, p. 390.
2 Perhaps we should compare the nocturnal orgies against which the Gathas polemize (Is. xvi. 33–34, viii. 10; cf. C. Bartholomae, Gathe's des Avesta, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 38 f.; J. H. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913), and indeed, however, it was merely a current bit of scandalous gossip without much foundation.
3 The Mazdakites are called Zarâshûdikah in the Syrian Chronicle of Josua the Sylphite, ed. W. Wright, Cambridge, 1882, x, 50.
prince Khusrav as the presumptive heir to the throne. The course of the events which culminated in the massacre of Mazdakist together with many thousands of his followers is uncertain. According to the narrative of a Persian official who was converted to Christianity and assumed the name of Timotheus (Joannes Malalas, in PG xvii, 654; Thomas of Canterbury, in Historia sacra, 276, 150; = Noldeke, op. cit. p. 160 f.), dwells upon the ruin of their religion and the heavy losses which they had incurred. The systematic regulations which were made for the purpose of compensating the sufferers, establishing the position of children of doubtful origin, etc., show that the social revolution must have developed considerably, and that the upper classes bore the brunt of it. Our authorities give great prominence to this aspect of Mazdakism, and they are justified in doing so. Mazdak was not a philosopher, like Plato, content to work out on paper a theory of the ideal communistic State. He was a militant social reformer, but he was something more. Noldeke has remarked that what distinguishes Mazdakism from the organized socialism of modern times is its religious character, a peculiarity in which it resembles all Oriental movements of the same kind (op. cit. p. 459; cf. his art. "Orientalischer Socialismus," in Deutsche Rundschau, Feb. 1879, p. 254 f.). This character is perhaps the most striking aspect of Mazdakism. Mazdak's asceticism—he is said to have forbidden the slaughter of cattle for food—gave offence to the orthodox, who saw in him the godly fasting Ashemooqtha (Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad Fargion, 45; cf. iv. 48). The passages from Tabari translated above, and still more the epic narrative of Firdausi (Shahnameh, ed. Turner Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 161 f.), which reflects the sentiments of the priesthood, bring out quite clearly the fact that Mazdak identified his doctrine of equality and fraternity with the religion of Zoroaster in its original uncorrupted form.

1. "...shall establish this communism in order that the pure religion may be made manifest and raised from obscurity. Whoever follows any religion except this, may the curse of God overtake that deceitful one!"

2. "...five things turn a man from righteousness: jealousy, anger, vengeance, need. And the fifth one that makes him covetousness. If thou prevail against these five demons, the way of the Almighty will be manifested to thee. Because of these five, we possess women and wealth, which have destroyed the good religion in the world. Women and wealth must be in commune among us. If thou desirest that the good religion should not be harmed. These two (women and wealth) produce jealousy and covetousness and need. Which secretly unite with anger and vengeance. The Demon (desire) always turneth the eye from the wise. Therefore these two things must be made common property."

"Zoroaster."

Without claiming that Mazdak was animatized by no other motives than those which his enemies attribute to him here, we may well believe that he regarded his communistic scheme as the only sure means of enabling mankind to attain the object which Zoroaster had set before them, namely, the defeat of the powers of darkness and the triumph of the spirit of light. The astonishing success of his propaganda is to be explained by the force of his appeal to Persian idealism. He would not have gained extensive support for his social programme unless it had been, ostensibly if not in fact, the instrument by which he hoped to accomplish a great religious reformation. In the main, he appears to have held fast to Zoroastranism, and no reliance can be placed on the statements of Shahrestani and later writers who credit him with cosmological speculations closely akin to those of Mani.
MEAN—MEAN (Chinese).—Outside of Greece, the theory of the mean received formal attention only in China, which produced the classic Chuang Yang, commonly known as The Doctrine of the Mean, though more exactly rendered 'Equilibrium and Harmony' (see above, p. 909), the authorship of which is attributed to the grandson of Confucius, Tung Sen, who flourished in the 5th b.c.

Heaven has conferred a spiritual nature upon man, and 'an accordance with this nature is called the path of duty,' which must never be abandoned (i. 2-3). The terms ch'ang (equilibrium) and yung (harmony) are respectively absent of stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, and the state in which 'those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree' (i. 4). Therefore, 'the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish' (i. 5). According to Confucius himself, the superior man embodies this ideal state, and 'perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean' (ii. 1); yet some err by exceeding it, and some by falling short of it (iv. 1) only the sage is in perfect harmony with it (xi. 3). As an example of the practical value of ch'ang yung, Confucius cites the course pursued by the emperor Shun (2255-2205 B.C., according to Chinese tradition), who questioned men, 'took a hold of their two extremes, [determined] the Mean, and employed it in [his government of] the people.' (vi.); but yet, in spite of all, 'the course of the Mean cannot be attained to' (ix.). In a word, the superior man acts 'in the middle,' not far from the applications of his Logic—his doctrine of thought being as dialectically progressive through the meeting of opposites—to the history of human thought and endeavour; it is this that gives to his expositions of history and thought a strength which, while not violating the excessively rigid formalism with which the principle is applied by him in certain cases, we can seldom find clearly marked and uniform (in pairs) from the opposition of which the higher truth can only find out conflicting streams, tendencies, movements of thought.

A movement involving truth mingled with error is found in another movement, involving different truths mingled with different errors. What is required is a point of view above both the conflicting principles, from which to criticize them. This is the true 'middle way,' found, not by taking what the two extreme views have in common, and disregarding all their differences, but by finding a principle which contains more truth than either of the extremes, not less truth. The value of the conflicts and oppositions of history is to suggest the need for these higher—or, to vary the metaphor, deeper—truths, and sometimes also to suggest the way to reach them.


S. H. H. MELLOTHE.
MECCA

menn, plenty and safety, are mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the Meccan sanctuary, the former as a result, it would seem, of visits from pilgrims, whereas the latter probably means safety for refugees; but the texts are not very clear. The sanctuary itself is called in the Qur'an either 'the house,' or 'the house of Allah, the Sanctuary,' or the Ka'bah (a word said to mean no more than 'house,' and perhaps in which he is, not himself,' and, if he falls in anything, he blames only himself (xiv. 1 f., 5). It advances in regular order from stage to stage (xv. 1), and constantly strives to advance and develop his virtuous nature, that he may pursue the path of the mean (xxvii. 6). 'When occupying a high situation, he is not proud, and, in a low situation, he is not insubordinate' (xxvii. 7); and it is characteristic of the superior man, though 'appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating' (xxviii. 1).

During the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, special mention is made of the fact that he never swerved from the mean (xxxi. 1).

The remainder of the Chung Yang is devoted to local government, the duties of government, the obligation of absolute sincerity, the path of the sage, and the character of the ideal ruler—all of which depend on the cultivation of cultivation (ch. xlvii. 1-6).

The meaning of some particular terms, it is proposed, is discussed in the following chapter (xlviii. 1-3).

LITERATURE.—The Chung Yang is most conveniently ed. and tr. by J. Legge, Chinese Classics, Hongkong and London, 1862, and there are a number of excellent trs. of the Chung Yang, pp. 35-45), and again tr. by him in SBE xxviii. (1909) 200-229.

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MECCA.—Mecca (Arabic Makkah) is a city in Central Arabia, famous as the birthplace of Islam, and, except for a short period at the commencement of the system, at all times its chief sanctuary. A variety of the name, Bakka, occurs once in the Qur'an (lii. 80), and this is probably the earlier form, though the etymology is uncertain.

The classical geographers, who devote considerable attention to Arabia, are apparently not acquainted with this settlement; for the Makorabah of Ptolemy (iv. 22, 16) is the same name. From this is derived the title of Meccans, of which the earliest extant form is abzalj (245 A.H.), so far as they treat of the pre-Islamic period, are collections of fables, in the main based on the Qur'an, but to some extent influenced by the later history also. It would appear that, when Islam arose, there were no chronicles in existence dealing with the affairs of Central Arabia, and for some generations the days of paganism were regarded with a sort of horror, which prevented the preservation of precise information concerning them.

The references to the city in the Qur'an throw little light on its early history. A sara incorporated near the end of the collection (cv.) reminds the Prophet of the Owners of the Elephant, who were destroyed by birds (ashdab), which flung at them stones. The story is interpreted as an expedition by Abyssinians against the Meccan sanctuary, unreasonably frustrated, but it is possible that this story is an invention of exegetes, who coupled sara cv. with evil, which more decidedly deals with Mecca, and is itself a fragment, scarcely to be construed in its present form. In it the Quraish (the tribe in possession of the Meccan sanctuary) are advised to worship the Lord of this universe, whom they food after hunger and safety after fear. These two pheno-

the principle of reciprocity' (xiii. 3); and yet 'were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embark it; but let it be known of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it' (xii. 2). 'The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this. ... The superior man knows that in this, in which he is not himself,' and, if he fails in anything, he blames only himself (xiv. 1 f., 5). It advances in regular order from stage to stage (xv. 1), and constantly strives to advance and develop his virtuous nature, that he may pursue the path of the mean (xxvii. 6). 'When occupying a high situation, he is not proud, and, in a low situation, he is not insubordinate' (xxvii. 7); and it is characteristic of the superior man, though 'appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating' (xxviii. 1). Among the many virtues of Confucius, special mention is made of the fact that he never swerved from the mean (xxxi. 1).

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and Taif; it is more probable that only Mecca is meant. Of walls we first hear in the reign of Muqaddim (A.D. 908-933), and these did not surround the settlement, which was naturally protected by mountains, but merely blocked the passes. Snouck Hurgronje\(^1\) is probably right in thinking that the community first gathered round the source of the Qiblah stream, which furnishes a constant supply of brackish water. The tradition gives us the names of the tribes which formed the community, but scarcely hints at any sort of municipal organization. The most surprising is the absence of all mention of priests, such as we should have expected to be associated with a sanctuary. The wealth of the tribes is likely to have consisted mainly in cattle, but other forms were probably known; visitors to the shrine have at all times had to pay more or less heavily for the privilege, and this source of wealth is, as we have seen, indicated in the Qur'an. We possess only casual notices of the amounts demanded in later times, but these indicate that the piety of pilgrims often afforded a considerable revenue. The Fatimid Khalfahs expected the governor of Mecca to make the pilgrims pay his chief source of revenue; besides this visitor's fee, they had to pay for admission to the sanctuary, and those who brought goods had to pay import duty. Attempts were made by priests subsequently, but they had due to their tendency to revive, and their analogues do not exist in the period before the rise of Islam.

Prior to the rise of Islam it would appear that some event connected with the sanctuary was recorded in the biographies of the Prophet professed to give us the names of persons who had either adopted that system or showed some leaning towards it. There appears to be no recollection of the existence of any Christian place of worship at any time in this city. The tradition represents the pagan inhabitants as tolerant towards religious diversity, and as long as the local beliefs and practices were not assailed; but the life of such a community was so intimately bound up with the local religion that it is difficult to suppose that dissent could remain quite immune from persecution.

There is reason for thinking that the Prophet's original attitude towards the Meccan religion was uncompromising, and that his success would have increased his control of the community had it not been for the Ka'bah which fashioned the form. His rejection by the Jews of Medina (q.v.) caused him to contemplate a partial return to the system which he had abandoned, and some time before the taking of Mecca he obtained a truce enabling him to perform the pilgrimage with some ostentation. Doubtless this performance paved the way for the subjection of the place. But, when Mecca had become Islamic, its position was modified in two important ways. On the one hand, it became the only sanctuary in Arabia; on the other hand, the presence of non-Muslims at the festival was forbidden. Since the pilgrimage was now made compulsory, Mecca lost nothing by this innovation.

It is uncertain whether the Prophet contemplated retaining Medina permanently as his capital or at some time making his native place the seat of government. There is no doubt that there were jealousies between the two places before the Prophet's death. None of his successors (except perhaps Abdallah b. Zubair, whose occupation of the khilafate lasted some ten years) seems to have regarded Mecca as a suitable metropolis for political purposes, but its position as the central sanctuary has only made it the natural seat of government. Certain fanatic sects, such as the Carmathians and Wahhabis (q.v.), have at times done damage to its monuments, and

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1 Mekka, The Hague, 1888, i. 5.
2 Chronik der Stadt Mekka, Leipzig, 1858-61.
3 Gie.
MECCA

in the neighbourhood by the Egyptian Sultan Jâmaq (1458–53). On the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516 the allegiance of the Sharifs was transferred without difficulty to the Sultan of Constantinople, who, in common with the authority of the Sharifs to a greater extent than their predecessors, and the presence of a Turkish governor at Jeddah has constituted a permanent restriction upon it. The introduction of Turkish sovereignty also changed the character of the Ka‘bah, which had been devoted to the worship of a god of the Shī‘ites. The ka‘bah of this sect, who, as a class, were always involved in family quarrels, became somewhat less dependent on Constantimople, and could even at times defy the representative of the metropolis at Jeddah. Both the sacred cities were threatened by the rise of the Wahhâbî movement towards the end of the 18th century, and indeed in 1793 and 1798 appeals for help against this new power were addressed to the Ottoman Sultan. This was not forthcoming, owing to the European complications in which the Porte was involved, and in 1803 Mecca was evacuated by the Sharifs, and presently occupied by a Persian envoy, according to his ideas. The Sharifs was, however, after a short time re-installed on his professing to adopt the Wahhâbî tenets; and for some years Turkish troops had determined the Ka‘bah to pilgrimage. In 1813 an expedition sent by Muhammad ‘Ali, founder of the khedivial family in Egypt, succeeded in recovering the sacred cities, and a Turkish Pasha was installed in Mecca, whereas, however, the rule of the Sharifs was nominally continued. After a time the Ottoman power was again represented by the governor of Jeddah.

Both the meaning and the limits of the sanctuary (zārâ‘a) were extended by Islâm. The sense of this Arabic word is ‘to forbid,’ and a sanctuary is a place where certain acts are forbidden, of which the most important is bloodshed; it is unlikely that this prohibition before Islamic times extended beyond the Ka‘bah itself. Azraqi is very likely right in asserting that at this time the dwellings of the citizens surrounded the Ka‘bah, leaving only a small area (sha‘b) ; the growth of the Muslim community rendered the destruction of these dwellings necessary; and operations of this kind were undertaken by the second and third Khalifs. The area was further enlarged by the pretender ‘Abdallah b. Zubair, who, in the 7th century, erected a colonnade with marble pillars and other luxurious decorations. Further additions to the area were made by the ‘Abbasid Danishmend (750), who also built a minaret, and who, in the inscription placed on his work, claims to have doubled the area. Further large additions were made by his successor, Mahdî, who at great cost had a torrent diverted with a view to bringing the site of the Ka‘bah into the centre of the mosque. Yet further extensions were effected by Mutawakkil (936), who also introduced luxurious ornamentation. In frequent the area occupied by the mosque was due in part to the floods by which Mecca was repeatedly visited, and to some extent to damage done during civil disorders. Under the Khalif Mu‘ammar considerable extensions and restorations were again carried out in the years 894–936, and the like are recorded for the year 918 under Mutasim. Under this Khalif serious mischief was wrought by the Dome of the Chain, and for a series of years practically put a stop to the institution; their atrocities culminated with the seizure in 311 A.H. of the Black Stone, which they conveyed to their headquarters in Hajar, whence it (or some substitute) was sent back twenty years later. This fetish had already been seriously injured in the time of ‘Abdallah b. Zubair, when the Ka‘bah was burned down, and, in spite of a series of precautions, it remained till the middle of the 18th century an object of an Egyptian Shī‘ite in the year 414, and not long afterwards was broken into three pieces by some Persian fanatics. The kissing of this object, which forms one of the pilgrimage rites, is not mentioned in the Qur‘ān, but probably is a survival from pagan times.

In 1599 a large part of the mosque was destroyed by fire, and orders were presently given by the Egyptian Sultan Paraj for its restoration with increased magnificence; this was finished by 1404. In 1551 the Ka‘bah itself was found to be in need of repair, but before this could be effected the question was raised whether this sacred building could lawfully be touched by the builders; and the fanatical populace were inclined to side with those holding the negative view. The precedent of Abraham and Ishmael (Qur‘ān, ii. 119) finally decided the question in favour of the restoration. In 1571 orders were given for the complete rebuilding of the mosque by the Ottoman Sultan Selim II., who, however, did not live to complete the work; when this fell to the share of his son, the colonnades the principle was followed that three marble columns should be succeeded by one of black stone from a local quarry. Details of the numbers and the location of the doors in the new mosques are given by Wustenfeld (iv. 318, 9), together with other statistics and dates. The existing mosque appears to be substantially that erected by Selim and his successor.

It appears, then, from this sketch of the history of the mosque that little remains in Mecca for which any considerable antiquity can be claimed. The archeological taste has rarely developed in eastern countries, and no trouble was taken either in Mecca or in Medina to preserve historic buildings or retain ancient sites. The theoretic sanctity of Mecca has never stood in the way of leaders who wished to effect their objects by violence; and the Umayyad Yazid, whose besieging forces were to some extent responsible for the burning of the Ka‘bah in 64 A.H., did no more than would have been done by any other Muslim ruler who was engaged in suppressing a rebellion. Various buildings which figure in the early history of Islâm were cleared away as the need for enlarging the temple area arose, and little regret was felt for them. On the other hand, buildings, particularly those which have no justification in the Qur‘ān; thus a stone which is called ‘the station of Abraham’ has acquired great sanctity, but in the Qur‘ān (ii. 119, iii. 91) this phrase seems to mean only ‘the dwelling-place of Abraham.’ The jurist Malik (1179 A.H.) asserts that this was restored by Omar to a place which it had occupied before the Days of Ignorance, on the faith of a chart preserved in the treasury of the Ka‘bah. As we have seen, the Black Stone, which is supposed to represent the ‘right hand of Allah,’ is of very doubtful authenticity.

Besides the prohibition against bloodshed which theoretically covered the area occupied by the city, there are other legal peculiarities belonging to it. Closely allied to this prohibition is that against the chase, which is even extended to the cutting of trees and the plucking of herbs. This ordinance is modified in a variety of ways; it seems clear that the slaughter of noxious beasts is generally permitted, and weeding to a certain extent is also lawful. The sowing or the reaping of crops, and for compensation, on a scale fixed by the Qur‘ān. There is some difference of opinion between jurists on the question whether rent may be taken for

\footnote{Mudawwarat, Cairo, 1823, ii. 212.}
houses in Mecca; according to modern travellers, this question is purely academic, since the inhabitants largely earn their living by letting their homes to pilgrims.

The place of Mecca in the Muslim religion is 01 wise not free from anomalies. On the one hand, it is clear that the standard of morality and piety is maintained by the likes of no other city; it has been particularly high, and various travellers have been shocked by their experiences; on the other hand, there is no doubt about the sanctity of the place itself. Such spiritual benefits accrue to those who go thither. These are not indeed free from danger; for, just as the value of good actions is higher in Mecca than elsewhere, so the debt incurred by evil deeds is there increased; and, according to the Sufis, evil thoughts and intentions are punished in Mecca, but not elsewhere. If Abū Fālīḥ al-Makkī († 386 A.H.) is right, pious men in every age who went thither on pilgrimage used to pitch two tents, one within and another outside the sacred area, devoting the former exclusively to religious exercises.1 The resulting danger was one of the reasons why continuous residence in Mecca was discouraged by two others urged by Ghazālī († 505 A.H.) were the fear lest familiarity should breed contempt and the fact that absence makes the heart grow fonder. It could also be argued that the absence of a pilgrim is a return of place, i.e. one to be visited, not made a place of residence (I.I. 119).

The various sovereigns who have been protectors or ‘servants’ of the sanctuaries have ordinarily been lavish in marks of their favour and sometimes jealous of munificence exercised by rival potentates; among the public works executed by these benefactors the greatest amount of space appears to be devoted in the Chronicles to the aqueducts: one which conveys water from Mt. Arafat to Mecca, utilizing a channel originally constructed by order of Zabaida, wife of Harūn al-Rashīd, occupied fourteen years (855-972 A.H.) and cost enormous sums, owing to the difficulty of piercing the rock and the primitive character of the methods in use. Numerous colleges, hospitals, and alms-houses have been erected by Islamic sovereigns and their ministers, many of them furnished with endowments. The fate of all pious foundations in Mecca, according to Snouck Hurgronje,2 is the same: the houses that have any value of all time or other purchased in order to serve as endowment, but gradually passed from hand to hand in such a way that they retain the name (of which see E.B.E. vii. 577 f.), without serving any pious purpose. The name, however, prevents their being legally sold, yet sale is often necessary, and this is effected in fact, though new names are employed to serve instead of ‘sale’ and ‘purchase.’ An attempt was made by a Turkish resident in the middle of the 19th. cent. to declare all such transactions invalid, but his removal was procured before this could be carried out.

The erection of the places of learning has not had the effect of rendering Mecca at any time a university centre, and its printing-press has contributed very little to Arabic literature; nevertheless as a gathering-place for the pious it has regularly served for the dissemination of ideas, which are worked out elsewhere. A. Le Chatelier, indeed, attributes the part played by Mecca in recent times to the influence of the Sufis:

1 La confrérie nouvelle rendit à la Mecque le rôle de foyer du sahnisme musulman, que lui avait fait perdre la caste aṣyrīn (Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz, Paris, 1887, p. 19).

The author of a dialogue on Islamic revival be-
and was settled east of the Zagros mountains, where it was known to the Assyrians as Mādā, or Mēle, a name also written Mānād, like Amardī for Mardī. From this time forward the names of the kings and chiefs of Media and the neighbouring district of Mēle, and the monarchical title, are Iranian, and in a list of Median princes conquered by Sargon in 714–713 B.C. we find the name of Mazālūk, proving that Zoroaster's god Māzāi, 'the good Sun,' was worshiped in that region (cf. also 2 Esdr. F. Hommel, PSZA, 1899, p. 132). The name of 'Mītra,' the sun-god, is also found in the tablets of Assār-hāni-pal's library at Nineveh. On the other hand, Istuway, or Astyages, the last king of Ecbatana, is termed in the inscriptions, not 'King of Media, but 'King of the Unman Manđa' or 'Hordes,' an archaic title given by the Babylonians in early times to the northern barbarians, but applied in the Assyrian age to the Cimmerians and Seychta (qq.v.). The similarity of the names Manđa and Mādā raises the question whether the Medes of the classical writers who were conquered by Cyrus were not really Seychta, whose religious beliefs and practices have been transferred to their Median subjects or neighbours.

Zoroaster was not the only one to whom the Medes also were Iranians.1 But here again the inscriptions make it doubtful whether Cyrus and Cambyses, the founders of the Persian empire, were of pure Iranian stock, and whether the religion of Cyrus' events, were not the peculiarities of Sāsi (cf. art. ACHEMENIANS, vol. i. p. 70). Both he and his son formed the ancient worship of Babylonia. Gaumāta (Gomates), 'the Magian,' is expressly stated by Darius 5A. [Pers. text] I, 69 f., to have destroyed the ąydnā, or 'prayer-chapels,' of Persia, a word which is translated 'temples of the gods' in the Babylonian version of the Behistūn inscription. These Darius claims to have restored, along with other possessions of the Persian and Median peoples, through the help of the 'great god Aura-māzād,' the creator of the earth and heavens, who in this version of the Behistūn inscription (ll. 77, 79) is especially called 'the god of the Aryans.' In the eyes of Darius he occupied much the same position as that occupied by Jahvā in the OT: he was the national god of the Persians and Medes, and would be,览其：The existence of the latter, however, was admitted; at Behistūn Darius says that he was assisted not only by Aura-māzād but also by 'the other gods, and that there were, opposed to the righteous law of Aura-māzād was the 'Līn (drauga), the Achaemenian equivalent of the Zoroastrian Angra Mainyu (Ahriman [q.v.]). But there is no reference to the Zoroastrianism of the Avesta in the inscriptions of either Darius or his successors; their priests, moreover, were not Magians, whose overthrow and massacre were, on the contrary, commemorated in the festival of the Magophonia,2 and the bodies of the Persian kings seem to have been buried in the ordinary way instead of being thrown to dogs or birds of prey.3 This, Herodotus says (I. 140), was a Magian custom.4

The date of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) is uncertain, but modern scholarship is inclined to assign it to the 6th cent. B.C.; and Jackson5 seems to be right in concluding that he arose in Media rather than in Bactria, the tradition which makes him a Bactrian being late. Zoroaster is unknown to both Herodotus and Ctesias, the earliest mention of him occurring in a fragment questionably ascribed to Xanthus of Lydia and in Plato (Alcib. I., 122). Herodotus and Diodorus make the date of the 10th cent. B.C. He also implies that they were a class of priests (I. 140), and he describes certain of them as interpreters of dreams (I. 107). He further ascribes to them the Zoroastrian practices of reverencing the dog and destroying noxious animals (I. 140). No sacrifice could be offered without the presence of a Magus, who accompanied it with a hymn (the Avestan Īštāh); and there was neither altar, fire, nor libation (I. 126). The Greek historian adds (I. 151) that 'the Persians' (whose priests were the Median Magi) had 'no images of the gods and no temples or altars, considering the use of them a sign of folly.' They sacrificed on the summits of mountains, as well as 'to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds.' The worship of the goddess Anāhitā, and presumably the cult of Mēthra,9 also referred to in two inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mennōn (Sinān a. 4 f., Harm. 5 f.) was borrowed at a later date from 'the Arabians and Assyrians' (Herod. i. 131).4 On the other hand, the scavenging of the Hellenists by Xerxes (Herod. viii. 58) is inconsistent with the belief that water was divine,4 and in Herodotus's account of Magian religion Avestan dualism is conspicuous by its absence. So, too, is any reference to the doctrine of a resurrection. The simplest way of explaining these anomalies is to suppose that the religious system described by Herodotus was that of the Medes, among whom the Magi were a sort of hereditary priests like the Levites in Israel; and that the religious system of Darius represented the religion of the Persian aristocracy, but that the origin and fundamental principles of the two were the same. The conquest of Media by Persia would have introduced the Median forms of theology among the Persian people, though their influence would have been momentarily checked by the overthrow of the Medes and the introduction of Zoroastrianism. The Achaemenian aristocracy as the Pharslees did to the Sadducees. Meanwhile the reformer Zarathushtra had appeared in Persia, he built upon pre-existing religious beliefs and practices and attracted the Magi to his side. The result in the course of centuries was the Mazdaism of the Avesta.


MEDITATION.—Meditation is a word of extreme vagueness, but is here used only in its technical or quasi-technical applications in religion. In a sense all we are and have is mediated to us somehow. Our very being comes to us through our parents. The society into which we are born and in which we are trained mediates to us most of

1 Zoroaster, pp. 219-226.
2 See Rawlinson, Media, p. 259, n. 9.
3 W. Geiger (Outkun. Kultur im Altertum, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 385-422) derives the Zoroastrian fire-priests (ahura) from media.
4 See, however, Moulton, p. 218f.
what we think of as intellectual, moral, and religious convictions. The greater part of what comes under these headings is not original achievement of our own, but inheritance or education: it comes to us in some way by the mediation of others. It may be possible to make our own what is thus mediated to us, and to become possessors, as it were, of ideas which we have been herited or been taught; but, to begin with, every creature born in time owes to mediation of some sort the whole capital with which he adventures at birth.

1. The NT use of the term 'Mediator.'—The technical use of the word is most easily grasped if we start from that application of it which is most definite and concrete, viz. its application to the work of Christ. There are four NT passages where this is found: 1 Ti 2, He 891 124. In all these passages Christ is represented as mediating between God and man. God and man have been estranged. The relation which normally subsists between them has been destroyed, and the work of the mediator is to restore it. In 1 Timothy this work is explicitly connected with the redemptive death of Christ; there is our mediator between God and men, Himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all. The same connexion is implied in all the passages in Hebrews; there the covenant, mediator of a new or better covenant. The covenant is the religious constitution under which God and men form one society, or live a common life. The old and inferior constitution, under which the ideal of religion was not realized, was the Levitical one. This was annulled because of its ineffective character, and in place of it, through the mediation of Jesus—i.e., by means of, and at the cost of, His incarnation and sacrifice—comes the Christian relation of men to God. In this the ends of religion are really attained. There is real forgiveness of sins, real purification of conscience, real and abiding access to God, and all due to the mediation of Christ. This use of the term 'mediation,' which may be called the specifically Christian one, is that which has been mainly developed in later theology. Christ's work as mediator is that in which He interposes between the holy God and sinful men who are estranged from each other, and makes peace. This specifically Christian use of the term, indeed, is in itself a significant and ordinary relations. In ancient as in modern times a State or a person could offer to 'mediate' between other States or persons at war. The substantive ουτεαδης is used side by side with such terms as δι'αναπτυξης, λογικης, and is defined by Suidas as ενεργοντος, 'pencemaker.' The verb μετηνσεως, which occurs once in the NT without an object (He 8, though some here would supply την θησυχιαν, 'His promise') is elsewhere usually transitive: μετετηνσει την ναον των οντων (Polyb. XI. xxxiv. 3) = 'to achieve the settlement by friendly mediation.' A state of hostility or estrangement, in which the making of peace is the work of a third party, and can therefore be called mediation, is the background of the primary Christian use of the term.

2. Extension of mediation in the NT from redemption to the mediation of the world. The NT it is not limited to this use. It is not only that peace with God, or the forgiveness of sins, or reconciliation, or eternal life for the spiritually dead is mediated through Christ and His redemption; Christ is presented also as the mediator of God and man in a way which trenchéd on Christ's prerogative as the one mediator; and it was an effective method of precluding this to show that all such powers, whatever they may be, were derived from Christ, and Christ could therefore in no sense become His rivals. The connexion of ideas in He 1 is similar. It speaks of a Son whom God has appointed heir of all things through whom He has made the worlds. The 'also' implies that the making of the worlds through the Son is what naturally corresponds to His being heir of all things. Probably no idea in the NT is so hard to enter into as this. When we think of Christ as mediating between God on the one hand and man alienated from God by sin on the other, we know where we are. We can think on the basis of experiences, and tell how Christ has come to us in our own estrangement, and made peace between us and God. We can speak of Him as mediator, because that is what He has been to ourselves. But creation is not a process, or an act of which experience teaches us anything; it is not apparent that it needs to be, or that it can be, 'mediated' at all. The OT simply says that in the beginning God created heavens and earth. How had Paul come to say (Col 1) in Him—that is, in Christ—were all things created? How did the thought originate in his mind? What exactly did it mean to him? We cannot accept it merely on his authority, as a piece of information about the beginning of things; the content of revelation—what a man knows by the inspiration of God—never has the character of information. Unless we can enter into the origin and process of the Apostle's thought, we can never really appropriate the idea in which it rests. The idea that not redemption only but creation as well is mediated through Christ, that to Him is due and by Him must be determined not only all that we can call reconciliation but all that we can call being, is so unexpected and so astounding that we cannot but ask how it took possession of his mind.

3. Rationale of this extension in Paul.—So far as can be seen, there are only two possible explanations of Paul's attitude. One is purely formal, and is based on the idea that it applies to all being, to a pure formality. It assumes that Paul had identified Christ with some supernatural being to whom this attribute or function of mediating creation already belonged, and that with the identification there went, as a matter of course, the ascription of this attribute or function to Christ. This is supposed to explain why Paul, when he introduces the idea of creation through Christ, does it simpliciter, without any justification or explanation: he is only doing what every one would concede who agreed with him in identifying Jesus with the Christ. But to this there are many objections. As far as can be known, there was no trace whatever in the Pharisaism in which Paul was reared of any such idea as that the Messiah was participant in the creation of the world. Paul has accounted the idea of Christ's function of creation as ascription of the idea of Christ's function of creation as subjective impression, Paul writes in Colossians with passionate earnestness on this subject, and not like a man manipulating borrowed ideas which have no vital relation to his experience. And, if it be said that it is not the Jewish eschatological Messiah with whom Jesus is identified by Paul, but a supernatural being of another sort—the Logos of popular Greek philosophy, of whom such things were said in Pss 1. 6, as one of Christ in connexion with creation—then the further question is raised, How did Paul come to
make this identification? He never mentions the Logos by name. There is no indication in his writings that he knew anything about philosophy or that he had any interest in its problems. The Logos doubtless signifies somewhere between God and the universe, was the philosophical solution of a difficulty which he had never felt; namely, how the transcendent God was involved in any connection with a material world. Paul was not troubled by this any more than the OT prophets or Jesus Himself, nor does he ever bring his doctrine of creation through Christ into any relation to it. The motive and the meaning of that doctrine must be sought elsewhere.

A real clue to his thought, as opposed to this formal one, may perhaps be found in another way. In Paul’s experience as a Christian, Christ was everything. He had reconciled him to God and made him a new creature. He had put him in possession of the final truth and reality in the spiritual world, that which could never be transcended and could never fail. When he lived in Christ, he lived in the eternal world, and he felt that to that world and to the believer’s interest in it everything else must be subservient. He could say, ‘All things are possible to them that believe’ (Io 14:14). And ‘all things’ here must be taken without restriction. It means not only all that hap pened in the days of Judaism, but the whole of the last resort be in alliance with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in league with His purposes. As J. Orr put it (The Christian View of God and the World, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 229), it must be built on redemption lines. That is the same as to say, it must be built on Christian lines; the world in which Christians live must be essentially a Christian world. It is not a world in which anything can defeat God’s purpose in Christ; it is not a world in which the final sovereignty of Christ can be frustrated; it is a world which is essentially related to Christ, to His work of reconciliation, and to His supreme place at last as heir of all things. Now, is it not legitimate to say that a world which was created for Christ was created in Him and through Him? This is the primary meaning of what is meant by the last resort, and in spite of appearances, the world in which we live is a Christian world, our ally, not our adversary, or, if our adversary, one who is necessary, that in conflict with and victory over him. Paul assures us that we have found the way of salvation. Paul does not start with the speculative idea that creation could not be immediate, and that all material and spiritual existences—things on earth and in heaven, things visible and invisible—must owe their being to the mediation of some supernatural power which is identified in his mind, we cannot tell why, with Jesus. He does not start thus, and then give this vague speculative idea a point of application. He assumes that we have found the way of salvation. But the redemption thus mediated is something of absolute significance. It involves contact with ultimate realities, with the eternal truth and love of God in Christ; it kindles a light in the soul which must fail on everything in the world if we are to see it. It is; it involves no smaller a conviction than that the world is essentially a Christian world, and it is this conviction, which is still involved in Christian faith, that forms the vital presupposition of the doctrine that all things were created through Christ.

That the world has this character may, of course, be doubted. It may even be argued that no moral life, no life involving moral principles, is possible except with a background of nature which is morally indifferent; it is only in a world which is indifferent to the distinction of good and evil that man can prove his devotion to good for its own sake. But there is really no such world, though the lightning does not shun the good man’s path. What the doctrine of creation mediated by Christ implies is that in the very constitution of nature it is possible to discover the same principles as are revealed in the life and work of Christ. If it were not so, no one with roots in nature would understand Christ when He appeared. The ultimate task of Christ is to set up a new law in the world. This is what Paul felt; it is what every idealistic philosophy teaches; it is the inspiration of the highest poetry; Wordsworth found in nature not an adversary or a neutral, but the model of a new life.

4. Mediation in the Fourth Gospel.—Without using words like προέτοιμασθείς and προσεκάνας the Fourth Gospel makes perhaps a more conscious and continuous use of the idea of mediation than any other book of the NT. Leaving the Prologue out of account, it is mediation in the specifically Christian sense, just as in Paul and Hebrews. The whole book might be summed up in the phrase of 14:10, ‘No one cometh unto the Father, but by me.’ It is to Jesus that men owe all the blessings which constitute salvation. They are variously described, most frequently as life, but they come to men through Him and Him alone. Yet a counter or complementary truth is presented in the same Gospel. No man comes to the Father but by Jesus, yet no man comes to Jesus but by the Father. He is both Father and Son. It is as though there were powers in the world antecedent to the historical Jesus which had Him in view, which prepared men to understand Him, and to welcome Him, partly by defeat of the reasoning of the relations of eternity and time. If pre-existence is a legitimate way of expressing the absolute significance of Jesus—the fact that what we see in Him is the eternal truth of what God is, and that therefore He belongs to the very being of God, ‘before the foundation of the world’—then the mediation of creation through Christ is a legitimate way of putting the conviction that in the last resort, and in spite of appearances, the world in which we live is a Christian world, our ally, not our adversary, or, if our adversary, one who is necessary, that in conflict with and victory over him. To the end that we have found the way of salvation. Both it is only when we receive the Son and believe in Him that we truly come to the Father. The earlier stages of religion are mediated to us through all the experiences of life; these provide for it a broad and indisputable basis here and now, and make it independent of any particular historical mediation—i.e., of any mediation through persons or facts which have their place in the past. But the immediate experience of religion—a religion, as some might call it, of pure inwardness and spirituality, which has its certainty in itself, and is not at the mercy of a historical criticism for which no fact is beyond question—does not, according to the Evangelist, enable men to dispense with what is mediated through Jesus; it only enables and prepares them to appreciate it. It is consummated through Him. Only he who has seen Jesus has seen the Father. And, para-
doxical as it may seem, this historical mediation does not shake the certainty of religion; the perfect religion does not become doubtful because the mediator of it lives; he is Sin Himself, that is true, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself (1 Jn 5:10).

In the prologue the idea of mediation is even more explicit than in the body of the Gospel, and it is yellowed in the sense that the words of one Verse are more speculative than anything in Paul, and it is difficult to think otherwise than that the author has identified Jesus with the Logos of the modern interpretation. The historical idea of mediation is more difficult to understand as a fact, and the idea that He is speaking of Him in the prologue is perhaps less than has been assumed. The traditional and somewhat grandiose interpretation of the prologue, according to which the Incarnation does not appear until v. 14—thus, that the Logos is identified in the light which Heitmiiller has put on to the objects, who delight in the idea of a general revelation in nature and history culminating in a final and adequate revelation in Christ—is almost certainly wrong. The movement of thought in the prologue is spiral. The Incarnation appears already in v. 4, and the idea of Christ being up to the time of the writer is summarized in v. 14. Revelation in its full and specifically Christian sense, the mediation of men to the knowledge of God which is eternal life, is accomplished only through Jesus, the Word made flesh. The difference from Paul may be said to lie in this: in Paul Jesus mediates revelation through redemption (we know God as Father because He saves us by His Son), whereas in John He mediates revelation through mediation (we are saved from sin and death through the mediation of Jesus the mediator of the knowledge of the Father). But the distinction is true only when it is not pressed. In both writers it is the specifically Christian sense of mediation that is vital: Jesus is the mediator between God and men. The wider sense of mediation, according to which Jesus mediates creation as well as redemption, while it is found in both, has not the same emphasis. The apostles seem to feel that their religion ultimately implies this, but it is not this that directly inspires or sustains it.

5. Mediation and Jesus' consciousness of Himself.—The most important of questions to the Christian religion is whether this specific sense of mediation, which is not only recognized by but pervades all the apostolic writings, is confirmed when we turn to the mind of Christ Himself. He makes it clear that he died to redeem not only the world, but was He conscious of being in any sense a mediator between God and men? Did He stand between them to any extent? Did He, in any sense owe to Him either the knowledge of God or reconciliation to God, or were these supreme spiritual blessings immediately open to them, in independence of Him? The questions have been put in both ways. Harnack's famous dictum (Das Wesen des Christentums, Berlin, 1900, p. 91), that in the gospel as preached by Jesus the Son has no place, but only the Father, is so qualified by other statements that its author can hardly be excepted for the negative. Much more uncomprehendingly represented is the view of Weis and W. Heitmiiller. The former, in Das Urchristentum (Gottingen, 1914, p. 384), in discussing the relations of faith in Christ and faith in God (in Paul), explicitly renounces the idea of mediation or of salvation. Christ was there, as a matter of fact, and therefore Paul had to give Him a place in his religion somehow; but Weiss, with a sense of his own daring, does declare that there is still a place for His mission and work in the nature of God, and that God's eternal love, though Paul knew it only through Christ, must have had its way even if Christ had failed the redeeming work of the Father, or if God in the fullness of His love had been able to dispense with the sacrifice of Christ. There is not, indeed, any appeal here to the mind of Christ, with regard to mediation, but there is the expression of a conviction which-froceseases any such appeal. In Heitmiiller's Jesus (Tubingen, 1913) the denial is even vehement:

1 'It is quite beyond doubt that according to the preaching of Jesus we have to conceive the relation of man to God: between God and man nothing and no one has a place, not even the historical Jesus, except in the proper sense Jesus in any case does not claim' (p. 75).

But Heitmiiller feels a certain embarrassment when he deals explicitly with some words of Jesus. He admits that Jesus could speak only of Himself, but that even a superstitious consciousness—e.g., the well-known passage Mt 11:3. To be the bearer of a unique revelation, the Son simpliciter—it almost certainly is the same thought as the historical Jesus, is almost certainly not a divine self-consciousness, but it is almost more than human. It might impel us to ask whether it was compatible with soundness and clearness of mind. Yet this is the case at which the form of Jesus becomes mysterious to us, almost unceamiy (p. 71). Further, he speaks of the riddle as insoluble (p. 89), but apparently he thinks that he has reduced it to less disquieting proportions when he writes (p. 128) that Jesus seems to have claimed for Himself only that He is the way to the Father. It is difficult to see how He could have claimed more. The opposite view, that the place which the NT generally assigns to Jesus, as the indispensable mediator between God and men, is in harmony with Jesus' consciousness of Himself, is argued in the present writer's Jesus and the Gospel (London, 1908, p. 159 ff).

What it does not expressly extend to is the speculative idea that creation as well as revelation and redemption is mediated through Christ.

6. Other mediators than Jesus.—Emphasis is laid in the NT on the exclusive character of Christ's mediation; there is one God, and one mediator between God and men. This is the idea of such passages as Ac 4:12 ('none other name'), Col 2:9 ('in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full'), and He 7:25 (the priesthood which does not pass to, or cannot be rendered upon by, another), as well as of Jn 14:3. What is in view in these passages is the idea that Christ in Himself can do anything or in order to do it, any of this or competitors, powers which in independence of Him prepared for His work, or supplement it, or enable men to dispense with it. This is unambiguously and exhaustively denied. The idea of mediation in the Christian sense has nothing to do with this. Spiritual beings, whatever their name or degree—principalities, powers, dominions—owe their own being to Him, and have their functions,
whatever they are, in a world which He has reconciled to God.

The exclusiveness of His mediation with regard to nature (being) as well as redemption is strongly asserted both in Col 1:19 and in John 1:14. Probably in both passages, as well as in 1 Ti 2:2, there is reference to forms of Gnosticism which it is difficult for us to define. For ancient thought generally, and therefore for ancient religion, the world was full of mysterious or quasi-personal sorts, and these easily asserted a place for themselves in the religious life. They came between God and the soul in ways that we cannot appreciate, and the interest of the apostles is to expel from the relations of God and the soul every power but that of Jesus. Their argument is that of experience against uncontrolled imagination. The controversies of later theologians, Catholic and Protestant, on the mediation (intercession) of saints are like this, but not identical. Those who admit that we can pray for one another have no ground for denying that the saints can pray for us. All that is to be said is that we do not know any thing about it; but whatever the saints may do for us they can do only in dependence on Jesus, not as mediators who might bring us to God apart from Him. Perhaps, therefore, the mention see Calvin's Instituto, iii. xx. 20-27; Westminster Confession, ch. xxi. 2; Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theol., iii. qu. xxvi. art. 1 f.; S. J. Hunter, Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, 1885-86, v. 574, 607; K. von Hase, Handbuch der protestant. Polemik, Leipzig, 1906, p. 294.

7. Mediation in the OT.—If we look back from the NT to the OT, we find much more everywhere which can be described in terms of mediation, though μεσιτής occurs only once in LXX (Job 9:3), where, according to T. K. Cheyne (EBI, col. 3608), it answers to γενάκης, and means a person who could interpose with authority between Job and his imperfect or arbitrary God—an arbitrator who would see justice done. This is akin to the θυγατρικής, defined by Aristotle as δε θυγάτρια, and often found in Greek as a synonym of μεσιτής; but it is hardly the equivalent of the NT μεσιτής, whether we regard revelation or reconciliation as that which comes to men through Him. If we confine our attention to the OT which the term mediation is properly applied, both aspects of it pervade the OT. Revelation, or the knowledge of God, is mediated to men through the prophet. It is not necessary to ask here how it is mediated to the Jews and to the Gentiles; the question is how he obtains it immediately. He stands in God's council and hears His voice; it is the voice of God Himself, or such an echo of it as the prophet's voice can utter, that is heard when He speaks. There is no external criterion for distinguishing the true voice of God from a voice which speaks lies in His name. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him (Ps 51:16); they have, without knowing it, what the NT calls (1 Co 12:10) the gift of 'discernment of spirits.' As revelation is mediated through the prophet, so in the largest sense is reconciliation through the priest. The Levitical system may have been very imperfect—it was destined, indeed, to perish by its inadequacy; but the idea of it was to enable men to approach God, to give them peace with Him, to put it in their power, in spite of all that they had done, to have communion with God, living as members of a society of which He was the head. The Levitical system does not, of course, exhaust what the OT exhibits of the mediation of reconciliation through the priest: the hour of irremediable ruin is come—the final breach between God and His people—when Jeremiah hears that, though intercessors like Moses and Samuel stood before Jehovah, they could not turn His heart toward Israel (Jer 15:19). The ministry of intercession mediates for man to God, as well as the ministry of sacrifice—unless we reduce the latter to the former, and regard sacrifice as in essence 'embodied prayer.' It is another form, possibly a form inferior to well to inferior, spiritual, of showing the cost at which reconciliation is mediated to sinful men.

8. Later developments of mediation. Though the main content of all OT may be condensed under prophecy and priesthood, it is not quite exhausted there. Especially in post-Exilic literature, where the transcendence of God is emphasized till it depresses the soul, we find intermediate beings appear whose functions are wider and less defined. Sometimes they have to do with the creation of the world, sometimes with its government in nature or in history; sometimes they are specially concerned with Israel's fortunes, or with the giving of the law; sometimes they are interested in individual men, attaching themselves to pure souls and making them prophets or sages. Foreign influences as well as philosophical necessities determined the form of such thoughts, and they grew to a larger and larger space in many minds. In A. Berthelot's Bibl. Theol. des alten Test. Tübingen, 1899, § 223, there is a philosophical account of this faith in intermediate beings (Hypostaseenlehre), so far as it can be derived from the Greek Bible. The most important of them was Wisdom, though the name does not occur. The name, however, in spite of Mt 11:19, Lk 11:2, seems to have fallen out of favour in the NT, and is not once mentioned where we might most have expected it, in the Gospels. The name was, as was said, due, as J. Grill has suggested (Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1902, p. 199 f.), to the frequency with which in Gnosticism σοφία represented a lost soul which had to be redeemed (cf. EBE vi. 236 f.). Next in importance to Wisdom came the Word or Logos. On this see W. Bouset, Die Religion des Judentums, Berlin, 1906, p. 399, and cf. art. Logos, § 2. The doctrine of the Logos as 'mediating' is developed at great length and with infinite inconsistency in Philo. It can be best studied in E. Brücher, Les Idees philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie, Paris, 1898, ch. ii. It is perhaps not unfair to say that in Philo there were two sets between God and the κόσμος; that it mediates, further, between God and man as made in the image of God and participant in reason, but that it is not a mediator of religious interest, i.e., a mediator of redemption between God and sinners. The verbal coincidences between Philo and the NT often, perhaps always, conceal a wide divergence of meaning. A full discussion of what Jewish belief in mediating powers eventually came to be found in F. Weber, Die Lehren des Talmud, Leipzig, 1886, ch. xiii. He enumerates five: (1) the angel Mešḥāţîôn, (2) the Word, or Μορφή (q.v.), of Jehovah, (3) the Sibêkînâh, (4) the Spirit of God, and (5) the Bath Qôl, or heavenly voice through which revelation is given. Where the mind starts with these generalities, whether in a more practical or in a more religious interest, it does not seem able or impelled to bring them to any convergence upon a single mediator; but the NT writers, starting from their experience of Christ as the only and the real revealer of God and reconciler of sinners to Him, are able to regard all these doctrines of mediating hypostases as hints or suggestions of what they possess in Jesus, reconciliation and are not afraid of attaching to them with all. Whatever they promised or were intended to secure has been finally made good and secured through Him. He is the Wisdom of God—the key to the world of nature, of history,
of all human life; He is the Word made flesh; Paul can even say (2 Co 3:17) that in His exaltation He is the Spirit. All mediation between God and sinful men is summed up and exhausted in Him. He is Himself our Peace. But all mediation, if the name is legitimately extended in this sense, between God and creation is also transacted through Him. The last, however, is not the starting-point; the saving ray in it is only incidentally through an overpowering impression of the importance and the significance of Jesus as the mediator of reconciliation; it is one way of expressing the conviction that He is the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last.

9. The subordinate sense of mediocris (mean of grace).—Mediation in a subordinate sense is the subject of the whole doctrine of the means (medio) of grace; that is, of the divinely appointed ordinances through which the salvation of Christ is brought home to man. Grace is mediated through these ordinances, especially according to Protestant theology, through the Word, sacraments, and prayer. The conditions under which the use of them becomes effectual for salvation—i.e., the terms on which grace really is mediated through them—are stated in all the confessions in more or less argumentative form.

Comparative religion offers examples of mediation more or less analogous to those here considered. Wherever there are religions institutions and customs, they are mediatorial. It is through them that God is the mediator to those who are brought up within its pale. Sometimes there are what A. M. Fairbairn used to call 'developmental coincidences' between other religions and Christianity where there is no real interdependence. Thus Mithra, was called μεσοτηρ in the first instance as dwelling in the air which is midway between heaven and hell. But the local meaning of Mithra, was a mediator between the inaccessible and unknowable God who reigns in the ethereal spheres and the human race which lives its restless life here below. He is said to be 'as great Mithra, messenger of the gods, mediator of the religion of the elect' (F. Cumont, Les Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1913, pp. 125, 139, 146). Similar phenomena are abundant in the religions of India. But we now find a religion of which we can say, as has been said of Christianity, that it is what it is because of the presence in it of the mediator.

LITERATURE.—As the idea of mediation involves that of the mediator, comparative Christian writers have questioned whether Christ has a necessary place in the Christian religion, and, if so, what precisely that place is, and what it implies as to Christ Himself. The literature is co-extensive with that of Christian theology. Older discussions of main aspects of the subject are to be found in J. Butler, Anatomy of Religion, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1890, pt. ii. ch. v., and J. Martineau, Studies of Christianity, 1852, 1877. Besides the works mentioned in the article, all modern writings on Christianity are more or less relevant, but the formal treatment of it, even in the Jesus-Paul literature, is not frequent.

JAMES DENNEY.

MEDICINE.—See DISEASE and MEDICINE.

MEDICINE-MEN.—See SHAMANISM.

MEDINA.—Medina, in Arabic with the article, means 'the Town', as opposed to the desert (Qur'an lx. 102, 121), and is the name usually given to the city, while Mecca, sometimes interpreted as 'the Prophet's City.' Its proper name was Yathrib (ib. xxxii. 19), evidently the 'Iathrib of Stephanus Byzantinus (c.e.) and Tertullian of Tmolus (c.e. vii. 31), apparently identical in origin with the Egyptian ḥrūba (indeed a form Atrib is mentioned). Another name which is sometimes cited is Tullib or Tulab, to be compared with the Hebrew Tob (Jg 11, etc.), and perhaps with the Greek Ὠφής, meaning 'fragrant' or 'good.' Many more names are collected by Sanhūdī (893 A.H.) in his monograph on Medina (Khulūsāt al-wafā, Cairo, 1285), but these are mostly honorific epithets; one of the few names which the OT is Salqah, which should rather be Salkah (Jos 12, etc.); but this identification is certainly erroneous.

As only Stephanus Byzantinus gives the relative adjective of Yathrib as 'Iathrib or 'Ithrib, it must have been the home of some persons known to the Graeco-Roman world not later than the 6th cent. A.D.; and to the end of the 7th cent. there probably belonged the 'flock of Yathrib' mentioned in a letter of James of Edessa 'to John Styliates'; this Yathrib is identified with Medina by some writers (ZDMG xxiv. 1870) 283), but it is difficult to suppose that there can have been a 'presbyter of Yathrib=Medina' at that time. For the early history of the place, then, as well as the later we have to rely exclusively on Muslim authorities, who naturally have much to say about a town which played so important a part in the history of their system. It is unfortunate that their notices of its pre-Islamic history are mainly fabulous, though they often contain a historical kernel.

The settlement, which is often called 'Between the two labors,' i.e., volcanoe formations, was, at the commencement of Islam a joint one of Arabs and Jews. The former were grouped in two tribes, the Ansār and the Khazraj, while the latter are divided into three tribal names are handed down—QaunAQaw, Qurash, and Nadir. The native Jewish tradition appears to know nothing of these colonies, whose names surprise us; for the last two are clearly Arabic, and the first apparently so. They are said to have had a dialect (or jargon?) of their own, some fragments of which are preserved in the Qur'an, but so little that it is not easy to see any connexion between them and Arabic. This fact would seem to mitigate against the supposition that they were Arabs who had adopted Judaism. If we are justified in attributing to them some of the Jewish matter that is found in the Qur'an, they must have been acquainted with portions of the Oral Tradition, to which there are occasional references; and it is practically certain that the early Islamic writers were indebted to presbyters from these communities for certain technicalities and even whole maxims. The personal names which are preserved are partly Hebrew, partly Arabic.

The Muslim tradition represents the Jews as further advanced in civilization than the Arabs of Medina, and engaged both in trade, including lending money on security, and in cultivation of the soil; the date was the most important product. Further, they are said to have had schools, and to have written Arabic in Hebrew script, as was done at a later time and is done even now. They were under the protection of their Arab neighbours, and were occasionally compelled to fight in the tribal wars, much against their inclination.

Between the Aus and the Khazar there was a long-standing feud, which led to the parties summoning the Prophet in the manner recorded in his biography. Hellenic antiquity, which furnishes many analogies to that of the Arabs, provides illustrations of this expedient for putting an end to civil and feudal feud from the earliest period. Thus we have in the Book of Ar şār, 'Helpers,' a name which, according to the Qur'an (iii. 45, lx. 14), originally belonged to the apostles, and doubtless is a popular etymology of Nazaram. Like many other statesmen, the Prophet found in external warfare the best remedy for civil strife; and, since at least for some years all new adherents were required to migrate to Medina, the
town grew vastly in magnitude and importance during his despotism. Neither he nor his immediate successors had any taste for architecture or other forms of art, and, though building must have gone on for the housing of the increasing population, it was, like the Prophet's mosque and domestic quarters, of a primitive kind. There are traditions, probably deserving credit, that the former had to a large extent of his companions were students or devotees of Ibn Julibar, somewhat as modern European writers use the passage. On the other hand, owing to the continued residence of the Prophet's widows and former attendants of the building of Ibn Julibar, which was, constantly in use, the place claimed that the governors should consult them about all cases which came before them for trial. As late as 200 A.H. its jurists or traditionalists were regarded as mere scrupulous than others (D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, p. 73). On the whole, the school of Medina, associated with the name of Malik ibn Anas (q.v.), was supposed to attach more importance to tradition and less to inference than the school of 'Iraq, which had been founded by Abū Ūmar. The differences which resulted were not of primary importance, though discussion at times raged fiercely (see Law [Muhammadan]).

For at least the Umayyad period Medina was supposed to be the seat of literary criticism as well. Though a question of jurisprudence at the court of one of these Khalifs concerning the source of a certain line of poetry and the relative merits of certain poets, the Khalif sent to the governor of Medina, ordering him to have the mosque referred to the judges, which is much to be desired to have (Aphāni, Cairo, 1285, viii. 180). It would seem that the beginning of Islamic libraries is to be sought in Medina; the poems of the Prophet's court-poet, Hassan b. Thabit, were kept there, and the copy was renewed when it showed signs of evanesence.

**LITERATURE.**—Of the work of Sahlūdī cited above the abridgment was published in 1855; the original, of about twice the bulk, exists in the Bodleian Library. The portion of it which deals with places of interest in the neighbourhood is summarized by F. Wustenfeld, *De Gebiet von Medina*, Göttingen, 1875. Accounts of the modern condition of the place are to be found in many of the records of pilgrimages, most recently in those of Hadji Khan and Wilfred Sparrway, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 20th ed., 1885, and A. J. S. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 2nd ed., 1917.

**D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.**

**MEDITATION.**—See Devotion and Devotional Literature.

**MEDITATION (Buddhist).**—See Bodhisattva, vol. ii. p. 782 f., Dhyāna.

**MEEKNESS.**—1. OT conception. —The Hebrew word for meekness (חָלִיל) is closely connected with the ideas of humility, poverty, and affliction. A great feature of OT literature is the attempt which it constantly reveals to reconcile with the facts of experience the principle that meekness brings prosperity, while wickedness is inevitably followed by disaster. In view of the apparent contradiction of this principle by the facts of life, some OT writers (Ps 37, Job) attempt to vindicate the ways of God to man, and to establish the ultimate reality of this principle by insisting that the meekness and the success of the wicked are only temporary. In the end divine justice will compensate the 'meek' (who are thus identified with the righteous), while the transient prosperity of evil-doers will end in calamity and downfall.

2. NT conception. —Christian teaching derives the conception of meekness from the OT, but enlarges and spiritualizes its meaning and application. The deep significance attached to this con-
ception in the NT lies in its identification of the loveliest ideal with the profoundest reality. The meek man is thus defined as one who not only "counts it better to suffer than to do wrong" (Plato), but as one who "resists not evil" (Mt 5:3). He is the one who surrenders the immediate interests of life, but in so doing he is not emptying his life but rather filling it with larger interests.

In ceasing to contend for his own rights against others, he is simply discovering the truth that all others are his own.

Accordingly, Jesus calls upon His disciples to surrender even the most obvious rights of property (Mt 5:3). But the ground of such surrender is not the protection of the other person, but the inheritance of the earth (Mt 5:5). Such possession, however, is to be realized only through spiritual development; that is to say, such possession is not to be won by self-assertion or by insistence upon individual interest, but only as the individual identifies the common welfare of men with his own. Hence Christ's refusal to take part in a selfish struggle for private gain, and His ultimate conquest of all opposition by means of the surrender of interests in opposition to His own.

3. Philosophical conception. — (1) Its place in the history of ethics. — While other ethical systems have been characterized by lofty ideals of conduct, the profound conception of meekness indicated in the preceding paragraph is distinctive of Christian ethics. The ethical ideal has generally been conceived as a measure in some form or other. Hedonism (q.v.) conceives it as the pleasure of the moment, but the objection to this view is that such transient pleasure cannot satisfy a constant need that is not rights on the part of Christ. On the contrary, He assigns the highest importance to individual work, and He confers upon the meek a title not only to the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to the inheritance of the earth (Mt 5:5). Such possession, however, is to be realized only through spiritual development; that is to say, such possession is not to be won by self-assertion or by insistence upon individual interest, but only as the individual identifies the common welfare of men with his own. Hence Christ's refusal to take part in a selfish struggle for private gain, and His ultimate conquest of all opposition by means of the surrender of interests in opposition to His own.

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(2) Its relation to the doctrine of evolution. — According to the principle of natural selection, it has been argued that in the evolutionary process the unworthy or 'unfit' must be set aside in order to make way for the survival of the fittest. There are many who are thereon, who by supporting such institutions as hospitals, alms-houses, and sanatoria are retarding the process of evolution. It is argued that we are thus breeding degenerate and criminals and doing a disservice to the world and mankind, and, of course, all healthy and law-abiding citizens for their support.

But this view fails to recognize all that the doctrine of evolution implies. It confuses this principle with that of letting the weakest go to the wall. It is hardly necessary to point out that by adopting such a principle we should blunt our finer feelings and should therefore sink in the moral scale. And the cost in time, money, and efficiency for others that is entailed in our care for the aged and diseased is negligible when compared with the moral gain. Thus we find that the preservation of the infant and consideration for the weak are strictly compatible with, and, indeed, an essential factor in, the law of evolution, inasmuch as they tend to develop a quality of human character which helps to make the highest surmise of the growth of the spiritual Kingdom and the dominance of the world by meekness and humility are thus progressively realized.


MEGARICS (MEGARIC).—Eueldides of Megara is generally regarded as the founder of the Megaric school, though it would be more correct to keep the name for his successors a generation or two later. Eueldides himself was an Elatic and also an "associate" (συμμαθήτης) of Socrates. The account of his philosophy given by E. Zeller (Philosophie der Griechen, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1889, p. 244 f.) is vitiated by his adoption of Schleiémacher's identification of the Megarics with the 'friends of the forms' (είκος φίλοι) of Plato's Sophist. It is quite impossible to reconcile the few facts we know about the teaching of Eueldides with the theory of plurality of forms, and Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's Parmenides (p. 149, ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1829-37), states that the "friends of the forms" were the "wise men of Italy," that is to say, the Pythagoreans. On such a point Proclus's testimony is conclusive, for he had access to and was familiar with the works of Plato's immediate successors.

The most trustworthy account that we have of the Megaric doctrine is that of Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd cent. A.D.), some extracts from whose History of Philosophy are preserved in the Preparatio Evangelica of Eusebius (xiv. 17). Its Elatic origin is at once apparent from these, and Aristotle expressly says that it was founded on the Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus, and later of Stilpo and the Megarics. In the first place, they made it their business to 'throw' (επιτίθεσις, a metaphor from casting) all sensation and appearance, and to trust in reasoning alone. The method which they adopted was that elaborated by Zeno, a method which was known as 'dialectic' by his admirers, and as 'sterile' by its critics. It consisted in showing that two contradictory but equally cogent conclusions could be established with regard to everything without exception, and that there was therefore no truth at all in any of the appearances presented to our senses. That is
what Plato calls δεσκέλωσις, and we still possess a curious fragment of a work in the Dorian dialect, generally known as the Dialectes (the name is without authority), which applies the method to objects in general, without regard to the possibility. Plato regarded this work as a product of Megara, and we know that the Megarians clung with special tenacity to their native dialect.

The effect of this was to leave us with nothing but the One or the Whole (οὖ ἕν, ὁ ὅσος) and to deprive the Many and the Parts of all claim to reality. That was the doctrine of Parmenides, but there is evidence that Euclides understood it in a rather different sense than the founder of his school, and it is here that we can trace the influence of Socrates. The One of the Eleatics was a continuous, corporeal πλευρά, whether Οὐκενέατ (Parmenidean) or infinite (Melissus), but Euclides took the step of identifying it with the Good, which was called by many names, such as God, Wisdom (φήσινευσις), and Mind (νους). It was in this way that 'the Absolute' made its first appearance in the history of philosophy, and its claim to be the sole reality was based on the inherent contradictoriness of all appearance.

The philosophy of Euclides was a very great improvement on the one who had taken a vengeful and vindictive attitude with him at Megara after the death of Socrates, and it is to this influence that we may most probably ascribe the unique position assigned to the Good in the Republic. The actual realists of course, however, they were made by Plato to acquiesce permanently in an Absolute doctrine of any kind; for that excluded from Reality what he was most interested in, the Soul, and especially the best Soul of all, namely God.

The Parmenides and the Sophists are chiefly occupied with this problem, and it is plain that Plato believed himself to have disposed finally of the Absolute that led, of course, to a breach between the Academy and their fellow-Socratics of Megara, and from this time forward we may discern the beginnings of a distinctMegarian school. As was natural, the negative dialectic was more zealously cultivated than the central doctrine of Euclides. When an abstract Absolute has been set up, there is not much more to be said about it. But the dialectical method is always available for the criticism of rival philosophies. Aristotle was naturally the chief object of the Megarian attack, which was led by Eubulides. Aristotle's own logical theory was to a large extent moulded by this situation, and the title given to his famous work, the Sophistai, alludes to his connexion with the Eubulides. Elenchi, bears witness to it; for, since the time of Plato's Sophistai, the old term had been revived as a name for thinkers of the class known later as Megarians. The fallacies exposed by Aristotle are, in fact, for the most part, Megarian arguments, and that is the explanation of the sense in which the words 'sophism' and 'sophistry' have been used from that time to the present day. Many of these sophisms are well known, such as the Λίν (φενο-μενον), the Veiled Man (ἐγκαταλυμένον), the Heap (σωμεῖον), and the Bald Man (ψάλαςις). As an extreme example of sophism, we may take the argument of the Horses: 'What you have not yet, ye have not. You have not lost horns. Therefore you have horns.' Some of the arguments are more serious, however, and raise the problem of continuity. The influence of Zeno is still felt in the ratio mensis aerei (σωμεῖον κέρας), referred to by Horace (Epist. ii. 1. 45). The most important of all from a historical point of view, however, was the argument over the Ostrich (300 B.C.), which continued to be discussed in the schools for centuries. Aristotle's favourite doctrine of potentiality and actuality (δύναμις and ἐνέργεια) was specially objectionable to the Megarians, and Dio-
them, to give a new impetus to 'the study of the Law' (i.e. the consolidation and development of Jewish religious thought and practice) after the troubles attending the persecution under Hadrian. Some restored was a man of mind and heart, he breathed into Judaism the breath of a new life. As to the Haḥākha (the body of decisions on ritual practice), his orderly and logical arrangement of the material contributed to make the compilation of the Mishna possible. He was a stringenter of the study of the ritual law; but he was even more strict with himself than with others:

'Never have I continued to set aside, in my own personal practice, the decisions of my colleagues when those decisions have been more stringent than mine' (Shaḥn. 184b).

His strength of character is further illustrated by his opposition to Simeon ben Gamaliel II., then presiding over the Sanhedrin at Usha. To Meir had been assigned the office of rabhām of that body (as to the duties of that functionary see J. E. art. 'Ḥakam'). Holding Simeon's knowledge of the Law inadequate, and reserving the President's excessive regard for his own dignity, he conspired with Rabbi Nathaniel, one of his associates, to secure the Patriarch's deposition. Simeon, however, defeated the plot, and it was the conspirators who were ejected. Later on Nathah was re-admitted, but Meir still refused to make the necessary submission, and he narrowly escaped excommunication in consequence.

His domestic life was at once happier and saddler. His wife Beruria (Valeria) is one of the great women of the Talmud. The daughter of the martyr Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion, who suffered under Hadrian, she was noted for both learning and moral worth. The touching story which records her wonderful fortitude in the hour of crushing calamity has been told again and again.

During Meir's absence at the academy one Sabbath eve, their two sons suddenly died. Beruria withheld the sad tidings from her husband until the day of peace was ended. Then she told him of it in a parable. "A friend," she said, "left me some jewels to keep for his years ago—so long ago that I had come to look upon them as my own. Now, of a sudden, he has claimed them; but I find it hard to part with them. Must I really give them up?" 'Why ask such a question?' answered Meir, 'you should have restored them already.' 'I have done so,' she replied, as she led him to the death-chamber (Midr. Mish. to Pr. 219).

This is not the only instance in which the Talmud is just enough to admit that one of its greatest sages was taught by a woman; Beruria instructs her husband in the higher knowledge on another notable occasion.

Annoyed by the pin-pricks of unsound neighbours, Meir angrily calls down imprecations upon them. His wife rebukes him. 'Rather,' she protests, 'let us pray that they may live to repent; for the Psalmist's supplication is not—'Let sinners be consumed out of the earth; let them be consumed' (Ps. 106:42), where the Hebrew is susceptible of Beruria's interpretation; for the story see Br. 10a).

The Rabbi, despite a certain severity and intolerance, was worthy of his wife. His defects were the defects of his qualities. If sometimes he set his face like a flint towards other men's weaknesses, he was strong and brave when life's sorrows touched himself. He, too, could preach and practise the great duty of submission.

Echoing Ec 5:5, he says, "Let thy words before God be few; school thyself to say, 'Whatever God doeth He doeth well' (Ec 5:5). And, as it is written, 'As we should think of God for the world, so should we praise Him for evil' (Ec 11:7).

Exposing in novel fashion the verse, 'A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth' (Ec 7:1), he said that death, the common lot of man, is good for those who pass hence with a good name (Br. 17a).

Again, he said that what, according to Gn 15, God saw and proclaimed 'very good' at the Creation was death (Midr. Rab. to the vers). The section of the Mishna, known as Abbaḥ...
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(The Ethics of the Fathers) assigns a typical maxim to each of the great Talmudic Rabbis. The maxims associated with Meir reads as follows:

1. Light the world with good deeds and thyself to the Torah; but be of a spirit of kindness towards all men (Aboth, lv. 10).

Meir is clearly no 'harics' of the Sages; he was not a sage in all respects, but, like the wise and noble of the day, he was not too lowly to aspire to the noble life. Thus in another utterance of the sage he pictures God as saying:

"Devote thyself with all thy heart and soul to know my ways and to watch at the gates of my Law. Keep my Law in thy heart and thy fear before thine eyes; guard thy mouth from sin, and purify thyself from all transgression. Then will I be with thee always" ( Jerus. 17:8).

Equally notable are his teachings concerning social duty. Men are not to be judged by outward appearances. Look not at the face, but at what it contains; there is many a new face that contains old wine, many an old face which is filled with new wine. 

Nor are men to be judged by the honey of their words. If we have two friends, one of whom adorns us and the other flatters, we should love the former, for he is leading us heavenward ( Aboth 3:29). He expresses sincerity even in the small things of social intercourse; he warns us against inviting a friend to dinner when we know that he will not accept the invitation, and when we know that we have presented him a present which we believe he will not take ( Bərəshith Ḳālān, 94a; Tōs. Bəbāṭhā Ḳālān, vi. 14). It is a man's duty to adapt himself to the ideas and customs of the community in which he lives; in Rome he should do as Rome does. The same is the case with the sage point, when they came down to earth and appeared to Abraham, ate like mortals; when Moses went up to heaven, he neither ate nor drank ( Meir, Rab. to Gn 18'). 

Many of the maxims which are pictured in the sage point, just as in the case of the sage himself, when he turned many away from injustice, Meir thus characterized the great high priest:

"If Aaron chanced to meet a bad man, he was careful to salute him; as that, when the latter next time mediated an evil deed, he said to himself: 'Woe is me! how shall I then look Aaron in the face?" It is like manner, if two men quarrelled, Aaron would go to one of them and say: 'See, my son, what thy friend is doing: he is beating his breast, rending his clothes, and crying: 'Woe is me! how can I look my friend in the face, seeing that I have sinned against him?" Then he would go and say the same to the other; so that at length they embraced and were reconciled ( Abqoth Ḹ. R. Naṭnāh, 12).

Meir has left many maxims on the self-regarding duties also. He exhorts us to contentment with our lot, to what he asks, and he answers, 'He that hath peace of mind with his riches' (Shab. 25b). "He that feels shame," he says elsewhere, "will not quickly be led into sin" (Pilp. 55a).

The sin of Samuel's sons (1 S 8'-9'), he declared, lay in their demanding what was due to them (Shab. 56a). The Law ( Ex 22') ordains that the man who steals an ox must make fivefold restitution; but, if he steals a sheep, the restitution is only fourfold. The difference is to be explained by the fact that, unlike sheep, the ox is a toiling animal. 'Here,' cries Meir, 'is a proof of the worth of labour in the sight of God!' ( H. J. 2).

In the days of the Tannaim, and with the early Christians (see E. Gibbon, Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, London, 1901-06, ii. 17), he composed the Tannaitic. The one is 'the seat of the scorching' ( Ps 19), the other a place of execution (a reference to the cruelties of the gladiatorial contests) ( Abqoth Ḹ. R. Naṭnāh, 57; Abqoth Ḹ. R. Naṭnāh, 3:38). He emphasizes the futility of human ambitions by an apotropaic: man, he says, is born with hands clenched as though he would grasp the whole world; he dies with his hands wide open, for he takes nothing with him (Midr. Rab. to Ec 5:4). 

Unbending to the ignorant ('am ha-areẓ [q.v.]) and the schismatics among his own people, Meir shows himself tolerant and liberal toward men of alien creed.

The Gentile who gives himself to the study of the Law is as worthy as the Jewish High Priest; for Holy Writ (Lv 19:27), speaking of God's holy city, says that if a man should bring a gift to live by—the man, not a priest or a Levite (Bēbāṭhā Qammat, 30a; Sanh. 50a).

He had many conversations with Gentiles, chiefly polemical.

One of these opponents designates Israel a people contemned of God, driven by the Master from His house, and put in subjection to other nations (Abqoth Ḹ. R. Naṭnāh, 9). He argues the controversy, 'Has not God made you exiles in my midst; why, then, do you not assimilate with us?' Meir protests against the theory. 'Rather,' he affirms, 'are we to be likened to a son whom his father has disdained because of his evil life, but whom the paternal heart is ready to take back, if he return penitent?' (A. Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrash, Leipzig, 1892-78, i. 21). 'It' also to another disputant, 'Your God loves the poor, why does He not sustain them? 'In order, 'Meir replies, 'to give an opportunity of proving themselves by the practice of loving-kindness' (Bēbāṭhā Qammat, 106).

Like Aqiba, his master, Meir is pictured by the Talmud ( Qiddushin, 31a) as undergoing the temptation of Sota. Anthony, so runs the legend, appears to the sage in the form of a beautiful young woman, who would entice him with her wiles. But he escapes them. The legend puts in concrete shape the traditions concerning the Rabbi's unyielding rectitude, which gathered around him in the present. Another story tells of a journey which he once made to Rome in order to rescue from a house of ill-fame his wife's sister, who had been taken captive after her father's martyrdom. It is said that his mission was successful ( Abqoth Ḹ. R. Naṭnāh, 180).

Born, it is believed, in Asia Minor, Meir died in that country. He enjoined his disciples to bury him on the seashore, so that the waters which laved the land of his fathers might wash his bones (Jerus. Kilayyim, 32c). 'He had no equal in his generation is one Talmudic appreciation of him ( Ezḥaḥ 159); and, in a public eulogy pronounced on him at Sepharyah, Rabbi Jathne declared him to be 'a great man and a saint, but humble withal' (Jerus. B'r. ii. 7).

Of all the Tannaim, Meir's name is most widely known among the people. In the house of every pious Jew there is a money-box hung on the wall, in which the inmates deposit their sums for the poor of Palestine. This box bears the inscription 'Meir, Baal ha-Nes' ('Meir, the wonder-worker'), an allusion to the miraculous support extended to him in Talmudic and popular lore (see J.E. viii. 453).


MORRIS JOSEPH.

MELANCHOLY.—In Greek physiology the bodily constitution of an individual, his appearance, his liability to disease, and also his mental character were explained by the proportions in which the four humours were distributed in his framework. These were blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, the predominance or excess of which gave respectively the sanguine, the choleric, the melancholic, and the phlegmatic temperament. Melancholy ( Ḹ. 'mē'lu-rov) was thus the mental disposition of the melancholic temperament.

The terms passed into literary and popular use, although the doctrine of the four humours, on which the division was based, was forgotten or discarded. The names seemed, in fact, to correspond to certain broad differences, bodily and mental, among men, and writers on insanity are still careful, in their description of cases, to indicate the temperaments of which they are composed. These divisions are now made to depend either upon the blood or upon the nervous system, or both. If the blood is decisive, the difference may be sought either in its substance—the number of red cor-
pulses, etc.—or in its circulation; if the nervous system, in the strength or rate of reaction, or both. Henle made use of the conception of nerve-tone, which has since been retained and developed (An anthropologische Vortrage). No part of the nervous system, he showed, is ever wholly at rest during life; every stimulus finds a certain degree of excitation already present in the nerve-endings and nerve-fibres on which it acts; what we call rest, is the relative absence of activity, which may rise or fall, and which is maintained by internal stimuli, acting through the blood. This is the 'tonus' of the nerves, their preparedness for action; the higher the tonus, the stronger the reaction. On the nerve-tone will, therefore, depend the sensitiveness of the individual, his prevailing emotional attitude, and his quickness and firmness of response. A low tone shows itself in the dull, heavy, expressiveness of the face; in the relaxed muscles, the deliberate movements, the tendency to 'run to fat'; a high tone in the vivid complexion, alert expression, and quick more or, of cases, sensuality, affectation, and melancholy. The melancholy, according to Henle, has also a high nerve-tone, but reacts through the emotional or affective system, rather than the voluntary; whereas the melancholy relieves feeling by prompt and strenuous action, the melancholy is denied this advantage; his melancholy is the brooding upon and nourishing of emotions, a halit from which genius, or, it may be said, brooding and hysterical spring. Wundt's simple formula has been widely accepted: that temperament is primarily a question of emotion, that emotion undergoes two forms of change, one in intensity, or strength, the other in rate; hence the fourfold division: strong and quick—choleric; strong and slow—melancholic; weak and quick—sanguine; weak and slow—phlegmatic. Strong emotions under modern conditions mean a predominance of pain; slowness of change means that the mind takes time to follow out its own thoughts, is not wholly absorbed by the present but looks to the evil ahead. These tendencies characterize the melancholy (Grundzüge der psychologic, iii. 637). The scheme is too simple to fit the complexities and subtleties of human character, however, and there is no general agreement, even to the tonus of certain temperaments, as many as nine having been suggested.

1. Melancholy and pain. Melancholy differs from the other dispositions in being a well-recognized temporary emotion or mood, as well as a prolonged or permanent state of mind. It is an inexplicable form of the most prominent symptom of a definite form of insanity—melancholia or mental depression. It has formed the theme of one of the most wonderful books in our language—The Anatomy of Melancholy, by Robert Burton, first published in 1621.

The melancholy with which he dealt, and of which the "causes, symptoms, prognosis, and cure" are set forth with much felicity of illustration, is "an habit, a chronic or continue disease, a settled humour," but it is built up, as he recognizes, out of "melancholy in the dispositions," which is that temporary Melancholy which comes and goes upon the slightest occasion of trouble, grief, fear, or pain, be these natural or artificial, reason, joy, delight, causing forwardness in us, or a dislike. In which equivocal and improper sense, we call him melancholy that is dull, and, sour, lumpish, ill-disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased. "...Melancholy in this sense is the character of Mortality." (p. 184 (ed. London, 1839).

It might be said that this temporary melancholy is merely mental pain, however caused, and that the permanent disposition or habit is a state of mental pain. The expression of melancholy is that of pain, the pale face, the drawn look, lips and eyebrows turned slightly downwards at the corners: the respiration slow and sighing; the pulse beat slow, the temperature lowered, the nutrition-processes, including the appetite, impaired, so that the body seems insufficiently fed. One of the immediate consequences is also a loss of sensitiveness to outer impressions: they lose in clearness and distinctness; the judgment follows suit, and the whole mental character is, even though only for the moment, changed for the worse. In particular, egoism develops: 'the patient is only of himself any more; alterio passions, family affection yield to an egoism of the most exacting and extreme type.' (H. Beaunis, Les Sentiments ternes, Paris, 1900, p. 196 f.)

Mental pain may be less acute, but it is more persistent than physical pain, and it has the same reverberation throughout the organism. The distinction between the two is probably artificial; mental pain accompanies all physical pain, while in its turn physical pain—discomfort, loss of nervous tone—is a constant accompaniment of mental pain. The commonest cause of the former is physical pain, the over-excitation or exhaustion of some sensory or motor nerve; so the most common cause of the latter, mental pain, is the over-strain or exhaustion of the brain centres and tracts concerned in ideation, emotion, memory, and love and over-study were two of Burton's causes of melancholy. So melancholy may be regarded as a pain of fatigue, as due to excessive functioning on the emotional or affective side, especially when the strain has not been rewarded with success.

The extraordinary persistence of melancholy, the difficulty of distracting the mind, the great effort of the soul's will, the necessity of a strong will, are, in the first instance, merely to the fact that its causes—the desire, the memories—are persistent, but also to the 'sentiment of the irreparable, which is as the root of almost all mental pain, the idea that all is lost and without hope. The mother who knows that she will never see again her child that has died, the prisoner who sees that he will never be able to realise the ideal of his dreams, the invalid who has lost his health, the poet who sees that he will never be able to write the poem whose verses, that he believes to be inspired, are laughed at, the thinker who seeks for truth and finds only doubt, the Christian who sees the founding of his belief and of his faith, all have this sentiment of the irreparable, of the lost beyond return, which leaves behind only nothingness and despair' (ib. p. 324).

2. Melancholy and the sense of values. Melancholy is the mood of an imaginative mind; it is true that an animal is sometimes described as 'melancholy'; a dog that has lost his master, a wild animal in captivity in a narrow space, a bird deprived of her mate: death, even self-inflicted death, is known to have followed such misfortunes. So a child may be 'melancholy' after the loss of a mother or a playmate. But in the strict sense melancholy is an adult and a human inordinacy. Probably the time of its greatest frequency is the period of adolescence; an external and transient cause intends to disappear, to be replaced in sensibility, occasionally, by a state outwardly similar, but inwardly different. Byron's lameness and Heine's and Leopardi's delicate constitutions have suggested that physical disease may be the predisposing cause to melancholy; but, as Metchnikoff, points out, Schopenhauer preserved his melancholy and pessimism to a vigorous old age, while there are innumerable cases of patients suffering from serious and even deadly diseases, yet retaining their native lightness of heart. If anything, melancholy is more common among the young, healthy, and vigorous. It does not react against the health at all, but upon the sense or 'sentiment' of life. The typical case is Goethe, who in his own youth passed through the torment which he describes in The Sorrows ofWerther, and had thoughts of suicide, but in his old age is described as casting off the sickly and morbid side of his character, replacing it by a serene and even joyous love of life (H. Spemann, August Hake, p. viii). The intensity of feeling is greater in the young than in the old, both for pleasure and for pain; hence they are more impressionable; but this is not due to the greater vitality or sensitive-
ness of his nervous system, but rather to the fact that the older man is better able, through his experience, to interpret the impressions, to see them in their true perspective, and in relation to life as a whole, with the result that the impression, when taken in isolation, is weighed only in its relation to the immediate needs or desires of the self. Hence the vivid colouring of their life, the higher intellectual and the deeper emotional life. In exactly the same way melancholy is more frequent in men than in women, in the northern races than in the southern races of Europe. A northern race, perhaps because its civilization is a more recent growth, is more conscious of itself, and less conscious of the wider group in which the loss of one individual is compensated by the gain of another. It was mainly from Russia, Germany, and Scandinavia that the melancholy school of writers of last century—the Fin de Siècle—came. Suicide are said to increase in number northwards, and one of the most common causes of suicide is melancholy (see Burton’s disquisition on suicide [1, 493], and Metchnikoff, p. 306). At the back of all melancholy is fear—fear of pain in the first instance, then fear of loss, of failure, of death, of society’s judgment upon oneself. The deeper one values, or, rather, the greater the appreciation of a good, the greater the pain at its loss, and the greater the pain at the prospect of its loss. Hence melancholy is, paradoxically, more common in the idealist than in the materialist. Paul Bourget, in writing of Bandelaira, finds the key to the profound melancholy of this rather repulsive figure in the mysticism and idealism of his early faith. When such a faith, the faith in the eternal, has been strongly held, its object deeply adored, the loss of faith in it, and of love, is irreparable. The individual may no longer have the intellectual need to believe, but he still has the need to feel as when he believed. The desires remain, strengthened by habit, and in the sensitive soul their influence is irresistible; yet their satisfaction is impossible. Melancholy then is the effect of failure of adaptation to an environment, in which the faith and belief. The stronger the resistance of facts to the realization of the thinker’s dream, the deeper his melancholy. To the mystic soul faith is not the mere acceptance of a formula or of a dogma; God is not for it a word, a symbol, an abstraction, but a real being in whose company the soul walks as a child in its father’s, who loves it, knows it, understands it.

The illusio so strong and so sweet has gone, says Bourget, no substitute of less intensity will suffice; after the intoxication of opium, that of wine seems mean and paltry. Distance away from the touch of the world, the leaves in such a state of tension as their leaves are in some soul as a gap through which all pleasure slips away. The more the sufferer tries to escape, the more securely is he held, until at last there remains as his only satisfaction the redeemable but consoling figure of that which frees from all slavery, and delivers from all death. (Paul Bourget, Essai de psychologie contemporaine, Paris, 1892, p. 21.)

Still deeper is the melancholy of unsatisfied desire, when the failure of satisfaction lies, not in the resistance of external circumstance, but in the inability of the subject to enjoy, an inability which is itself a mark of exhaustion; it is the soul that has lived most, felt most strongly, indulged its passions to the full, till its power to feel is almost destroyed, that finds life most unbearable.

* Le malheur du désir qui nous fait souffrir entre la brutalité mécanique des circonstances et les illusions plus contrôlables encore de notre sensibilité* (Cf. p. 142).

It is the melancholy of nature after the storm, of the closing pines, the sunset, of the brown tints of autumn trees—exhaustion or decay after stress and life.

Less tragic is the melancholy that is associated with pensiveness, deliberation, thought, as in Milton’s Il Penseroso, the melancholy of the poet and of the philosopher. Beausire connects this also with pain, however. When man reflects, he is forced to recognize, according to Beausire, that he is born to pain, and that pleasure is only an accessory in life.

*There is no physical pleasure which can compensate for an hour of angior passion, no mental enjoyment which does not disappear before the pain caused by the death of one we love, no intellectual pleasure which is not nullified when we think of how much is included in a mere state of personal pessimism, is it at the root of every reasoning, of every meditation* (p. 225).

Happily, he adds, most men do not reflect or meditate upon the fate either of themselves or of others; their interest faces outwards, not inwards; they have no time to worry over problems that great minds have to solve, to the work which he can think, or attend to what he hears or reads.

*It appears to us that the true explanation is due to mental operations being restricted to a level so feeble a venturesome effort in lieu of the usual unconscious operations, or lapsed states of consciousness which accompany all intellectual processes. The restless movements of the intellectual eye (in the artist, poet, etc.), as well as those of the state of musical excitement, bespeak a more than the usual muscular element of thought, and in the latter a highly reflex excitability of the melancholy these muscles of relational life are fixed, half heavy, sluggish in its movements and painful in effect, the eyelids are drooped, the limbs motionless. The only muscles in a state of tension are those which preserve emotional life, viz. the small muscles of expression* (Pluquet and Amerat Distant, loc. cit.). Failure in the muscular element of thought has as its results on the subject side, entangled ideation and the sense of objective resistance* (ib. p. 125).

The eye sees clearly, the mind interprets less accurately; the will acts less vigorously, and less effectually; it may be that the motor ideas, which are the cues, if not the excitants, of action, cannot be formed or recalled accurately in the mind; hence apathy and inaction. The environment, the non-ego, appears as antagonistic or foreign to the self; it is no longer the world in which we move freely and act pleasantly, but one which is new and strange, which resists our efforts and counters our desires. The result is a rise in the subject-consciousness; the mind is the observer of our own self, that broods upon his sufferings, which become his wrongs, and, in interpreting or explaining them, suspicion of others is the simplest and therefore the most frequent way out.

According to Pierre Janet’s interpretation, melancholy represents a stage on the way to misère psychologique, or psychic misery, with its accompanying disgregation of the personality, and subjugation of the conscious by the subconscious or unconscious self. There are innumerable degrees of attachment and detachment of acts and ideas to the self. In thought-reading and in table-turning we have similar instances of interference that correspond to ideas or thoughts in the mind of the subject, yet the acts are neither voluntary nor conscious on his part; he is aware of nothing, or at least acts against his best interests. In spiritualism—the possession of the medium by the supposed spirit of the dead, who gives through the medium information which the latter, in his normal state, is wholly unaware of—enjoying—we have a more systematized form of the same thing.
Finally, in hypomania, in hysteria, morbid impulses, fixed ideas, and obsessions, there are vivid examples of how thoughts, or, rather, systems of thought, though formed by the individual, may yet be the diametrical opposites of his own mind, entirely foreign to him; he is their slave, they take possession of him, he is carried away by them. Passions, of the source of which the patient is wholly unaware, dating back perhaps to a forgotten childhood, may yet present the need for which he cannot recognize his responsibility, which he may indeed forget immediately afterwards and, therefore, wholly fail to connect with his real self. He is aware even that he has a physical, a psychic, an emotional agent; any proof of this that can be brought forward must have a shattering effect upon the self-consciousness; the patient feels that he no longer has a grip of himself, that he may do some incredible act of violence, cruelty, immortality, or crime. He becomes estranged from himself—and this doubleness is itself an added source of depression; it is the same in effect whether the two personalities succeed each other in time, as alternating personae, or exist simultaneously, although acting separately; the disgregation means an impairment of the self often revealed by an actual loss of intellectual point of view, and a retardation of will and attention. The subject becomes morbidly envious of his own feelings, his strength of will, his health, his prospects in life, etc. This subjectivity is the vice-regency of melancholy disposition. It remains to ask what is the cause of the disgregation of consciousness, the psychological misery, of which melancholy is so prominent a symptom. According to Janet, the cause may be either physical or mental; physical, as the exhaustion of a prolonged illness, or of a sudden shock, or continued over-exertion, or in heavy physical strain, or as that of excessive grief, prolonged mental worry, or strange emotional excitement (e.g., religions). The great vital crises, at puberty, adolescence, and the change of life, with the feeling of strangeness which the loss of old and the gain of new sensations and impulses bring, are common causes of at least a temporary disgregation and depression. The theory is not widely different in effect from that of Bryan Lewis; in both it is the co-ordinating power that fails, through nervous exhaustion; the elementary impressions and impulses fall apart, as it were, into their primitive independence; the subject is himself bathed in the objective environment, is unable to face the tasks of his social or occupational life. According to the degree of disgregation or rise of subject-consciousness, there may be simple melancholy, hysteria, or actual insanity (P. Janet, L'Autoalimentation psychologique, pt. II, chs. iii. and iv.).

4. Melancholy and personality. The sense of mystery, of strangeness, of possession, that occurs in melancholy deserves to be considered in detail. In melancholy, as has been shown above (§ 3), the sensations are less clear, their threshold is higher, the perceptions based upon them are blurred, partly dulled, partly the relays of attention, partly from the absorption of the mind by the pain, real or imaginary. The individual never sees nor hears so clearly as before; the commonest objects become strange to his new outlook; the familiar voices sound different; but these things are interpreted not as a change in the experiencing subject, but as a change in the objects experienced. One's friends, one's friends' one's world changes; strange, and the subject is unable to face the great activity required to adapt himself to the new sphere. Still greater is the loss of clearness in the memories. The most vivid experiences, when they can no longer be clearly and definitely recalled, tend to lose the warmth and intimacy which memories of 'my own experiences' should possess, as compared with those of others of which I have merely heard or read. Thus in mental exhaustion and depression the memory of occurrence becomes a foreign tone; they seem to belong to another than myself. It is true that this state lends itself to analysis, and that the habit of analysis, once formed, may continue when normal life has returned.

Amel is also a reversion to the past, to what, when it is turned upon the self, is punished like the curiosity of Psyche, by the flight of her beloved object; the outward-looking look makes for health; too prolonged a looking back brings to nothingness. By analysis I am annihilated. And again, 'All personal history is a stupid, and all special experiences are for me pretexts to meditation. Such is the life of the thinker. He depersonalizes himself every day; if he consents to experiment and to test, it is the better to understand; if he wills, it is to know what will be. Although it is sweet to him to loved, and he knows nothing sweeter, there again he seems to himself to be the occasion of the phenomenon rather than its end. He contemplates the spectacle of love, and love remains for him but a spectacle. He is nothing but a thinking subject, he retains nothing but the form of things' (see L. Dugas and F. Moutier, La Dés-organisation, Paris, 1911, p. 185 ff.).

This is an exact description of the frame of mind in the milder forms of melancholy, as that of the poet or artist, like Byron, Edgar Allan Poe, Heine, the young Goethe, etc. Shakespeare's Hamlet is a classical instance of extreme melancholy; the play-actors, real agents, or lovers, but mere play-actors so far as emotion is concerned. Probably, however, their descriptions are the more accurate in that they are not blinded by passion, as is the cheerful ordinary mortal.

A somewhat different way of putting the case of melancholy might be drawn from the writings of S. Freud and the school of Vienna. Here it is believed that depression springs from the influence of a morbid complex on the personality. The complex may be any strong emotional experience, shock, terror, social embarrassment, or less closely connected with the shock-complex, are repressed, at first consciously, while suggestive ideas and associations, which arise from the same root, are expelled from the mind when they enter it. But a train of thought, when expelled, and a wish, when repressed, do not on that account cease to exist. They continue to live in the subconscious or in the unconscious, and may, so long as they are incomplete or unrealized, influence the conscious life indirectly. They may do this in two ways: (a) the complex draws off to itself, for its repression, a considerable degree of the available psychic energy, and a part of the environment, is weakened. As we have seen above, the greater effort required for the simplest, most habitual acts is felt as strain, as exhaustion, as pain; the self, with its distresses and difficulties, becomes more and more the centre of attention. (b) But, further, the complex, though itself driven below the level of consciousness, and shut off from direct connexion by the 'sensor' of consciousness, is still enabled during moments of relaxation, half-sleep, reverie, distracted attention, etc., to send disguised messengers through. These take the form of dreams, phobias or terrors, obsessions, sudden impulses, etc. For the most part these are merely devices which are protective; they are a means of realizing, in however imperfect a way, the wish inspired by the complex; but the subject himself may be wholly unaware of this important life of the thing. They seem like an invasion of his personality by a foreign one. Painful experiences and memories have a far greater tenacity of life than pleasant; they have a much higher degree of 'permanence,' as it has been called, i.e. the tendency to force their way into consciousness, of their own accord, and without any apparent stimulus or associative link. And, again, even the slightest of associations is enough to drag up the painful complex or its substitutes. In the
other hand, such memories are not "social"; they do not bring up old things in their train; especially they lack 'determination' value, the tendency to direct the mind systematically from one thought to a train of others; they tend to clog thought. The element of consciousness of inefficiency in his profession or in his social life; and the consciousness of failure has the usual consequence of making the actual failure all the greater.

5. Melancholy and pessimism.—Melancholy and pessimism are two sides of the same state of mind, the one expressing the subjective attitude and disposition, the other the theoretical interpretation. Happiness becomes a dream which is never realized, and which it seems hopeless to pursue. Subjectively, indifference, apathy, want of feeling; objectively, death, seem the only desirable things. The ideas, imaginations, and suggestions that arise in the mind of the melancholic, according to a well-recognized law (see Stёрring, Mental Pathology, p. 222 ff.), tend to be of the same emotional tone as that of the disposition in which they are carried up, i.e. painful, depressing; the melancholic sees only the sad, the tragic, the bitter side of things, the pain that is suffered, the sins and crimes and follies that are committed, not the pleasures, the kindness, the love that is there. Melancholy, melancholy, whatever its source, has played a powerful part in religious movements. It is not only that religion and its history furnish the melancholy mind with a cohort of images of the most terrifying type, but also that the consciousness of the suffering self sends it to religion, to the idea of sin and its punishment, as the most obvious and nearest interpretation: and, finally, that religion offers the only adequate relief and hope of escape. Religious melancholy is the subject of one of Burton's most curious dissertations (pt. iii. sect. iv. "Melancholy"), and James, Varieties of Religious Experience, lects. vi. and vii. "The sick soul", gives a modern presentation. It is there shown how, as in Tolstoy's case, melancholy may be accompanied by a total change in the estimate of the value of things; things that seemed of the utmost value before now seem worthless; they excite no emotion or interest whatever; and a consequence of this is the world, and people, look different and are accused of all the strange and unreal. It is also shown that in a rational being the strangeness and change of feeling incite to a search for a reason, for an explanation, either directly in oneself or in the position of other beings upon oneself. Either of these ways may lead to religious conversion and reform.

6. Moroseness.—The pathologist Pinel, in his treatise on Mental Alienation, depicted melancholy as of two distinct types—the one filled with enthusiasm for art, for literature, for all that is great and noble, or, among ordinary people, merely pleasant, lively, and affectionate, yet apt to torment himself and his neighbours by bursts of anger and chimerical suspicions; the other is the type to which the Emperor Tiberius and Louis XVI. of France belonged—men who are gloomy and taciturn, and who display, in a face of solitude. Suspicion of others is the dominant mark, with cunning and duplicity of the most dishonourable and cruel kind, which, if power is added, becomes heretofore and less restrained as age increases (P. Pinel, L'Aliénation mentale, Paris, 1809, p. 161). This represents with some accuracy the morose type of melancholy. Moroseness springs from the disposition to regard others as having secret designs upon one's property, or plans, or possessions, or person; and, in consequence, it involves extreme self-centring and misanthropy. Melancholy is a disease of the imaginative, moroseness of the unimaginative mind—the man who does not aspire beyond that which he has already failed to obtain, and is, for a range of ideals, unable to appreciate the values that others place upon things, especially the ideal values. Probably the pivot of the morose character is, like that of melancholy, and more conscious of failure in his profession or in his social life; and the consciousness of failure has the usual consequence of making the actual failure all the greater.


J. L. MINTCREE

MELANESIANS.—I. Extent and limits of the subject.—The region of the South Pacific, which is called Melanesia, is well defined, except on the western side. The boundary on the east lies between Fiji, which is Melanesian, and Samoa, which is Polynesian. To the south the Melanesian island of New Caledonia is separated by a considerable space of ocean from New Zealand, which, in Polynesia, as are the small islands of Micronesia on the north from the Melanesian Solomon group, but to the west the islands of Melanesia overlap New Guinea. These islands are Melanesian, at any rate in language; but, though Melanesians have been called Papuans, there can be no doubt that Papua, or New Guinea, cannot be placed as a whole in Melanesia. Five distinct groups of islands are without question Melanesian: (1) the Solomon Islands, with the groups which connect them with New Guinea; (2) the Santa Cruz group; (3) the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides; (4) New Caledonia, with the Loyalty Islands; and (5) Fiji.

The first discovery in Melanesia was that of the Solomon Islands by Spaniards, under Mendana, in 1567. In 1606 the same voyager discovered Santa Cruz; and in 1606 Quirós and Torres discovered the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands. The Dutch discovered Fiji in 1643. French voyagers in the latter part of the 18th cent., and finally Captain Cook in his second great voyage, completed the general survey of all the groups. In the records of these passing visits it is vain to seek for information concerning the religion of the natives. The discoverers saw what they believed to be temples, idols, worship and invocations of devils; they interpreted what they saw, as succeeding voyagers have done, according to their own conceptions of savage beliefs. The truth is that until the middle of the 19th cent., began to live in closer intercourse with the native people and to learn their languages that any certain knowledge...
of Melanesian religion could be gained. The following account represents in the main the knowledge which has been gained by the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. The religion of the Fijians is considered in another article (see FijI). The account here given has been drawn from the Solomon Islands, the Southern Cross group, the Banks' Islands, and the Northern New Hebrides. It has been gathered from natives of those groups in native language, and much of it has been given to me, while the natives have written in a native language. Very little, however, has come from the Western Solomon Islands or the Southern New Hebrides; but there is every reason to believe that religious beliefs and practices in these islands do not differ considerably from those of the central parts of Melanesia.

2. Basis of Melanesian religion.—From whatsoever source they may have derived it, the Melanesians generally have held the belief that their life and actions were carried on in the presence and under the influence of a power superior to that of living man. This power, they thought, was all about them, attached to outward objects, such as stones, and exercised by persons, i.e., either by men, alive or dead, or by spirits who never were men. This ‘sense of the Infinite,’ as Max Müller ('Burmese Originals of Religion,' [HL], London, 1878, lect. i.) calls it, was the foundation of the religious beliefs of the Melanesians; the general object of their religious practices was to obtain the advantage of this power for themselves. This power is impersonal, and not physical in itself, although it is always put in motion by a person; and all remarkable effects in nature were thought to be produced by it. It is fixed in place, but can abide and be conveyed in almost anything. All spirits, beings superior to men, have it; ghosts of dead men generally have it, and so do some living men. The most common name for it is mana (q.v.). The methods by which living men use and direct this power may well be called magical; the controlling force lies generally in words contained in charms or incantations. If worship is addressed to beings who are not living men, and if the use of their power is sought from them to do good or to do harm, it is because such beings have the form or the power. In this way they are efficacious because they derive it from the beings which have mana; a common object, such as a stone, becomes efficacious for certain purposes because such a being is said to possess mana. In this way the influence of the unseen power pervades all life. All success and all advantage proceed from the favourable exercise of this mana; whatever evil happens has been caused by the direction of this power to harmful ends, whether by spirits, or ghosts, or men. In no case, however, does this power operate, except under the direction and control of a person—a living man, a ghost, or a spirit.

3. Objects of worship.—The objects of religious worship, therefore, were always persons to whom prayer or sacrifice was offered, or in whose names charms were recited, with the view of gaining such objects as favour, or temporal, or spiritual, or worldly, or religious ends. All personal objects of worship are either spirits or ghosts. By spirits are meant personal beings in the form of spirits, the spiritual power already mentioned naturally abides, and who never were men; by ghosts are meant the disembodied spirits or souls of dead men. To keep these distinct is essential to the understanding of Melanesian religion. Natives themselves are found to use loosely the term mana, while Europeans are usually content to call all alike deities, gods, or devils. (1) Spirits.—A native of the Banks' Islands, where spirits are called witi, wrote the following definition:—

What is a witi? It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are out of sight without seeing; is powerful with some objects, but has no form to be seen, because it is itself like a soul!' (see Codrington, Melanesians, p. 123.)

The witi of the Northern New Hebrides is of the same nature. Yet such spirits are seen, in a shadowy, unsubstantial form; and there are many spirits called by the same name to whom the definition does not accurately apply, while the stories concerning them treat them as if they were men with supernatural and quasi-magical powers. Still the natives steadily maintain that these are not, and never were, men. In the Solomon Islands beings were believed to exist who were personal, yet who had never been men, and who lacked the bodily nature of men, but they were very few and enjoyed little religious consideration. The term which is applied to such beings is also applied to some who had undoubtedly existed at some time as men. The question arises whether those beings, concerning whom stories were told and believed in the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides which showed them to be like men of more than human power and intelligence, should not be called gods. Such were Qat in the Banks' Islands, Tagaro, Supeq, in the New Hebrides, and Lata in Santa Cruz. To such as these it would certainly not be improper to apply the word 'god.' But the native word by which they are known, such as witi, is applicable also to other beings for whom 'god' is too great a name, this category including elves, fairies, nameless beings of limited influence whose nature is still spiritual, so to speak, not corporeal. To describe all those who can abide and be conveyed in almost anything, spirits, beings superior to men, have it; ghosts of dead men generally have it, and so do some living men. The most common name for it is mana (q.v.). The methods by which living men use and direct this power may well be called magical; the controlling force lies generally in words contained in charms or incantations. If worship is addressed to beings who are not living men, and if the use of their power is sought from them to do good or to do harm, it is because such beings have the form or the power. In this way they are efficacious because they derive it from the beings which have mana; a common object, such as a stone, becomes efficacious for certain purposes because such a being is said to possess mana. In this way the influence of the unseen power pervades all life. All success and all advantage proceed from the favourable exercise of this mana; whatever evil happens has been caused by the direction of this power to harmful ends, whether by spirits, or ghosts, or men. In no case, however, does this power operate, except under the direction and control of a person—a living man, a ghost, or a spirit. (2) Ghosts.—It makes the matter clear if this term be used when the beings spoken of are simply men who are dead in the body while that part of them that is not bodily retains activity and intelligence. In the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides the word used is merely 'dead man,' such as tindalo or natmas. In the Solomon Islands a very common word in various forms is tindalo. The question again occurs whether these beings are not rather to be called gods. There are certainly some to whom prayers and sacrifices are offered, whose place and time in human life are forgotten or unknown, and whose existence as persons possessed of powers far superior to those of living men is alone present to the belief of the existing generation. Such may not unreasonably be called gods. But, whereas in the Eastern groups such beings are plainly called 'dead men,' it seems more correct, and serves better for clearness, to use an English word which shows them once to have been living men, and separates them from any such beings as are believed to be born in any other kind. The word 'god' cannot be a translation of 'dead man.' Where, as in the Solomon Islands, a distinct name, such as tindalo, is in use, this objection to the use of the word 'god' does not apply. Yet the natives emphatically declare that every tindalo was once a man, that the tindalo is the spirit (taruma) which once was the seat and source of life, intelligence, and power in a man who was turned into a spirit at death. All those who worship the tindalo regard themselves as possessed of that non-corporeal nature which alone remains in the dead, and is the seat of the dead.
man's superhuman power. They believe that some of the qualities of this power, derived by them from the dead. They believe that, when they are dead, they will also, it may be, receive a great access of this power. The difference which they recognize between themselves and the tindalo is that they are alive and important, and show no remarkable powers in their lifetime; alive they are nobodies, and such they remain when dead. But there are always some living men who show qualities which give them success and influence. Such success and influence are not ascribed by the natives to natural qualities, but to the possession of that spiritual power which they have obtained from the tindalo with whom they live in communication. When a great man dies, it is expected that he should prove to be a tindalo, a ghost worthy of worship, an effective helper, one whose relics will put the living in communication with him. Thus, after the death of Gaunilo, a chief, a famous fighting man of Florida, his name was invoked and a sign of his power sought from him. On proof of this power a shrine was built for him, and his bones were preserved in it, and sacrifices with invocation were offered to him there. Such a one might, indeed, appear to European visitors to be a god; but to the natives of the place, who now worshipped him, and among whom he had lived as one of themselves, it was his ghost, in the common English sense of the term, who was among them.

Again, the idea that may arise whether this is not too much of an ancestor. The ghost of a dead man, however, who was well known in the flesh, and who was often, no doubt, younger in years than some of his worshippers, is not an ancestor. The natural tendency is, as new objects of worship of this character arise, and as one great man after another dies, to neglect and desert the ghosts and their shrines of the past generation, while the newer wonders and powers attract faith and veneration to new ghosts and shrines. As the object of worship thus became more of an ancestor, he was less an object of worship in Melanesia, whose time and place of life the natives profess themselves to be ignorant, but whose names, such as Daula and Hauri in Florida, are known to all, and who are now universally believed to be very powerful tindalo, though in ancient times they lived in human form on the island. These may be called ancestors, and they are worshipped, but not as ancestors.

The personal beings towards whom the religion of the Melanesians turns, with the view of obtaining their mana for aid in the pursuits, dangers, and difficulties of life, are thus spirits and ghosts; and it is remarkable that the Melanesians are thus divided by their religious practices into two groups. In the Western group, as in the Solomon Islands, there is a belief in spirits who never lived men, but worship is directed to the ghosts of the dead; in the Eastern group, as in the Northern New Hebrides, the ghosts of the dead have indeed an important place, but worship is in the main addressed to spirits who have never been men. And in the arts of life and in the advance from savagery towards civilization, the Solomon Islander who worships ghosts certainly ranks before the New Hebrides man who worships spirits.

4. Prayers.—The Melanesian native, believing himself surrounded with unseen persons who can help him, naturally calls upon them in distress, just as he called upon his father as a child. Such appeals are met frequently in the termings of the various native words which would be translated 'prayer' in English. Prayers in the native sense are forms of words; and, strictly speaking, they are formulas which are known only to some, and which have in themselves a certain efficacy and even compelling force. It may be said that exclamatory appeals in case of danger at sea and in the extremity of sickness are prayers in a true sense, but, yet, native prayers are not strictly prayers, because they have public utterance and an elastic form. A man in danger by the sea may call on his father, grandfather, or some ancestor to still the storm, lighten the canoe, and bring it to the shore; when fishing he may beg for success, and when successful may thank his helper. But in such cases a formula, if one were known, would always be preferred, and that would be a prayer in the native sense of the word. Charms, muttered or sung under the breath for magical purposes and in the treatment of sickness, are easily distinguished; but it must be said that in Florida, an important centre of Christian teaching in the Solomon Islands, the word used for Christian prayer is taken from these charms. It is remarkable that in the Banks' Islands and in the Northern New Hebrides, the northwesterners have a more important place in native religion than ghosts, all prayer must be addressed to the ghost of a dead person. Indeed, every proper form begins with the word tataro, which is, no doubt, a word meaning 'ghost.' It is true that in danger at sea a man will call on dead friends to help him, but this is not a true prayer (tataro) because no formular is employed. It is also true that no one in danger call on spirits, either with or without a formula; but neither is a true tataro, since it is not addressed to ghosts. Many forms of words, moreover, which are true tataro prayers, are formulas for cursing as well as for petition. Such are used when a man throws a bit of his food aside before eating, and pours a libation before drinking kava, or when he pours water into an oven, since in them he asks for benefits to himself and mischief to his enemies. A tataro prayer is a spell; a call for help in danger is a cry.

5. Sacrifices.—There can be little doubt that sacrifices properly concern native religion. One simple form is probably universal. A fragment of food ready to be eaten, a bit of betel-nut, and a few drops of kava poured as a libation are offered at a common meal as the share of departed friends, who are often called by name, or as a memorial of them with which they will be gratified. This is accompanied with a prayer. With the same feeling of regard for the dead, food is laid on a grave or before a memorial image, and is then left to decay, or, as at Santa Cruz, is taken away and eaten by those who have made the offering. In a certain sense, no doubt, the dead are thought to eat the food. Yet the natives do not apply to these offerings the words which connote sacrifices in the strict sense of the term. In the Western Islands the offerings in sacrifices are made to ghosts and consumed by fire as an offering, but in the Eastern groups they are made to spirits, and there is no sacrificial fire or meal. In the former nothing is offered but food; in the latter native money has a conspicuous place.

1) In the Solomon Islands.—A sacrifice in San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, has been thus described in writing by a native of the place: 'In my country they think ghosts are many, very many indeed, some very powerful, some not. One is principal in war; this one is truly mighty and strong. When many people wish to eat together with any other people, the chief man of the village and the sacrificers, and the old men, and the men elderly and younger, assemble in the place sacred to this ghost;
and his name is Harumae. When they are thus assembled to sacrifice, the chief sacrificer goes and takes the pig... The pig is killed (strangled), not by the chief sacrificer, but by those who choose to assist him near the sacred place. Then they cut it up; they take great care of the blood lest it should fall upon the ground; they bring a bowl and set the pig in it, and while they are speaking, the blood runs up into this. When the cutting is finished, the chief sacrificer takes a bit of flesh from the pig and gives it to the offerings, and dips up some of the blood. Then he takes the blood and the bit of flesh and eats them, and calls that 'pig, says, 'Harumae! Chief in war! we sacrifice to you with this pig, that you may help us to unite that place; and whatsoever we shall carry away and shall have shall be for you.' Then he burns the bit of flesh in a fire upon a stone, and pours down the blood upon the fire. Then the fire takes up greatly to the roof, and the house is full of the smell of pig, a sign that the ghost has heard. But when the sacrificer went in he did not go boldly, but with awe; and this is the sign of it: as he goes into the holy house he puts away his bag, and washes his hands thoroughly, that he shall not reject him with disgust.' (Cordinong, p. 129.)

The pig thus sacrificed was eaten by the worshippers. When this account was written, the older people well remembered Harumae as a living chief.

In the neighbouring island of Malo, a native names the seven kinds of sacrifice. (1) A man returning from a voyage puts food before the chapel where rests the relics of his father. (2) In sickness, or where failure of a crop shows that some ghost has been offended, a pig is offered as a substitute for the man whom the offended ghost is said to strangle and burned whole on the stones of a sacred place, together with meal. The sacrificer calls aloud on the offended ghost and upon many others, and sets a bit of food which he has left unburned before the relic of his own person to whose benefit the pig was offered. (3) To 'clear the soul,' a pig or dog is killed and cooked; the sacrificer calls upon the ghost by name to clear away the mischief, and throws the sacred food into the fire in which the pig or dog is cooked. (4) This is performed in the house of the sick person who is to benefit by it. A pig or dog is cooked and cut up; the names of the dead members of the family to which the ghost is to be propitiated belonged are called out, with a petition to each on behalf of the sick man; the sacrificed animal is eaten by the males who are present. (5) (7) are sacrifices of fruit—yams, flying-fish, and canarium nuts—which are presented as food to the ghost concerned, with the invocation of his name, and set in a sacred place. In Florida and Ysabel, both belonging to the Solomon Islands, as here, the sacrifice is of the living character. There are those who know, having been taught by their fathers or mother's brothers, how to approach the powerful ghosts of the dead, some of whom were the objects of a more public and some of a more particular worship. Such a ghost of worship, called a tindalo, had his shrine in which his relics were preserved. The officiating sacrificer is said to 'throw the sacrifice.' A certain tindalo, whose worship and influence are not local, is called Manoga. A native writes:

"He who throws the sacrifice when he invokes this tindalo has the offering round about, and calls him, first to the east where rises the sun, saying, 'If thou dwellest in the East, where riseth the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy smash'd food.' Then turning he fits it towards where sets the sun, and says, 'If thou dwellest in the West, where setteth the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food, and this is the way towards which he does not lift it up. And when he has finished lifting it he says, 'If thou dwellest in heaven above, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food. If thou dwellest in the Pleades or in the Milky Way, or in the skies, or in the air, or in the heavens, if thou dwellest in the midst of the sacred place, if on high in the sun or in the moon, if thou art in the air of the shore, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food' " (Cordinong, p. 131.)

Whether, as in this case, the offering be vegetable food or whether it be a pig, a piece is consumed in the fire within the shrine, and the people who partake of the offerings, and some at least of the pigs which were killed. In this way the sacred character of the object, whatever it may be, is derived from one of two causes: it may lie in the nature and associations of the thing itself, or

Human sacrifices were occasionally made, and such were thought most effectual for the propitiation of an offended ghost. In this case the victim was not eaten by the assistants as when a pig was offered; but a piece of flesh was burned for the ghost's portion, and bits were eaten by young men to get lighting powers, and by the sacrificer who had made the offering.

In the island of Santa Cruz the flesh of pigs or vegetable food is placed before the stock of wood that represents the ghost, and some of the blood is thrown to sea. These are distinctly offered for the ghost to eat or use, but they are often taken up and disposed of by the offerers as common things. Such offerings resemble those of food laid on graves or at the foot of an image in the Solomon Islands, which would not there have the name of sacrifices; but the full sacrifices of the Solomon Islands, as has been shown, have the sacrificial characteristics of intercession, propitiation, substitution, and a common meal.

(2) In Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.—To offerings here, no doubt, the name of sacrifice is far less properly applied, and yet it is almost necessary to employ it. The offerings are made in almost all cases to spirits, or for the benefit of the ghosts of dead men. The offering is generally native money; nothing is killed or burned, nothing eaten; and the offering is laid upon a stone, cast into water, or scattered upon a snake or some other creature, the stone, the creature, or the sacred spot being chosen because of its connexion with the spirit who is to be conciliated or from whom benefits are sought. Access to the spirit is to be obtained through some common worshipper or suppliant cannot obtain this access by himself, and is consequently obliged to use the services of a go-between who knows the stone or whatever it may be and through it is able to know and to approach the spirit. The worshipper generally gives native money to the 'owner,' as he is called, of the sacred object, who then gives a little money to the spirit, and perhaps pours the juice of a young coco-nut on the stone, while he makes his request on behalf of his client. There is thus an intercession, a propitiation, an offering of what the suppliant values and the spirit has pleasure in receiving. So far it is a religious action of a sacrificial character, and is distinct from prayer. In the New Hebrides, besides similar sacrifices to spirits, offerings are made to the ghosts of powerful men lately deceased, either at their graves or in the places where they haunt. Men who know these and have access to them take mats, food, and pigs (living or cooked) to the sacred place, and leave, or profess to leave, them there. Nowhere in these islands is there an order of men who can be called priests. The knowledge of the spirits and of the objects through which access to them can be obtained is open to all, and is possessed by many. Most of those who possess it have received it secretly from their fathers or elder relatives, but many have found it by happy accident, or from the suppliant values and their connexion with the spirit by the success of their ministrations.

6. Sacred places and objects.—The sanctity which belongs to such stones, and the objects which have been mentioned in connection with sacrifice has, of course, a religious character. Native life in Melanesia is, for the most part, in continual contact with the prohibitions and restrictions which belong to objects of the kind. In this case the sacred character of the object, whatever it may be, is derived from one of two causes: it may lie in the nature and associations of the thing itself, or

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Cordinong, p. 129.

Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.
it may be conferred by men who have the mana, the spiritual power, to confer it. It may be said, generally speaking, that among these sacred objects there are no idols, in the strict sense of the term. It is true that certain stones are held in all quarters to represent the dead, being set up as memorials at funeral feasts, in burial-places, in canoes houses, and in places of general assembly. The stones are usually of such a size as to be too heavy for one man to lift, and other valuable things are occasionally laid before them; but the images are memorials of men deceased, likenesses to some extent, and representations; they are not worshipped, and are sacred only because of what they symbolize.

(1) Stones.—Sacred places almost always have stones in them. The presence of certain stones gives sanctity to the place in which they naturally lie; and when a place has further reasons become sacred, stones which have that character are brought and placed there. Here again recurs the important distinction between spirits and ghosts. The stones of the burial-place of a powerful man receive mana from him, or a man who had mana is buried near sacred stones, thus connecting the ghost and the stone. In other cases, the stone is believed to be a spirit, such as to forbid the touch of it. Many sacred stones then are sepulchral, and this is usually the case in the Solomon Islands. The sacrifices already described are offered upon stones. A stone is also frequently sacred in the Eastern Islands because of a spirit (mana) believed to be there. The group stones may be divided into those that naturally lie where they are reverence and those which have mana derived for various reasons from a spirit, and which are carried about and used for some purpose, and as amulets. The natives emphatically deny that the connexion between stones and spirits is like that which exists between the soul and body of man. Certain stones are kept in houses to protect them from thieves, and, if the shadow of a man falls on one of these, the ghost belonging to it is said to draw out his life and eat it. It has been supposed that the ghost which consumes the man's life must correspond in the stone to the soul in a living man; but the natives do not believe that the ghost dwells in the stone, but by it or, as they say, at it; they regard the stone as the instrument used by the spirit, which is held to lay hold on the man by the medium of his shadow.

(2) Trees, streams, and living creatures.—Trees are sacred because they grow in a sacred place, or because they have a sacred snake, e.g., a ghost haunts them. Some have a certain inherent awe attaching to their kind. The natives deny that they ever regarded a tree as having anything like a spirit of its own corresponding to the soul or animus of man. Streams, or rather pools, are sacred as the haunts of ghosts in the Western, and of spirits in the Eastern groups. The reflection of a man's face upon such water gives the ghost or spirit of a pool a certain power which the natives believe can be drawn out and its life destroyed. Among living creatures which are sacred, sharks have a conspicuous place. If one of remarkable size or colour haunts a shore or rock in the Solomon Islands, it is taken to be some one's ghost, and the name of the deceased is given to it. Before his death a man will give out that he will enter into a shark. In both cases it is well understood that the shark to which the ghost has betaken himself was, before it was thus occupied, a common shark; but, now that he is in it, the place where the man lived is visited by the fish, and the neighbours and relatives of the deceased respect and feed it. A spirit, known to some one who sacrifices for it, can, in like manner, be introduced in the Banks' Islands into a shark, which thus becomes familiar. In the Solomon Islands a crocodile may be a tainalo, since the ghost of a recent ancestor may possibly have entered it, or may be known to have entered it. Almost any living creature that haunts a house, garden, or village may resemble the ghost of a spirit, or be the residuum of a dead or sleeping man. Among birds the frigate-bird is conspicuous for its sacred character in the Solomon Islands; the ghosts of deceased men of importance and their abodes in them, and are, indeed, ancient and widely venerated tainalos dwelling in them. In all the groups there is something sacred about kingsharks. Snakes receive a certain veneration wherever they are found in a sacred place. The original female spirit, that never was a human being, believed in San Cristoval to have had the form of a snake, has given a sacred character to all snakes as her representatives. In the Banks' Islands, and still more in the New Hebrides, snakes with which certain vui associate themselves, and which therefore have much mana, are worshipped and receive offerings of money in sacred places. These snakes are believed to be able to appear in human form to tempt young man or woman.

Thus, the religion of the Melanesians altogether an animistic, religious practice and thought appear to be a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, tree, waterfall, storm, stone, bird, or fish, so as to be to it what the soul of a man, as they conceive it, is to his body; or, in other words, so as to be the spirit of the object. The natives certainly deny that they hold any such belief; but they believe that the spirit of a man deceased, or a spirit never a man at all, abides near and with the object, which in association receives supernatural power, and becomes the vehicle of such power for the purposes of those who know how to obtain it.

7. Magic and charms. The belief in magic and the use of magic and charms do not perhaps properly belong to religion; but among Melanesians it is hardly possible to omit this subject. The foundation of religion is the belief in the surrounding presence of a power greater than that of man; and in great part the practice of religion comes to be the method by which this power can be turned by men to their own purposes. The magic is known to the whole, a regular course of nature in the greater movements of things which affect their lives, but at every point they come in touch with what they take to be the exercise of men by the power which they derive from either ghosts or spirits. By means of this power, men who know the proper formula and rite can make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, cause sickness or remove it, know what is beyond the reach of common knowledge, bring good luck and prosperity, or blast and curse. No man has this power of himself, but derives it from a personal being, the ghost of a man deceased, or a spirit of a nature which he has contacted by certain forms of words muttered or chanted, which contain the names of the beings from whom the power is derived; this power becomes associated with the objects through which the power is to pass. These things are personal relics, such as hair or teeth, remains of food, herbs and leaves, bones of dead men, and stones of unusual shape. Through these objects wizards, war-shouters, prophets, diviners, and dreamers do their work. There is no distinct order of magicians or medicine-men, just as there is no separate order of priests; the knowledge of one or more branches of the craft is handed down from father to son, from
uncle to sister's son, or, it may be, is bought and sold. Many men may be said to make a profession of magic, and to get property and influence thereby. A man cannot, it may be said, be a chief without a belief that he possesses this supernatural power. There is no doubt that those who exercise these arts really believe that a power resides in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of doubt. A great part of this is sympathetic magic, and seems to the people to have reason in it. The failure of some charm or of some magician does not discredit charms or magic, since the failure shows itself in the destruction of another and stronger charm; and one doctor who has failed has been, secretly or openly, opposed by another who has on his side a more powerful ghost or spirit. Thus the people were at every turn in contact with the unseen world and its powers, and in this religion was certainly at work. It is not necessary to go into this subject in any detail. With regard to sickness, it is often said that savages do not believe that any one is naturally sick. That is not the case in Melanesia, in the case of such troubles as fever and ague; but any sickness which is supposed by ghosts or spirits; and the more important the patient is the more reasonable it seems to ascribe his sickness to some ghost or spirit whom he has offended, or to the witchcraft of some enemy. This is common to the sick in those groups where spirits have so great a place in the religious regard of the people. There it is the ghosts of the dead who inflict sickness, and can be in some cases appeased; for there is a certain malignity belonging to the dead, who dislike to see men well and living; a man who was powerful and malevolent when alive is more dangerous than ever, and causes all human sufferers who are not merely bodily are believed to be enhanced by death. So, whether to cause sickness or to remove it, the doctor by his charms brings in the power of the dead. A wizard is paid by a man's enemy to bring the malignant influence of the dead upon him; he or his friends pay another to bring the power of other dead men to counteract the first and to save the endangered life; the wisest of the wise uses more powerful— who has on his side the more or the stronger ghosts—will prevail, and the sick man will live or die accordingly. Two parties of such hostile ghosts are believed in Solomon Islands, where the natives are well acquainted with ghosts, to be partial in war and by spells. All success and prosperity in life, as well as health and strength, are held to depend on the spiritual power obtained by charms or resident in objects which are used with charms; the Melanesian in all his employments and enterprises depends upon unseen assistance, and a religious character is thus given to all his life.

3. Tabu.—This word, commonly tapu or tambu in the islands of Melanesia now under consideration, and established as an English term, was taken from the islands of Polynesia. In Melanesia the belief prevails, clearly marked by the use of distinct words, that an awful and, so to speak, religious character can be imposed on places, things, and actions by men who have the mana to do it. A place, e.g., in which a powerful man has been buried, where a ghost has been seen, which a spirit haunts, is holy and awful of itself, never to be lightly invaded or used for common purposes. But a man who has the mana power can take a taboo place as he chooses, and can forbid approach to it and common use of it. Behind the man who exercises this power is the ghost of the dead or the spirit whose power the man has. Tabu implies a curse. A chief will forbid something under a penalty. To all appearances it is as a chief that he forbids, and as of a chief that his prohibition is respected; but in fact the sanction comes from the ghost or spirit behind him. If a common man assumes the power to tabu, as he may and sometimes does, he runs a serious risk; but if, on the other hand, he forbids the gathering of certain fruit, and sets his mark upon it, and then, as often naturally happens, some one who has disregarded his prohibition and plucks a fruit falls ill or dies, this is at once a clear proof that the taboo is real, and any future prohibition made by him will be respected. Thus to a considerable degree, in the Banks' Islands at least, men of no great consequence, as well as the societies which are there so numerous, set marks of prohibition which meet with respect. Every such prohibition rests upon an unseen power; there is in it no moral sanction, but there is the consciousness of the presence of the unseen which certainly works much for morality. What is wrong in itself is by no means always tabu; but what is taboo is very often what the natives recognize as wrong in itself. For it must not be supposed that Melanesians know no moral distinction of right and wrong. Disobedience to parents, murder, and theft, are all taboo; but doubt common, but there is a general feeling, both strong and marked, that it is right to respect and love parents, and wrong to be unkind. Neighbours will only forbear to injure other people who respect them, and very plainly express their blame. Those who lie freely upon occasion respect truthfulness, and say that it is bad to tell lies.

9. Totemism.—If totems, properly so called, exist among Melanesians, it must be considered in treating their religion. A totem is defined by J. G. Frazer (Totemism and Exogamy, London, 1810, i. 34, 8) as being 'a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation.' The relation between a man and his totem has partly a religious and partly a social character. It is held that 'the members of a totem clan call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe that they are actually descended from it.' Each one, moreover, 'believing himself to be descended from, and therefore akin to, his totem, the savage naturally treats it with respect. If it is an animal he will not, as a rule, kill or eat it.' (1) Florida and the Solomon Islands, where the native system as it is understood by themselves has been carefully explained by natives of some education, affords probably the best field for consideration of the subject. The people are divided into six exogamous kindreds, called kema, each with its distinguishing name, descent following the mother. Two of these kindreds are named from living creatures, a sea-eagle and a crab. Each of the six has some object which its members must avoid, and which they must abstain from eating, touching, approaching, or beholding. This is the mabuto of the kema. In one case, and in only one case, this mabuto is the living creature from which the kin takes its name. The Kikau kin may not eat the kikau crab, and that crab might accordingly be regarded as the totem of that Crab kindred. But the other kin which takes its name from a living creature, the Eagle kindred, is quite at liberty to kill or eat that bird; it, therefore, cannot be the totem of that kin. Again, in some cases the prohibition does not apply to the common pigeon, which is the mabuto, and would say that the pigeon was his ancestor. Here, then, the pigeon appears as the totem of the Eagle kindred, because its image of his ancestor. But was a pigeon their ancestor
in the sense that they are descended from it? Decidedly not. It was a human ancestor who ascribed himself with the pigoon; the pigeon represents the dead man, the pigeon is a tindalo, a dead man of power. A native writes:

"We believe these tindalo to have been once living men; and wherever they have lived they have become a thing forbidden, tabu, and a thing abominable, solitude, to those to whom the tindalo (once a living man) belongs." (Codrington, p. 311.)

That is to say, the pigeon represents the human ancestor; the man begat the generations of his kindred before he died and entered into a pigeon. The pigeon is not truly an ancestor, nor is it truly a totem. The native writer goes on to give the example of another kindred which avoids the giant clam, the traditional ancestor of which had died in a certain beach. That ghostly ancestor is represented by the clam on that beach, and a native will say that the clam is his ancestor, but without meaning more than he means when he says that an ancient weapon in a shrine is a dead chief, a tindalo, that is, belongs to him.

(2) In another of the Solomon Islands, Ulawa, not long ago the people would not eat the fruit of the banana and had ceased to plant the tree. The elder natives would give to the fruit the name of a powerful man whom they remembered living, and say that they could not eat him, thus accounting for the tabu. The fruit became a banana, and that was not to eat it. Soon he would have been an ancestor, the banana would be an ancestor, while clearly there was no descent from a banana in the belief of the people. This, then, is no totem, though it may illustrate the origin of totems.

(3) In the New Hebrides, in Aurora Island, there is a family named after the octopus. They do not call the octopus their ancestor, and they freely eat it, but their connexion with it, and the fact that a member of the family would go to the reef with a fisherman, call out his own name, and say that he wanted octopus, and then plenty would be taken. This again seems to approach totemism.

(4) In the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides, however, there is what comes very near to the 'individual totem.' Some men, not all, in Mota conceeded that they had a peculiar connexion with a particular gigantic octopus, or giant squid, which had been found, either after search or unexpectedly, in some singular manner. If this was a living thing, the life of the man was bound up with its life; if an inanimate object, the man's health depended on its being unbroken and secure. A man would say that he had its origin in something that had presented itself to him. In Aurora also, in the New Hebrides, a woman dreams or fancies that there is something—e.g., a coco-nut—which has a particular relation to her unborn child, and this the child hereafter must never eat.

Societies, mysteries, and dances.—(1) Societies. A very conspicuous feature of native life in the Torres Islands, Banks' Islands, and New Hebrides is the universal presence in those groups of a society, called by some form of the name supwe, an institution which is entirely social, and has no religious character. To gain advance and distinction in rank, the pigoon or supwe, is under the sanction of the power of mana, as does every other form of success, and sacrifice, prayers, and charms are used; and doubtless the supwe is under the sanction of talu. It is always true that a man's position after death is believed to depend in some measure on his rank and his liberality in this society. But the account of it cannot come under the head of religion.

(2) Mysteries. A religious character attaches much more truly to the mysteries, the mysterious secret societies which hold an important place in native life in the Solomon Islands and in the Eastern groups. The function of these societies appeared to visitors to be temples and seats of religious worship; the images within them seem to be idols. The mysteries are closely fenced by a strict initiation, and a rigid taboo guards them; to those outside the secret and unapproachable retreats the mysterious sounds and the appearance of the members in strange disguise convey a truly religious awe. In fact, the mysteries are professedly methods of communion with the dead, the ghosts which are everywhere, more or less, objects of religious worship. In the Banks' Islands the name of the mysteries was simply 'the Ghosts,' and the only means by which the ambiguity of the term is avoided was this: Before the initiation within the mysteries prevails the ordinary form of sacrifices and prayers were carried on to gain the assistance of the dead and communion with them, there was no esoteric article of belief made known and no secret form of worship practised. There were no forms of worship peculiar to the society, no objects of worship of a kind unknown to those without. There was no 'making of young men,' no initiation without which the native could not take his place among his people. The women and the children, perhaps, really believed that what they saw and heard was ghostly, but many an accidental bystander would imagine that the society and the neophyte, when introduced into the sacred place, found himself in the company of his fellows of daily life. Still, since the presence of the dead was professed and believed, and since so much of the religion of the Melanesians, particularly in the Solomon Islands, was concerned with the ghosts of the dead, it is true that these secret societies and mysteries belong to the religion of the people.
may almost be said that relation to a creator has no religious influence at all, though reference to Qat as the maker of men is made in correcting children in the Banks' Island. The existence of the world, as the natives conceived of it, and the course of all the great movements of nature, are quite independent of that creative power which way the world was created which can be found in the manner of its working. In the Solomon Islands the belief in Kahanisware is characteristic. She was a female spirit in the shape of a snake; she made men, pigs, trees, rocks, and was she who taught the natives the art of fishing. The Banks' Islands Qat held the highest place. He was born the eldest of twelve brothers, who dwelt in a village in Vava'u. There Qat began to make men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, in a land where there were houses and canoes, weapons and ornaments. He taught the Banks' Islands Qat the invisible, which can be found in the manner of its working. It may safely be said that these spirits were not malignant beings, though they were spiteful at times and were willing to do mischief to the enemies of the spirit. They are beings who in the Solomon Islands have power in storms, rain, drought, colds, and especially in the growth of food—the vigona, hi'ona, and others—seem to belong rather to the order of spirits than to that of the ghosts of the dead, and such as they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

Thus the world of the Melanesians was populous with living beings, visible and invisible, with men, with the ghosts of the dead, with spirits great and small; and pervading and surrounding all was a power which belonged to all spirits, to the dead as such, and to men; all these could direct it and employ it, and it was everywhere at hand. The world so inhabited was bounded to the Melanesians by the circle of the sea which surrounded the islands. The Banks' Islands Qat held the highest place. He was born the eldest of twelve brothers, who dwelt in a village in Vava'u. There Qat began to make men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, in a land where there were houses and canoes, weapons and ornaments. He taught the Banks' Islands Qat the invisible, which can be found in the manner of its working. It may safely be said that these spirits were not malignant beings, though they were spiteful at times and were willing to do mischief to the enemies of the spirit. They are beings who in the Solomon Islands have power in storms, rain, drought, colds, and especially in the growth of food—the vigona, hi'ona, and others—seem to belong rather to the order of spirits than to that of the ghosts of the dead, and such as they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

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of men that they should die. In stories the first men are represented as changing their skins, as snakes cast their slough, and returning to youth and strength, until by some accident or folly life could no longer be renewed, and death came in.

When it came, the way to the abode of the dead was opened and men departed to their own place, Hades. The funeral rites do not require description. The dead were generally willing to depart far from the body which it has left or in the place in which it has lived; but, the body being buried, or otherwise disposed of, the ghost returns to his appointed place.

(3) Hades.—There is a great difference between the conception of the Solomon Islanders and that of the Banks' Islanders and New Hebrides people with regard to the place where the dead take up their abode. In the Eastern Islands Hades is in the under world; in the Solomon Islands the dead, though there is an under world, depart to islands and parts of islands belonging to their own group, and from Florida they were conveyed in a konnte canoe, a 'slip of the dead.' In all parts of Melanesia alike the condition of the dead in these abodes is an empty continuation of the worldly life. It is a belief generally held or believed to be eternal, except in so far as the native imagination has failed to follow their existence with any measure of time. But, though the dead continue wherever they are, and the homes of their lifetime, are active among the living, and, as has been shown, in the Solomon Islands the religion of the living is mainly concerned with the worship of the dead. In these islands the weapons, ornaments, and money of a man of consequence are buried with him or placed on his grave. Whether these decorate the dead or serve his use in Hades is uncertain. It is as when a dead man's fruit-trees are cut down, as they say, as a mark of respect; he ate of them, it is said, while he was alive, he will never eat again, and no one else shall have them.

The notion is general that the ghost does not at first realize its position, or move with strength in its new abode; and this condition depends to some extent on the period of the decay of the body; when that is gone, the ghost is set free. It is to expedite this activity that in some parts the corpse is burned.

While in a general way the ghosts of the dead pass to their Hades above ground, there are some who remain below. In the Banks' Islands the community of Hades has many entrances; in this they have villages in which they dwell as on earth, but in an empty life. The ghosts hang about their graves for a time, and it is not desired that they should remain, though at the death-feasts they have a portion thrown for them. The great man goes down to Panoli with his ornaments, that is, with a body of social appearance of men. In the Northern New Hebrides there are passages to Hades at the ends of the islands, the northern or southern points, by which ghosts go down, and also return. In Lepers' Island the descent is by a lave which leads to an ancient crater. Living persons in all these islands have gone down to see their dead friends; they have seen the houses, the trees with red leaves, and the flowers, have heard the songs and dances, and have been warned not to eat the food of the ghosts.

(3) Rewards and punishments.—There remains the important question whether the condition of the dead is affected by the character of the living man; whether the soul is judged by the world to be better or worse, in better or worse condition, according as they have been, in native estimation, good men or bad on earth.

(a) Solomon Islands.—It cannot be said that in these islands the moral quality of men's lives affects their condition after death. When the canoe of the dead took the ghosts of Florida across to the neighbouring island of Guadalcanar, they found a ghost of worship, a tindalo, with a rod which he thrust into the cartilage of their noses to prove whether they were duly pierced. Those who passed this test had a good path which they could follow to the abode of the dead; those who failed had to make their way as best they could with pain and difficulty. In Ysabel they present themselves to the master of their Hades at a pool, across which lies the trunk of a great tree. They show their hands; those who have the mark of the frigate-bird cut in them are allowed to pass; those who have not the mark are thrown from the trunk into the gulph beneath in judgment.

(b) Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.—In these islands there is something which approximates to a judgment of a moral kind. It is true that, as a man's rank in the world has depended very much upon the number of the pigs he has slain for feasts, so the ghost fares badly who has not so done his duty by society. So in Pentecost Island, when the ghosts leap into the sea to go below, there is a shark waiting which will bite off the nose of a man who has not killed pigs; and in Aurora a fierce pig is ready to devour the ghost of a man who has not planted the tree that supplies material for the mats which are so highly valued. But there is a kind of judgment, a discrimination between good and bad, which has a moral character, and is, perhaps, well worthy of remark. Thus in the Banks' Islands it was believed that the woman good Hades and a bad. If one man had killed another by treachery or witchcraft, he would find himself opposed at the place of descent by the ghost of the man whom he had wronged; he dreaded the path which led to the sea and the sad life that was waiting for him on the earth. If a man had been slain in fair battle, his ghost would not withstand the ghost of the man who slew him. The bad, they said, were not admitted to the true Panoli, the Hades where there were flowers, though but shadows, and the empty semblance of social life. But who was the evil man? It was answered, 'One who killed another without cause or by charms, a thief, a liar, an adulterer.' Such in their Hades quarrel and are miserable; they haunt the living and do them what harm they can. The others, who lived as they ought to live, abide at least in harmony in Panoli after death.

It is very likely that these notions of something like retribution in the under world have not entered very deeply into the native mind, and are not generally entertained. But that such beliefs should have been received at all is enough to show that their sense of right and wrong has been carried by Melanesians into their prospect of a future state, a view which can hardly fail to be tinged by something of a religious tendency, even if it cannot be said to prove in itself the existence of a religion which these islanders undoubtedly possess.

Literature.—J. Lubbock, The Origin of Civilization, London, 1879; E. B. Tyler, PC, PS, do. 1886; A. W. Murray,
MELETIANISM.—There were two Meletian schisms, each having considerable influence on the formation of the Athanasian Creed. The earlier one took its name from Meletius who was bishop of Lycopei in Egypt; the later from the Meletians who were consecrated bishop of Antioch in A.D. 360.

1. The Meletian schism in Egypt.—Μελητιανισμός (Epiphanius) or Melianos (Athanasius) was bishop of Lycopei in Egypt, and his dispute with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, led to a schism which received the attention of Meletius and Isidore, owing to Athanasius (Apol. c. Arianos, 59), Meletius was condemned about A.D. 303 or 306, so that the quarrel was already of long standing when the Council of Chalcedon was held (A.D. 451). The origin of it is extremely obscure. As Hefele points out (Councils, Eng. tr., i. 343 ff.), there are three separate accounts: (1) in documents discovered by Maioli and published in Maioli, Rapport sur les Necrophiles, Paris, 1884–1885, iv.; (2) in the writings of Athanasius; (3) in Epiphanius. All these differ in their details as to the origin of the schism. The first of the three documents preserved in these, the letter of certain Christians in prison who were afterwards martyred by Dioscorus (Eus. HE vii. 10). It is supposed that the actual writer of the letter was Phileas, bishop of Caria, Meletus, however, addressed as fellow-minister (communis), the document being preserved in Latin, so that the schism has evidently not yet begun, and he is blamed for ordaining clergy in strange dioceses, without the consent of his fellow-bishops or even of Peter of Alexandria. The second document is a note, added by an anonymous hand, to say that after the martyrdom of the bishop Meletus had gone to Alexandria and found two hundred men of Arius and Isidore, and proceeded to excommuniate the visitors (reposita) appointed by Peter, who thereupon wrote the letter which makes the third of our documents, to the people of Alexandria, bidding them to avoid all communion with Meletus. From this very early and contemporary evidence we learn that Meletus’s offence was that of trespassing on the rights of others and of ordering his clergy by conference and orders out of his own diocese. It is to be noticed that these irregularities took place before the deposition of Meletus. Athanasius says nothing about the irregular ordinations. In his Apology of Against the Arians (ch. 59) he gives as the cause of the deposition of Meletus that he had been guilty of many offences, particularly of having sacrificed to idols and of having calumniated the bishops of Alexandria, Peter, Achillas, and Alexander (ch. 11). In his Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya he asserts (ch. 22) that the Meletian schism was declared within thirty or forty years before, and that the Arians thirty-six years ago were convoluted of heresy. Socrates (HE i. 6) gives practically the same account as Athanasius, and, as he tells the story, he has copied from him. This is the earliest version of the origin of the schism, but ever, differs materially from those which we have hitherto considered. It is given by Epiphanius (Hier. lviii.), and printed in Routh (v. 165). Meletus, says this writer, was a perfectly orthodox bishop. Indeed, he credits him with having accused Arius to Alexander, with whom Meletus, though a schismatical bishop, was on good terms. The real cause of the dispute was, according to Epiphanius, the question of the training of the Isidors. But Epiphanius’s account, as Hefele shows, is full of inaccuracies, and contradicts the earliest evidence, as when, e.g., he makes Meletus a fellow-priest with Peter. But he may have been correct as to the underlying cause of the schism, Meletus being, like Novatian at Rome and the Donatists in Africa, the representative of the severe disciplinarians. Epiphanius had, moreover, special knowledge of the Meletians from their schism having spread to the islands of the Western part of the Eastern Church. Perhaps because of his doctrinal orthodoxy, Meletus and his party were treated very leniently by the Council of Nicea. It may be that the schism in Alexandria, was directed against them; but in the synodal letter (Soc. HE i. 9) Meletus was not permitted to ordain or appoint clerics any more, and those whom he had ordained were to be admitted to the Church (συνστηθησαίς εἰς τὸν ἔρημον) and to rank below the clergy ordained by Peter and his successors. Athanasius was much troubled by those schismatics who joined his opponents; and from their ranks came his bitter enemies, the priest Ischyros, Arsenius, and many others. Athanasius bitterly regretted the decision of Nicea in this matter (Apol. c. Arianos, 71), where he lists the names of Meletus is given). The schism lasted down to the middle of the 5th century (Soc. HE i. 8).

2. The Meletian schism at Antioch.—The importance of the schism which arose at Antioch is due to the fact that it hindered the good understanding between the Roman and Alexandrian Churches and those Asiatic Christians who, though at heart orthodox, were later uncom- promisingly Nicean than many of the Athenasian party. The dispute, which lasted for more than forty years, ranged the great saints and Fathers of the later years of the 4th cent. in opposite camps. Against St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Flavian of Antioch, and St. John Chrysostom were opposed St. Damascus of Rome, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Peter of Alexandria, and, much against himself, the emperor Constantine. The merits of the controversy are perhaps as evenly distributed as the names on either side. To understand it aright it is necessary to trace the divisions of the Church by conferring letters from the days of the Nicene Council. Eustathius, the bishop, who had been one of the foremost champions of the accepted creed, was the first to suffer in its cause, being deprived of his see in A.D. 350, though not without a serious tumult in the city, owing to the machinations of Eusebius of Caesarea and the ‘conservative’ faction. The see of Antioch was next filled by prelates who were hostile to the Nicene formula—Eulalius, Euphrinus, Flacillus, Stephen, and Leontius, the last of whom, by prudently concealing his real opinions on vexed questions, preserved peace till his death in 357. He was succeeded by Eudocius, ‘the worst of all the Arians,’ who was installed as bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 360. It now became necessary to provide a successor at Antioch, and Meletius was chosen, being installed in accord with the party in power (F. Cavallera, Le Schisme d’Antioche, p. 72, note). In his sermon, however, on Ps 82 he declared himself on the side of the schismatics (Epistle of the fourth cent.) and was at once deposed and exiled, and Eudocius put in his place. Thus Meletius, once the Arian nominee, had become a Catholic confessor. Since the deposition of Eustathius, the faithful Nicene remnant had remained apart under the care of the
priest Paulinus, and did not enjoy the prospect of communicating with the followers of Meletius, who, unlike them, had not borne the burden of the controversy. The party of Paulinus, however, was not considerable, and perhaps it was insignificant in comparison with that of Eunouius, who is said to have had a regard for its leader, to allow it the use of a small church. Meletius's party, on the other hand, was numerous and threatening owing to the apparent support of the bishop, and it seemed probable that under him the Catholics would ultimately be united. In 362 Athanasius held the small but important Council of Alexandria (Ep. 780). A synodal letter, the 

'To Theosocius, was sent to Antioch by the hands of the bishop Eusebius of Vercelli, who had attended the Council; but on his arrival he found that his companion in exile, Lucifer, who, according to Caesarius of Tarsus, had taken upon himself to consecrate Paulinus bishop of the old Nicene party at Antioch. As far as Antioch was concerned, the schism was important. Meletius was universally beloved, and his moderation in regard to the points at issue in the controversy was more in consonance with Asiatic and Syrian Christianity than the uncompromising attitude of Alexander, who was ready to divide the church into two secession of. The schism became in a short time so difficult to a settlement, which let bygones be bygones, and allowed the good work done by Hilary of Poitiers in reconciling the bishops of Asia Minor to the Nicene Creed. The effect, however, was that the schism was not healed. But, when, in the following year, the bishop of Alexandria recognized Paulinus, as did also the Roman see. The dispute had now reached a stage at which principles were involved not unlike those which made the unhappy Donatist schism so incurable in Africa—the difference being that the Donatists (qu.) rejected bishops who had been unfaithful in regard to heathenism, and the Eustathians who had been infected with heresy. The Roman see under Damascus declared unhesitatingly for Paulinus; but throughout the East Meletius was regarded as the champion of orthodoxy, and he was an adherent under Valens for his adherence to the Nicene Creed. The Capadocian fathers, Basil and the two Gregorys, were devoted to Meletius, and John Chrysostom belonged to the church and was first ordained reader and afterwards deacon by him. The schism at Antioch embittered the life of St. Basil, who in vain appealed to Athanasius to recognize Meletius, and was seriously troubled by the schism in the Roman church. For Paulinus. Things were further complicated by Apollinarius, the famous bishop of Laodicea, who, though condemned for his erroneous opinions, is recognized not only as a saint of Nicene theology, but also as one of the profoundest thinkers of his time (see APOПИNARIUSM). Among his friends was the presbyter Vitalus, who had been made priest by Meletius, but was ultimately consecrated by Apollinarius as rival bishop to Paulinus (c. 375). Thus, including the Arians, the Church of Antioch was now divided into four parties, the three Nicene bishops being Meletius, Paulinus, and Vitalus. Stricken with the shadow of suspicion rested on any one of these three rivals in regard to character. Meletius and Paulinus were both recognized as saints, while, despite the suspicious orthodoxy of his consecrator, Vitalus was highly respected by the most honoured churchmen of the day. Some hope of ending the schism was given when the six leading presbyters of the Church agreed with the edict of Meletius and Paulinus, if one survived the other. In 381 Meletius was at Constantiople, taking a leading part in the Second General Council. This Council was destined to affirm the creed of Nicea and reunite the Church, though it proved unable to bring peace to the distracted community at Antioch. Meletius died during the Council; and, for some unexplained reason, Flavian, one of the six presbyters who had agreed to recognize Paulinus if he survived, consented to be consecrated successor to Meletius. His action appears on the face of it indefensible; but, as he proved a remarkably saintly bishop, there may be some extenuating circumstances for his conduct of which we are not aware. The appointment of Flavian was one of the reasons for the Roman see's regarding the Council of Constantinople with disfavour. Paulinus was supported by the churches of Egypt, Cyprus, and Arabia, whilst Palestine, Syria, and Phoenicia adhered to Flavian. Theodosius recognized Flavian, and, when the serious affair of the statues was causing anxiety in the city, it was he as his bishop who pleaded the cause of the people of the city to the Constantinople (A.D. 387). Flavian died in 388; and before his death he consecrated Evagrius in his place—a most uncannonical proceeding. The Westerners seem to have supported the claims of Evagrius, and Ambrose urged Theodosius to compel Flavian to come to Italy and submit his claims to the decision of the Church there; Taeopolus of Alexandria was sent as an ambassador. Theosius and Jerome. When, however, Evagrius died, no rival bishop was consecrated. On Chrysostom's appointment to Constantinople (398) he managed to heal the schism in the East, for as far as Alexandria and Rome were concerned, and Flavian placed the names of his two rivals—Paulinus and Evagrius—on the diptychs of the Church. The Eastern bishops held separate meetings till the time of Alexander (414-415), who healed the schism by an act of Christian courtesy, visiting the Eustathian church on Easter day and being accorded a hearty welcome by the congregation. The schism was finally ended, when the션 patriarch of Antioch (481-482), brought back the relics of Eustathius. The schism of Antioch would be no more than a somewhat dull chapter in ecclesiastical history were it not for its underlying causes, indispensable for the right understanding of the intricate questions which make the religious divisions of the East so complicated. As has been indicated, there was a singular absence of bad feeling and we may add, of bad motives. We have nothing of the disorder and even crimes which mark the course of the Donatist schism. But throughout we can see how incompatible were the ideals of the great Cappadocian patriarchs with those of the East. Meletius, Flavian, John Chrysostom, and Nestorius, the great Antiochines, all felt the encroachments of the bishop of Alexandria supported—except in the case of Chrysostom—by Rome. What has been called the Meletian schism was a foreshadowing of troubles to come which rent the Church asunder, and it is a phase in the long struggle between the rival theologies of Alexandria and Antioch, which dates from the days of Origen.


MEMORY. — I. Use of the term. — II. The term 'memory' can be used in a wide biological sense to signify retention of the effects of stimulation. In this sense it is regarded by some writers as a fundamental attribute of living matter—a view
which was put forward by Ewald Hering in 1870, in a paper read before the Imperial Academy of Science at Vienna, 'On Memory as the Universal Function of Organized Matter.' Wherever there is life and development, there memory must be predicated, since each new process is the outcome of the old and implies its retention.

Memory is a faculty not only of our conscious state, but also, and perhaps more pervasively, of our unconscious.one. Our ideas do not exist continuously as ideas; what is continuous is the special dissoziation of sensation which this substratum gives to day by day, the memory of the past serves as base for the solving of their task and of giving to the motor reaction the direction suggested by the lesson of experience. 

But, as the other hand, the sensori-motor apparatus furnishes to indirect, that is unconscious, memories, the means of taking on a body, of materializing the abstracto-sense-perception. Thus it may be that a recollection should reappear in consciousness, it is necessary that it should descend from the heights of pure memory down to the precise point where action is taking place.

James Ward would subscribe to the biological doctrine of memory, but finds it meaningless as interpreted in terms of the psychological.

'Nay, the bare term "retention" itself, and all cognate terms such as "trace" or "residuum," are meaningless unless some present circumstance can be related to the past; thus they presuppose memory. The analogy of inscribed records is a favourite resort of those who strive to elucidate the nature of memory by physical imagery; we find it again and again in Locke, for example. Such an analogy is about on a par with that between the eye and a telescope—the one is a natural, the other an artificial, organ or instrument of vision; but neither will explain seeing as a psychological fact. '2 Records or memoranda alone are not memory, for they presuppose it. They may convey physical traces; but the unconscious area which called "unconscious," suggests mind; ... the mnemonic theory then, if it is to be combined with anything, seems to be not merely physical records or "engrams," but living experience or tradition.

(c) "Memory" may be used to denote the retention of past experience without reference to the explicit reproduction of such experience. The essential difference of this use of the term from the biological is its limitation to the phenomena of mind, with its implication of mental processes. Writers on psychiatry, such as Morton Prince, S. Freud, and C. G. Jung, use the term "memory" for the influence of past experience on current experience, whether the subject is conscious of such influence or not.

When we conceive of memory as a process we have in mind the whole mechanism through the working of which this past experience is registered, conserved and reproduced, whether such reproduction be in consciousness or below the surface of consciousness.

In this sense all perception and all behaviour involve memory. Not only so, but these writers would include in their reference past experience of which the individual took no conscious note. Sensations received, and actions performed, with no consciousness of their occurrence, are said to be remembered and to be of great importance in determining later experience.

(d) As usually interpreted, memory belongs to cognition, but, inasmuch as all experience cannot be reduced to processes of cognition, so, it may be urged, neither can the retention and reproduction of experience. Such a theory requires that the emotional aspect of experience, feeling-tone, and conation be reproduced in memory as emotion, as feeling-tone, and as conation. Just as these aspects of consciousness are never experienced alone 'in abstracto' but always in a concrete whole of experience, so they will never be reproduced 'in abstracto,' but in a concrete whole with an idea or with an object of some perception in this whole experience.

In this article memory will be treated as implying the retention of past experience and the explicit reproduction of such experience in the form of ideas.

2. Reproduction of ideas. It is a disputed point whether ideas of past experience ever arise spontaneously in consciousness or are always suggested by the datum of present consciousness. The whole controversy has in favour of the former view is found in the experimental work of G. E. Müller and F. Schumann, A. Binet, and other experimental psychologists.

1 Bergson, Matter and Memory, p. 187.
3 Ward, Heredity and Memory, p. 551.
4 Morton Prince, The Unconscious, p. 2.
The latter view certainly represents the commoner form of memory. The attempt to classify the relations in which the suggested idea stood to the present consciousness gave rise to the 'laws of association.' The types of relationship, contiguity in time and place, similarity and contrast, were all elaborated into principles of explanation. The present datum was said to suggest the past experience because previously $x$ and $y$ had been contiguous in time and place, because they were similar, or contrasted, or again, because they contrasted—three very different lines of explanation (see art., Association). Modern writers seek to find an explanation for this association of past and present in the direct and indirect connexions of experience brought about through our purposeful activities. Association is but a special form of the bonds existing between different moments of experience in virtue of the organization of experience into systems. Direct or indirect participation in some common system or whole constitutes the bond of union which enables a present datum to suggest past experience. The laws for the organization of experience, for the formation of spatial wholes, temporal wholes, trains of perception, trains of ideas, systems of conduct, are the ultimate principles of association. The connexions for which line of association followed on any given occasion are of two kinds—those which relate to the whole in which the present datum and a particular past experience are brought together in some part of the total memory of the individual, and those which relate to the special circumstances of the present moment of suggestion.

A whole which is closely organized will form a strong basis for association that one which is loosely organized or which lacks a definite principle. A whole which has occurred repeatedly or recently is more influential than one which is of rare or long past occurrence. Experimental investigations have served to demonstrate the efficacy of close organization, intrinsic interest, repetition, and recency in determining suggestion. As illustrative of the influence of close organization one may cite H. Ebbinghaus's work with nonsense syllables. The only principle for organization was the spatial arrangement and the sequence of a string of syllables—e.g., duk, ill, lap, pom, etc.—memorized by reading aloud. The temporal and spatial organization of the series rendered re-memorizing of the same syllables slower, and the difficulty of remembering the syllables was in proportion to the degree to which the original spatial and temporal order was disturbed. A passage compared with a whole which has meaning—e.g., a passage of prose or verse—these strings of nonsense syllables are more difficult to memorize, a fact which illustrates the influence of an intrinsic interest as a basis of organization. The work of L. Steffens and P. Ephrussi has emphasized the importance of attention with respect to the basis of organization. It has proved more economical to memorize material by repeating it as a whole than to memorize it piecemeal, provided the material is such as can be attended to without undue difficulty. Continuity of interest is preserved by this so-called 'gut-wit' method, whereas it is destroyed by the artificial sections of the 'partial' or piecemeal learning. The value of rhythm in organizing a sequence of experiences has been shown by Müller and Schumann, and is a commonplace of school practice. The influence of repetition in rendering suggestive certain and swift is illustrated by Müller and Schumann's researches. Experimental work tends to show that even after some short lapse of time the effect of recency in determining which of two possible lines of association suggestion should follow.

Of the conditions relating to the moment of suggestion, two seem to be predominant—the emotional attitude of the individual, and the trend of his ideas. The influence of the first on the line of association is demonstrated by the emotional concomitance of the attitude of the present and the position of the experiences recalled; in a more or less pleasurable mood we forget failures and recall only ambitions and achievements. The importance of the trend of present consciousness has been shown in much recent work. An investigation by H. J. Watt brought out the control over association exercised by the Aufgabe, or task, before the mind at the moment. On the relevance or irrelevance of the reproduced idea depends very largely the serviceableness of our memory in any given difficulty. Appetitiveness for the purpose of the present moment, for what W. James termed 'the topic' of the stream of thought, will give one line of association the advantage over another.

A question which has become important for psychology is dissociation. Some writers hold that, just as experience becomes organized into wholes and these wholes are interrelated one with another in still larger organizations, so also there takes place the opposite process, viz., dissociation. Through dissociation certain episodes of past experience or certain aspects of a train of thought may become isolated from the given organization; such episodes cannot then be reproduced; no suggestion of normal consciousness can connect itself with the dissociated contents of past experience. Whether the dissociation is of great importance to psychopathology in its bearing on the amnesia of hypnosis and hysteria and on multiple personality. The process whereby the insulation of non-suggestible memories is brought about is described differently by different writers. The line of dissociation is the line of description followed by Morton Prince; the term dissociation (without the implication of dissociation) in virtue of some pain value is the line of description followed by the Freudian school.

3. Obliviscence and reminiscence.—The failure of reproduction, whatever may be the view taken as to disintegration, is by no means the same as failure of association. The man who has been reading an ingenious book on the nature of the world may be able to reproduce the middle paragraph of the first chapter; yet the latest sentence of the first chapter cannot be reproduced, and the middle sentence of the last chapter has never been remembered. Ebbinghaus's experiments with nonsense syllables, already referred to, furnished a typical curve of the rate of forgetting such items. The principle of organization was mere spatial and temporal contiguity; no interest gave value to the series of syllables or rendered one syllable of greater worth than another. Ebbinghaus's curve shows that after an interval of twenty minutes 41.8 per cent of any series learnt was forgotten, after an interval of an hour 55.8 per cent was forgotten, after twenty-four hours 66.3 per cent, after six days 74.6 per cent, after thirty-one days 79.9 per cent. The fading away of the process is rapid at first and then very gradual afterwards. Experimental work, however, would also seem to indicate that experience does not necessarily begin to fade from the moment when it ceases to be 'present' experience. On the contrary, there is a certain amount of evidence that processes ripen or mature, the reproduction of past experience being clearer or fuller after a somewhat longer interval than immediately after the original occurrence. Some of the experimental work of A. Jost suggested this, and recent work with school-children has brought out the same feature. Thus, if the amount of ballad poetry
which children aged 12 can reproduce correctly immediately after learning being represented by 100, the amount which they can reproduce forty-eight hours later without any further learning will be 110. A similar increase in content reproduced is found in other material. In the case of nonsense syllables, although forty-eight hours later some syllables can be reproduced which have not been remembered immediately after learning, the total amount correctly reproduced is less. This tendency for 'reminiscence,' as it has been termed, is more marked in children than in adults. The greater organization of adult consciousness would enable any experimental subject to retain small items which have always been recorded, and association would be otherwise. The meaning and association of an experience would develop more slowly, and might be incomplete when the demand for reproduction followed at once upon its first reception.

4. Function of imagery.—Past experience reproduced as ideas depends very largely upon imagery. Imagery is of the same character as sense experience—visual, auditory, tactile, motor, etc. From the birth of a newborn individual to that of an adult, people have been exposed to stimuli which have been either consciously or unconsciously recognized. The schematic and symbolic character of imagery with respect to the idea for which it stands has received more attention in recent research. The function of imagery provided seems to be to provide a focus for attention, and thereby to give clearness and definiteness to ideas. It has been noticed that, where the process of reproduction takes place with difficulty or where a trace of ideas develops slowly, there the presence of imagery is marked, and the imagery seems indispensable to the realization of the ideas in question. Where, on the other hand, ideas are reproduced with facility or a memory is preserved, imagery is sketchy and in some cases scarcely recognizable. The question has been raised whether reproduction is possible without imagery, without even the symbolic imagery of words standing for the ideas reproduced. Here, as in so many other psychological problems, no dogmatic answer is possible in the present state of knowledge. There is much patient research in connexion with the question, and if from there should arise a clearer conception of the problem and its solution.

On the development of memory and memory traces (Mental Development (Mental)),


BEATRICE EDDOLL

MEMRA.—The tendency of Hebrew imagery to personify abstract powers, such as sin, speech, wisdom, is evident also in the manner in which the divine word or speech is represented in poetry and elevated language. God's fiat by which creation came into being and continues to exist is spoken of as emanating from Him to execute His will. By the word of Jahweh 'were the heavens made' (Ps 33:6, 'and He hemmed in His word') (107:28). In Is 55 the word proceeding from God's mouth assumes form and accomplishes His will as His plenipotentiary. In the Apocalypse also we meet with a few instances where the word stands for God in His capacity of cause.

But, while these instances are of rare occurrence in the Targumim—though nowhere else in Jewish post-Biblical literature—the word is already hypostatized now. The form of Memra. The Aram., memar, emph. state memar, from emar, 'to speak,' signifies, like מִשְׁפָּר, from מָשָׁר, 'a word,' without the additional meaning of 'reason' connoted by מַשָּר. It occurs about 180 times in the Onkelos Targum, 100 times in the so-called Jerusalem Targum, and 390 times in the pseudo-Jonathan (in the last two also as מֵדֶר for מֵדֶר).

It stands, e.g., Gn 15:6: 'He believed in Jahweh' (Gn, renders 'in the Memra of Jahweh'); Ex 13:19: 'Moses brought forth the people before the Memra of Jahweh (now Jonathas, the Levite)'; Jer 21:26: 'I speak of Jahweh their God is their support, and the Bakshishin of their king is therein, with songs and with stringed instruments between my Memra and you.' Ex 31:19: 'This Memra is a con- stant fire' (perhaps 'a species'); and 2 Sam 7:16: 'I spoke by the Memra of Jahweh' (Is 33:9). It was employed by the Targumists in the place of God wherever anthropomorphisms, anthropopathisms, or any direct inconsistent with the transcendental nature of the transcendent God, are predicated. Thus, 'By my Memra have I founded the earth and established it' (Ps 107:24); 'for my sake is rendered 'for the sake of my Memra' (Is 14:18). The Memra gave the Law (Ex 23:30). 'These are the statutes which the Memra made between Me and the children of Israel' (Le 26:9). The Memra accomplished the exodus from Egypt (Ex 35, etc.). 'Jahweh by his Memra, the word' (Ps 103:19). For the exiles has been elevated in memory (Is 43:1). Jahweh said 'the glory of the Bakshishin of the king of the worlds Jahweh Shaddai' (Is 66), and then heard 'the voice of the Memra' (69).

The above are only a few typical passages of the use of the Memra (for an exhaustive list see F. Weber, Judische Theologie, Leipzig, 1897, p. 180; A. Eilersheim, Life and Times of Jesus, London, 1887, ii. 659, etc.; he was followed by W. Fairweather in Memra, 1924, p. 284). What then, do the Targumists understand by the Memra? A cursory glance at the Aramaic version will be necessary before we answer this question. The demand for a version in the Aramaic vernacular by the returned exiles must have been supplied very early; it is difficult to say how far back we are to place the institution of the office of the Memra (Memra, 'Interpreter'), who rendered into the vernacular each verse of the Law and each three verses of the Prophets, as they were read publicly in the synagogue (cf. the office of the ἐρμηνεύτης in the early Christian communities). The frequent repetition must have produced a stereotyped version. The exclamation of Christ on the Cross in the Aramaic of Ps 22 indicates that the Bible was familiar to Him in that language; and St. Paul's quotation of Ps 119 in Eph 4 is more in accordance with the Targum than with our Mas. Text or the LXX. A written Targum on Job existed at the time of Gamaliel (Shab. 115b). Although neither Origen nor Jerome mentions the existence of a Targum, that of Onkelos had already at that time the position of a kind of authorized version.

'K. Johandeh says, we never transcribed (of the Bible) it in a diacritical way, and whomever adds to it is a blasphemer.' Let him read it in accordance with our Targum.' (Gal. 4:14).
Jewish scholars agree that this refers to Onokloes (e.g., Maimonides, in Yad, Ishuth viii. 4; see also L. Zunz, Goedecandische Vorträge, Frankfort, 1892, ch. v.). The aim of the version was to give a clear and correct rendering of the differences from the original he does so in favour of the Hālakāh and popular usages:

Ex 23:20-24. Dt 15:16 are rendered: 'Ye shall not eat flesh with blood, "the fruit of the goodly tree" (Lot 24:9) is already called thory, 'The Passover shall be eaten in one assembly' (Ieb, tadd). The older maintain > he rigid it (D. the abominations; D. the ence Jn art. lljara revealed Adonai it its and Philo's distinct avoid before (Ex 25:18), and there was no evident deviation there when the Targums before the Peshitta reads, Peshitta explains. The former maintained that the Memra, therefore, is the deity revealed in its majesty and glory. The term is based on Gn 1, emphasizing the fact that the world came into being by divine command.

Onokloes used Memra when speaking of human authority: 'The Memar of Pharaoh (Ieb, the mouth of Pharaoh) (Gn 45:22), he does not receive our Memar (Ieb, he will not obey our voice) (Jn 10:33-34).'


MEN, THE.—In the Gaelic-speaking portion of Scotland the 'Men' were for about two centuries the recognized leaders of religious thought, and the popular representatives of spiritual and evangelical worship. They were called 'the Men' because they were laymen, and not ministers. The circumstances in which they arose varied in different districts; the causes to which they owed their origin admitted of the differences from the original he does so in favour of the Hālakāh and popular usages:

Ex 23:20-24. Dt 15:16 are rendered: 'Ye shall not eat flesh with blood, "the fruit of the goodly tree" (Lot 24:9) is already called thory, 'The Passover shall be eaten in one assembly' (Ieb, tadd). The older maintain > he rigid it (D. the abominations; D. the ence Jn art. lljara revealed Adonai it its and Philo's distinct avoid before (Ex 25:18), and there was no evident deviation there when the Targums before the Peshitta reads, Peshitta explains. The former maintained that the Memra, therefore, is the deity revealed in its majesty and glory. The term is based on Gn 1, emphasizing the fact that the world came into being by divine command.

Onokloes used Memra when speaking of human authority: 'The Memar of Pharaoh (Ieb, the mouth of Pharaoh) (Gn 45:22), he does not receive our Memar (Ieb, he will not obey our voice) (Jn 10:33-34).

ment gives as one of the rules of the society: 'Thirdly, as the Word of God requireth, that we should consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works; therefore, if one or more of us see or hear anything unbecoming in the walk, conduct, and expressions of one another, that we be free with one another according to the Scripture rule: “Go tell thy brother his fault,” etc. (Mt 18:15); “Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart, but shalt make thyself known to sin, and not suffer sin upon him” (Lv 19:17). It adds: 'We are aware that this our meeting together, out of different parishes, will be misconstrued; but, so far as we know ourselves, we have no divisive views in it; nor do we make a faction, and we desire to give none offence.' Soundness of judgment characterized their utterances and their conduct. Their activity was far removed from that fanatical enthusiasm into which religious zeal frequently degenerates. One exception, still referred to with bated breath, when referred to at all, indicates the general abhorrence of fanatical excess. They organized meetings for prayer and the reading of Scripture among the people. The first Sabbath school in Ross-shire was opened by one of them—Findlater, known as the 'Barnes' minister.' Be translated into Gaelic, many of them were experts in making a running translation from the English version into the language of the people. The more gifted among them considered the Word, and not a few became eloquent and powerful preachers, though lacking the training of the schools. The deep respect of the people for an ordained ministry was expressed in the fact that these spiritual guides, even when their influence was most powerful, were called not ministers or preachers, but 'the Men' ("na Deirme").

The evangelical spirit was kept alive in large districts, and the comforts of religion were administered in many a stricken home and in many a remote hamlet. They generally set apart one night of each week for prayer, and another for fellowship or conference. On the latter a portion of Scripture was selected to be the subject of discussion. This passage was referred to as the Bonn Ceist, or the 'Question.' The Men, each in turn, gave an exposition of the self-explaining or experimental religion, and thus their gifts of speech and of scriptural interpretation were developed. Fitness to expound Scripture in public assemblies, compelled the influenza blinded with intellect, secured recognition as one of the Men. This exercise became so popular that, whenever the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was administered, a day was set apart for the Men. Generally it was the Friday between the Fast-day and the day of Preparation. It was known as là na Ceist ("the day of the Question"). Great gatherings were expected when popular Men came to the Communion. Worshippers often travelled long distances, and from far and near; multitudes, who never became church members, attended faithfully on the Men's day.

The presiding minister opened the service with prayers and an exposition, the latter bearing on experimental religion, and the latter, in the case of the question which was to become the ‘Question.’ One of the more highly honoured of the Men announced a passage, indicating its bearing on Christian experience, and requesting speakers to deal with some such topic as "marks by which God’s children are distinguished from the world," "marks of true conversion," "marks of saving faith," etc. Then the presiding minister called upon the most aged and experienced Christians present to give the "marks" to their fellow-Christians. This service was generally held on the open air. Its popularity was such that the largest church could seldom contain the congregation gathered that day. 'To rise to the question.' On a Communion Friday stamped the speaker with the hallmark of public recognition. Henceforward his position was assured. He was one of the Men.

The popularity of the Men was a menace to the Church wherever its services were not characterized by evangelical faithfulness. Many of them would not take part of the Sacraments at the hands of ministers whom they did not revere as true, and approved ministers were prevented by ecclesiastical discipline from receiving those who held aloof from the worship of their own parishes. Resolutions against the Men were passed in Presbyteries and Synods, but all efforts to crush them only increased their popularity. The people believed in them, honouring them for the strictness of their lives, and frequently asserting that they were possessed of the gift of prophecy.

In earlier times, wherever the doctrines of grace were faithfully proclaimed, the Men were faithful to the Church, and they undoubtedly created a taste for the more spiritual and evangelical preaching which began early in the 19th century. With the revival of evangelicalism the special circumstances in which they proved a religious force passed away. Their aims were to return to the Bible and to keep that which they acquired are not readily abandoned. In many districts the Men heartily welcomed and warmly supported an evangelical ministry; in others they were only temporarily pacified with concessions. The estrangement continued too long. In parts of Sutherland, Inverness, and Ross-shire they continued to stand aloof, and in the more northern districts they formed a distinct and intolerant. Utterly disregarding all outward culture, they attempted to force upon the people a religion of loveless gloom. From one extreme it was easy to pass to others. Antinomianism was openly professed in some districts, and exorcism was practised in others. These fateful three were the spurious imitations of a life that had gone. In later times opposition to instrumental music and church choirs, a severe observance of the Sabbath, a blind devotion to the recognized translation of Scripture, a general condemnation of scholarship, and a zeal for the doctrine of election which merged into the quasi-heresy of the "Separatists." The more they diverged from the Church the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorizing Version of the Scripture. TheMen of Character were often called 'Separatists.' The more they diverged from the Church the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorizing Version of the Scripture. TheMen of Character were often called 'Separatists.'

But the old spirit has not altogether disappeared. A different type is occasionally met with. 'Men,' tender-hearted and spiritually-minded, still preserve the best traditions of a past age. In the absence of the minister one of these may be found here and there to conduct the Sunday service in church or meeting house. Standing at the precentor's desk, equally ready to give an extemporaneous address or to read a portion of some 18th cent. divine, he follows devoutly the usual order of service, except that he is open to suggestions of the benediction. These Men live saintly lives, they are honoured by the people, and they help to preserve the simplicity and spirituality of religion.


MEN OF GOD.—Ipyndi bozhi, or 'Men of God,' is the self-assumed name of a Russian sect who regard themselves as the only true worshippers of God; they believe that God is to be found only among themselves, ordinary Christians being, in their view, worldlings. By the outside
world they are usually known as 'Khlysti,' i.e. 'Flagellants,' though they themselves repudiate this title. As a matter of fact, they are essentially not flagellants but dancers, flagellation being a mere accompaniment of their dance, and not even a universal practice. The name is probably a corrup-
tion from 'Christis,' the oldest traceable title by which they designate themselves as those who lay hands in the name of Christ. In his encycl. rite, the

Although the Men of God have many 'Christis,' they are not a Christological sect in the proper
sense of the word, for their Christology is only one side of their doctrine; that is, to say, they are a secret sect who practise asceticism and fall into trances. Their principal means for drawing down the Spirit is dancing (radenije); other devices are the singing of songs, of which they have a great number, couched in highly poetical language, and fasts. A member of this sect who succeeds in receiving the Spirit in full measure becomes a Christ or even a God Zebooth (a Christ of the highest rank) or a Mother of God; those who receive the Spirit in a less degree are invested with the title of one of the apostles, or of the ecclesiastical saints, and honoured as prophets or confessors. In their belief, even Jesus of Nazareth first became a Christ only through receiving the Spirit at His baptism. While these persons have received the Spirit as a permanent possession, the ascetic community may obtain Him temporarily through the same means.

Besides severe and often protracted fasts, complete sexual abstinence is a feature of their asceticism. Those who enter the sect as married people must henceforth live as brothers and sisters. Others are, as a rule, not permitted to marry at all, but may take a young woman into their house as 'spiritual sister' in 'spiritual marriage,' exclusive of sexual intercourse. The latter constituted the trespass of Adam and Eve, and is condemned as the sin εφέσω; in accordance with this view, childbirth is regarded as extremely sinful, while women are described as 'little sin.' Generally speaking, the Men of God aim at a monastic style of living, their houses being arranged as convents and the women wearing a kind of nun's dress. Like all Russian sectaries, they enforce complete asceticism from intoxicating
liquors; even coffee, and in many communities tea also, is forbidden. On the whole the Khlystic system of morals lays so much stress on the mortification of the flesh (the renunciation of which they deny) that it has not been able to set up a practical ideal of life. Altruism appears among them essentially as sympathy, which has to display itself in the bestowal of alms. Besides practicing asceticism, they lay great stress on the voluntary endurance of persecution from the State and from the Church, and the sect is persecuted even to the present day as 'extremely pernicious.' In earlier centuries the persecution was extremely brutal; attempts were made to crush them by the rack and the scaffold, but in vain, and they furnished many martyrs. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the persecution became less cruel; condign punishment and transportation to the Caucasus and Siberia. The Men of God, however, seek to show the courage of their opinions not by open confession of their faith, but by concealment of it, and it is precisely their obstinacy in this matter that has often brought upon them increased severity of punish-
ment. The concealment of their belief is due to their view of the Holy Spirit, within them they regard as a power which shuns observation, revealing Himself in secret and averse from publicity. If a man talks about the Spirit, he loses Him. Consequently they are their ecstatic religious services secret, but they generally conceal the fact of their adherence to the sect. They outwardly conform to the State Church, and attend Confes-
sion and Holy Communion, although they spit out the wine after receiving, and never even put the wine into their mouths. At certain times of the year they celebrate a ceremony with kvev (a sour drink from a meal and muluk) or with water.

Any one who desires admission into the sect must, at an elaborate ceremony, conducted with an
extremely elaborate ceremonial, swear a solemn oath that under no circumstances whatever, not even under the severest persecution, will he disclose his beliefs or practices or to the ecclesiastical confessor. In reality this sect thoroughly despise the State Church as 'the world,' the kingdom of Satan, and regard the 'popes' (clergy) as Jewish priests and Pharisees. In opposition to the Orthodox Church, they are sure that they are the only true Church, the Kingdom of God on earth, because they alone possess the Spirit of God.

The services of the Orthodox Church are useless, since they dispense with dancing, the proper means for bringing down the Spirit from heaven.

The Men of God have also services in which there is no dancing; these are the 'usual confer-
ces,' and are conducted as part of the ascetic exercises. For these purposes they have an exposition of Holy Scripture; but they are only assemblies for attracting adherents, and they hint darkly at the 'better services.' In reality the source of religious knowledge of the community may be obtained from the reading of Scripture, but the Spirit which descends on them during the dance. Any one who feels the desire for the 'better services' must undergo long prepara-

The 'Christis,' 'Mothers of God,' prophets and prophetesses especially, but sometimes also the ordinary members of the community, when in the ecstatic state, break into impromptu doggerel, and prophesy the 'common fate' of their sect and the 'private fate' of individual members. This secret service closes with a common meal—'the love-feast,' 'the regathering of which they deny.' The ritual varies in the different congregations and even in the same congregation, according to cir-
stances. The Men of God do not believe, with the Orthodox Church, that a sacrament must have the prescribed form in order to be efficacious; in their view, the Spirit operates unfettered and creates for Himself whatever form He chooses. They seem to have special rites of their own, such as dancing round a fire by insulated individuals, or summer solstice. Here, doubtless, we have to do with a relic of Slavic heathenism, and vestiges of heathen ideas are also found in their songs and liturgical formulae. This rite, however, has received a Christian colouring in the vision of the 'golden Christ,' who appears out of the steam above the vessel.

The axtubin of sexual excesses and sacrificial rites to the Men of God appears, according to the Russian official reports themselves, to be utterly slanderous and merely a device of the State Church to combat the sect, and brand as hypocritical an asceticism which is more strenuous than her own.
Our earliest sources of information regarding the sect, which they call 'Christovostchchina,' are Yevrosin (who wrote in 1691), Dimitri, bishop of Kostov (who wrote between 1702 and 1709), and Theophylact Lopatinski (1745), and further information is found in the reports of two trials of Khlysti held at Moscow between 1733-39 and 1745-57. The first shows the sect reckoning its adherents for the most part in the Moscow monasteries, among monks and nuns and peasants connected with the monasteries; it also comprised some tradespeople. In the monasteries it seems to have marked a reaction against deeply-rooted immoralitry. It also spread beyond Moscow, to the district of Moscow itself, to Yaroslav and Uglich, and to the town of Yenov, south of Moscow. In the first trial Prokofi Lapunin, a soldier of the bodyguard (stridade), appears as 'Christ,' his wife, Akulina Ivanovna, and the nuns Natalya and Marfa (who were both finally beheaded in Petrograd) as 'Mothers of God.' Altogether more than 300 persons were condemned.

According to the reports of the second trial, the sect had considerably diminished in the Moscow monasteries, but, on the other hand, had spread much more widely among the population as far as Petrograd and in the government districts of Vladimir and Nijni-Novgorod, while, at the same time, Moscow maintained its central position as the headquarters of the sect.

Moscow was the scene of operations of the 'Christ's' Sergei Osipov, Vasilii Stepanov, and, more famous than these, Andreyan Petrov, who, known as the 'Happy Idiot,' had the entrée to the heart of the most of the modern pagans, and the paganda was there for the sect not entirely without success. The communities of Khlysti in other places also possessed 'Christ's' and 'Mothers of God.'

Lapunin and Petrov belong to the seven 'Christ's' named by the legend which describes the origin of the Men of God (as the seventh they reckon Selivanov, the founder of the Skopyt sekt, which split off from the Khlystovstchina in 1772). Since the reports of the trials prove the correctness of the assertions of their tradition regarding the sect's 'Christ's' and the 'Mothers of God' Akulina and Natalya, the tradition may be trusted as to what it relates concerning the earlier 'Christ's' Danila Philipov and Ivan Suslov. Of these the first is said to have also ranked as 'God Zebaoth' and 'Mother of God,' and founded the district of the 17th cent. in the government district of Kostroma, while the second, as his disciple, spread it in the Oka and Volga districts and introduced it into Moscow. The evidence of Dimitri and Theophylact as to the founder of the Khlystovstchina applies to Suslov; but ancient songs of the Khlysti speak of one 'Christ,' Averyan, who lived in the 14th cent., and of another, Yemelya, who laboured in Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible. The majority of Russian scholars consider the sect much older than historical information reaches. Although the attempt to derive it from the Chaldean or the Egyptian is pronounced unfortunate, owing to the decidedly Christian character of the sect, the suggestion which derives it from the Bogomils (g.v.) seems extremely unlikely; but, on the other hand, the Khlysti are entirely devoid of a trace of the Bogomilian cosmology, and they suggest rather the Messalians or Euchites (g.v.).

In 1744, Kostroma and Moscow maintained their central importance in an ideal sense as places hallowed by tradition, especially in consequence of the intense activity of the 'Mother of God' Ulyana Kudryavcova. The actual centre, however, was shifted in the middle of the century south-eastward into the government districts of Nijni-Novgorod, Samara, and Tambov, through the activity of Radayev and the 'Christ's' Vasili Shtsheglov and Avvakum Kopylov. The former, with his peculiar mystical teaching, and like some later 'Christ's,' takes a special place among the Khlystovstchina inasmuch as, by appealing to the trance-producing spirit, he caused asceticism to fall into absurdity and shrewdly showed the devotion of his female followers. On the other hand, Vasili Shtsheglov and the 'Christ's' resembling him have no immoral rites ascribed to them, but merely unchastity.

In the further course of the century the centre of the sect was pushed still further southward into the Caucasus territory, especially through the conspicuous energy of Kopylov's pupil, Perphil Katzansov. He and his followers again took the title 'God Zebaoth,' and ruled not only all the communities of the Caucasus, where the Khlysti, under their new name 'Shalupaty' ('secentaries'), lead a considerably harassed existence, but also those of Southern Russia upwards to Smolensk, each of which has its own 'Christ.' Many Khlysti communities honour as a 'Christ the orthodox Father John' or 'Jiaziy-Konstant,' famous through Russia for his faith-healing.

The Khlysti communities are not large, since they depend for their increase, as they must, on account of their sexual abstinence, almost wholly on proselytizing. Although they are generally to be found everywhere in the Russian Empire where there are Russian peasant folk, their total number, which can be only approximately reckoned, cannot exceed 10,000. Their significance for the national life, however, is, on account of their sober, industrious mode of life, far greater than this number would lead one to suppose. This article, the attitude of which is very different from that of Russian scholars, is based upon the writer's book, Die russischen Sekten, i. (Leipzig, 1907), which, besides the Khlysti, deals with such sects as the Skakuny, Malyovanny, and Panhistic kovyty, all of which are dependent of the different bodies of the Khlystovstchina. The latter have assumed special forms as they passed from the sphere of influence of the Greek Orthodox Church to that of the Lutherans, the Stundists, and the Molokani ('Milk-drinkers'). Among the Lutheran Finns of Ingermannland the sectaries are called Skakuny ('Jumpers'). Konidzati Malyovanny founded a sect at the middle of the 17th cent., and the sect of the Khlystovstchina and Stundism in Tarashchta in the government district of Kieff about 1890, and his teaching caused an epidemic of trance-phenomena. The Molokani-Khlysti are called Pyrguny ('Jumpers'). There were, and still are, numerous other bodies which, on account of some peculiarity, split off from the sect. Although the 'Worshippers of Napoleon,' who used to revere him as a 'Christ,' seem to have died out, the Adamites, who seek to get rid of modesty as a relic of the Fall, and, therefore, go naked at divine service and in their houses, still exist to-day. The sect of the Paniyashka regards their fanaticism directly possessed by the devil, and intensifies their asceticism accordingly.

LITERATURE.—The most important Russian works on the sect are: I. Dobrovolski, Lyubi bochki: Russia i slavnykh tak nazvyamikh khudozhnykh christian ('The Men of God: the Russian Sect of the so-called spiritual Christians'), Kazan, 1869; fragments of this have been translated into English in STB. A 4, xxvi (1883); DWA A 4, xxxiv, (1884) and xxxv (1885); N. Rentzov, Lyubi bochki it Slavnykh ("The Men of God and Skopytsi"), Moscow, 1857; K. Rentzov, Sekty Khlystov i Skopytsi ("The Sects of the Khlysti and Skopytsi"), Kazan, 1896; Skashorov, "Zlaty Khlystovstchina," A. Rochebestewski, "Sektas i Skopytskosti v Rossii ("Khlystovstchina and Skopytsim in Russia"), Moscow, 1853. There are also numerous articles to newspapers. K. Grabs.
MENCIIUS. I. Life.—Mencius, or Meng-tee (371-288 B.C.), second only to Confucius in the annals of orthodox Chinese philosophy, was born in Ts'un of a family whose ancestral home was in Lu, the native State of Confucius. While still very young, he was not from lack of ability, but simply from want of environment, educated by his mother, who is famous among the women of China for the care with which she brought up her son. Nothing is known of his other preceptors. He is said to have been the pupil of the school of Confucius, whom Mencius regarded as supreme among men, and proposed to himself as example (Mencius, ii. 1. 2; iv. ii. 22). When we get certain knowledge of him, he is a person already well known and respected by disciples, and from one State to another according as the reception of himself and his doctrines was favourable to otherwise, accepting such gifts as he deemed consistent with his self-respect, and devoting himself to the exposition of his views on ethics and politics. This he did with acumen and considerable liveliness, frequently using illustrations, some of which are famous.

From the man of Sun, who assisted his corn to grow long by piping it up, we are to learn the need of patience in the desire to bring the state of a child under the rule of affectionate morality (iv. ii. 2). The constantness of infancy is not putting an immediate end to unrighteous practices is illustrated by the case of the pig (iv. ii. 3), who replied to one who reproposed with him, ‘I will diminish my appropriations, taking only one fowl a month till this year. And then I will make an end of the practice’ (iii. ii. 8). The Niu mountain, whose natural vegetation is destroyed by man and cultivated hills and the breed of cattle, is a figure of human nature, which, through the occurrences of daily life, loses its native goodness and cannot regain it during the brief reprieve of the night or the calm of sleep (iv. ii. 8).

In addressing himself to the princes and governors of his time, Mencius may sometimes have been guilty of undue compliance with the faulty dispositions of those with whom he dealt (i. ii. 5); if so, it was from no unworthy motive, but only to save his mission from the want of his teaching. For the most part he spoke his mind with an admirable freedom, not overawed by ‘the pomp and display’ of the great (VII. ii. 34), and acting according to his own teaching that respect is best shown by giving righteous counsel (ii. ii. 2). Mencius is quite conscious of his own worth. He alone in his age could bring tranquillity and good order to the empire (ii. ii. 13). His words will never be surpassed by any future sage (iii. ii. 9). He has, accordingly, a keen sense of the respect due to him (ii. ii. 11, iv. i. 24), though he occasionally employs unworthy shifts to maintain his dignity (ii. ii. 12). Loyalty to the tradition of the Confucian teaching (VII. ii. 33), he regarded it as an urgent duty to oppose the teachings of Yang and Mo (iii. ii. 9). He did with vigour and acuteness, while always willing to receive repentant heretics without reproaches, not tying up the leg of a pig which had already been got back into the pen (VII. ii. 26). The last twenty years of his life Mencius spent in Lu, where, with the assistance of his disciples, he prepared that sole record of his teaching which is called by his name and now forms one of those standard writings known as The Four Books.

2. Ethics.—Mencius’s view of human nature is fundamental. Man’s nature is good in the sense that ‘from the feelings proper to it it is constituted for the practice of what is good’ (vi. i. 6). The four cardinal virtues—benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge—are not infused into man from without, but have their rise from the feelings of commiseration, of shame and dislike, of modesty and compliance (reverence and respect [VII. iv. 3]) of approving and disapproving (II. i. 6). These four principles are accepted as psychological facts not reducible, e.g., to any form of self-interest (II. i. 6). All that is needed for perfect virtue, in which a man becomes possessed of himself (III. i. 4), is that these innate principles be developed (I. i. 6, VII. i. 15; cf. also ‘All things are already complete in us’ [VII. i. 4]; and for this human nature is self-sufficient; failure arises not from lack of ability, but simply from making the necessary effort (I. i. 7, IV. i. 10).

From another point of view Mencius analyses human nature into chieh (‘mind,’ ‘will,’ ‘roi’) and ch‘i (‘passion—nature,’ ‘will’) of the two. The latter, the passion—nature with rightness is to be accomplished only by persistent practice of rightness; but, given a mind set on rightness, this result necessarily follows (ii. i. 2). The violent suppression of the passion—nature, by which the integrity of a man’s being is impaired, must be distinguished from the abscission of desires in an ethical interest (VII. ii. 35). Mencius in basing his ethics on human nature, appears to have been not unaware of the ambiguity of the term ‘nature.’ Such seems to be the drift of a Socratic argument in which he maintains that ‘the nature is not to be confounded with phenomena of life’ (VI. i. 3 [Legge’s tr.]). Elsewhere he points out that there are desires which are natural, but in connexion with them there is the appointment of heaven, and the superior man does not say of them, ‘It is my nature.’ There are also moral propensities which are the appointment of heaven, but which the superior man recognizes rather as natural (VII. ii. 12). In things equally natural there is a gradation of worth, which can be recognized by thinking (VI. i. 14 fl.). Moreover, the sense of shame, which a man may not lack (VII. i. 6), is the quality of being a moral constitution, which alone is properly human. In the possession of this nature, good in its composition, all men are alike, evidence of this being found in the fact that, as in matters of physical taste, music, and beauty there are common standards, so also is it in morals (VII. i. 7). This originally good nature is the child heart (IV. ii. 12), which differentiates itself from the human heart of the sages into the man of the lower grades (IV. ii. 11). Possessing it the ordinary man is of one kind with the sages (II. ii. 2, III. i. 1), who simply have apprehended before me what my mind also approves (VI. i. 7). The sages, however, are unimpeachably what other men attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though they, too, ‘learned from other men (II. ii. 8). The great man is he who does not lose his child heart (IV. ii. 12); but for most men it is lost, and the grand aim of education is its recovery (VI. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (IV. i. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (VI. i. 9, VII. ii. 21). Nothing can be done with self-satisfied conformists to current standards, those ‘thieves of virtue’ (VII. ii. 37); for it is necessary that morality should criticize itself (VII. i. 5). The way to sage—like virtue begins in the proper duties (VI. ii. 2), and the carrying out of principles already possessed by all (VII. ii. 31). Vigorous action according to the law of ‘reciprocity’ is the closest approximation to perfect virtue (VII. i. 4). It is also perhaps hinted that virtue is the mean between extremes (II. i. 9, IV. ii. 6 f.; 10). For self-direction it is the greatest importance to estimate the mind, i.e., to become acquainted with the real mind, and to find out the main second thoughts are often best (IV. ii. 23). Life presents a series of alternatives of which the higher is, by reflexion, to be chosen in spite of...
the seductions and obscurations of sense (VI. i. 15). Righteousness is to be preferred to life itself (VI. i. 10). The righteous is beyond the reach of calamity (IV. ii. 28, VII. i. 21). The only inevitable calamity is self-incurred (IV. i. 16). True greatness is to practise virtue for the sake of oneself and of others, superior to the seductions or threats of riches, honours, poverty, and force (III. ii. 2). To rejoice in virtue breeds neglect of public welfare which is the perfection of music (IV. i. 27; cf. vii. ii. 21).

Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, fidelity, with unwavering joy in these virtues—these constitute the nobility of Heaven' (VI. i. 16). Realized virtue is sure of a transforming influence on others (IV. i. 12); failure to evoke a response should lead to self-examination (IV. i. 4). Virtue cannot be selfish; to find purity by withdrawing from all contact with evil one must become an earthworm (III. ii. 10). Each man is responsible to the extent of his moral attainment for the instruction of others (V. i. 7), and to instruct others is the greatest duty (II. i. 5, III. i. 4), while neglect of this duty degrades the virtuous to the level of those whom they should teach (IV. ii. 7). Of the special virtues, filial piety is the most important. Men show piety to their parents, as Mencius quotes the definition of it as serving one's parents with propriety, burying them with propriety, and sacrificing to them with propriety (III. ii. 26). Piety is the greatest of all duties, for it is the root of all others; it has regard not only to physical sustenance, but to the wishes of the parents (IV. i. 19); and it takes unquestioned precedence of duties to wife or children (IV. ii. 30). Filial piety completely itself in the funeral rites (IV. ii. 13); and, in view of the importance of sacrifice to ancestors, lack of posterior sacrifices is the gravest instance of unfaithful conduct (IV. i. 35).

3. Politics.—Mencius has no scheme of social reconstruction. Existing social usages (e.g., conubinage) and the existing political arrangement—an empire consisting of small States, each with its own king, but owning the supremacy of one State whose ruler is emperor—all this Mencius simply accepts. What he concerned with is the rectification and improvement of the existing social framework. He follows the current analysis into the five relations of father and son, sovereign and minister, husband and wife, old and young, friend and faithful servant. He tries to harmonize the corresponding virtues, affection, righteousness, harmony in difference, order, fidelity (III. i. 4). Of these relations that male and female should dwell together is the greatest (V. i. 2) and within the family we have in service of parents and obedience to elder brothers the fundamental exemplifications of benevolence and righteousness (IV. i. 27, VII. ii. 15). Mencius opposes any such obliteration of natural relations as he finds in Mo's doctrine of universal love. Men have 'a root,' i.e., they have a special relation to their parents and therefore a special duty corresponding thereto (III. i. 5). So, too, Mencius opposes all pantheistic schemes, and teaches that society implies a differentiation of function in which those who labour with the mind govern, and those who labour with their strength are governed (III. i. 4). Without this the teacher of righteousness has his due place (III. ii. 4). In Mencius's doctrine of the State two points are to be noted especially: the emphasis on morality and good government, and the insistence on the force, but on willing submission accorded to virtue (II. i. 3, IV. ii. 16). If the ruler be virtuous, his influence will extend to all his subjects (IV. i. 29, ii. 5). There is no secret of statescraft—it needs only that the ruler give scope to the innate goodness of his nature (I. i. 7, II. i. 6). Let him dismiss all talk of 'profit,' and think only of benevolence and righteousness (I. i. 1). In the disordered times of Mencius such a benevolent government, having regard for the people's welfare (IV. i. 3, 9), would be immediately successful (II. i. 1). The truly benevolent ruler has no enemy within the empire (VII. ii. 4). Rulers are the shepherds and parents of their people (I. i. 4, 6), and must make it their first aim to treat them (the people) with kindness (VII. i. 7). They have a certain livelihood, for without that they will abandon themselves to crime (I. i. 7). Mencius is very emphatic on the necessary precedence of a sound economic conditioner by the voice of the people (I. i. 7). In a State the people are the most important element; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; and the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the panegyrist is the way to become emperor (VII. ii. 14). The voice of the people is determinative of the sovereignty in a kingdom (I. i. 10), and in accordance with it a prince may rebel even against the emperor (I. i. 3). For a sovereign must exist in society and becomes a 'mere follow' (II. i. 5), and, if not removed by the members of the royal house (V. ii. 9) or other ministers (VII. i. 31), he may be removed by the public. For the main qualification for being a minister, since those who have good thoughts will gladly lay them before him (VI. ii. 13). Let the ruler be guided in the appointment and dismissal of ministers by the voice of the people (I. i. 7). In a State the people are the most important element; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; and the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the panegyrist is the way to become emperor (VII. ii. 14). The voice of the people is determinative of the sovereignty in a kingdom (I. i. 10), and in accordance with it a prince may rebel even against the emperor (I. i. 3).

All wars of ambition are condemned (IV. i. 14, VII. ii. 2), and ministers who encourage the ambitions of their prince are 'robbers of the people' (VI. ii. 9). If right government prevails in the empire, the princes of the feudal States will be submissive one to another in proportion to their virtue, and not in proportion to their strength (IV. i. 7). As for the details of a truly benevolent government, 'never has any one fallen into error who followed the laws of the ancient kings' (IV. i. 1), whence sovereigns should imitate Yao, and ministers Shun (IV. i. 2, vii. ii. 10).

4. Religious. Mencius' belief in the divinity of the writings of Mencius to religious worship is merely incidental, and show that he accepted without criticism such worship of spirits and of ancestors as was then current. Of more interest are his references to heaven. He quotes, with approval, from the Shu King, or Book
of History, the saying that heaven, having produced the inferior people, appointed for them rulers and teachers to be assisting to God (i. ii. 3). As heaven protects all, so, in glad imitation, should the ruler of a great State protect a small State, while the ruler of a small State should recognize the deere of heaven and be willing to serve the superior State (vi. ii. 1). Such obedience to heaven ensures preservation, while disobedience entails destruction (iv. i. 7). So, generally, 'calamity and happiness are men's own seeking' (ii. i. 4), although heaven's deere and man's casuality are both recognized:

'That which happens without a man's causing it is from the ordainance of heaven' (c. i. 6).

There is a decree for everything, and a man should receive submissively what can be correctly ascribed thereto; but he who understands what is meant will not stand under a precipiious wall, nor can he under feters be lustily ascribed to heaven's decree, though death in the discharge of duty may be so attributed (vii. i. 2). Man's duty, therefore, is to do the right and leave the issues to heaven (vii. ii. 1), which in its painful discipline of individuals has moral ends in view (vi. ii. 15, vili. i. 18). From man's nature we can know heaven; and to preserve one's mental consti-
tution he should not read and much one's nature is to obey a man (vii. i. 2). To have no shame before heaven is one of the things in which the superior man delights (vii. i. 20). Heaven is the realized ideal after which man aspires (iv. i. 12). Specially suggestive is this saying:

'Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, feel and behave like a man, be not that called Shih-kung' (tr. ii. 36; for the full composition of Shang-ti see art. Go [Chinese]).

§. In conclusion a few miscellaneous points may be noted. Monusus indicates the correct method for understanding Nature by obedience and not by violence in the investigation of her pheno-
mena (vii. ii. 26). He gives us a good canon of interpretation:

'Those who explain the Odes [i.e., the classical Shi King] may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope' (c. i. 4).

To this may be added his comment on the Book of History, which may perhaps be generalized:

'It would be better to be no book of History than to give entire credit in it' (vii. ii. 3).


P. J. MACLAGAN.

MENDELSOHN.—Moses Mendelssohn, otherwise Rabbi Moses of Dessau, philosopher, writer, and Bible translator, was born 8th Sept., 1729 at Dessau, where his father, Mendel, was a poor scribe and teacher in a family descended from Rabbi Moses Isserles, a distinguished Talmudist and philosopher of the 16th cent., known as 'Rena.' Moses Mendelssohn was taught Rab-
binics by the local Rabbi, David Fränkel, who published a commentary on the Palestinian Talmud in 1742. Fränkel was called to the Rabbinate of Berlin in that year, and the young student followed him there in 1745.

At Berlin Mendelssohn was taught French and English by A. S. Gumpertz, and taught himself Latin and Greek. His German philosophy was inspired by the study of Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed.' He earned a precarious livelihood as tutor in the home of a well-to-do Jewish silk merchant, Isaac Bernholt, whose warehouse he afterwards, and throughout his life, was employed as book-keeper. His evenings and all his leisure he devoted to philosophy. He was a follower of Wolf and Leibnitz, but was much influenced by the English sceptics and by Locke and Shaftesbury. His acquaintance with Lessing, who was also born in 1729, began in 1754, when he defended Lessing's drama Die Juden against ad-
verse criticism. Lessing became his lifelong friend, and aided his publication, should the next year Mendelssohn translated Rousseau's Discours sur l'origine ..., de l'inégalité parmi les hommes, though he ridiculed the author's partiality for man in the forests. Though M. Steinemachers (Cat. libr. Hbr. in Bibl. Bodleiana, Berlin, 1852–60) enumerates 39 separate Hebrew works of his, and though he wrote Hebrew poetry when a child of ten, it is as a writer of classical German that Mendelssohn became famous. His essay on aesthetics, Von Erhabenen (1757), was studied by Schiller and Herder. In admiration, rather than in Lessing's pity and terror, he found the moral object of Tragedy. The stories about his friendship with Frederick the Great are legendary. On the contrary, he criticized the king's Polonia diversa in 1766, and found fault with him for writing in French. The royal dialecius Metra so great that he was threatened with expulsion from Berlin, but the Marquis d'Argens intervened, and as a 'philosophu maurus catholique' pleaded for his Majesty as a 'philosophu maurus protestant' to grant to the 'philosophues maurus just' the privilege of residence.

In 1768 Mendelssohn was awarded by the Berlin Academy a prize of 50 ducats for his essay Über die Erschein der metaphysischen Wissenschaften. In 1771 the Academy elected him a member, but Frederick the Great refused to confirm the appoint-
ment, and no protest, not even that of Queen Ulrica of Sweden, was of any avail to get the king to alter his decision with regard to the 'berühmter Jude.' Among his own brethren, and especially in Berlin, Mendelssohn enjoyed the highest esteem. In 1764 he was chosen from Jews, and in 1772 further honour was shown to him by his co-religionists.

His Socratic Dialogue called Phaenon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele was published in 1767, and created an immense sensation. It was translated into nearly all European languages. A Hebrew translation by I. B. Bing, with a preface by N. H. Wessely, appeared in 1757, and an English translation by Cullen in 1771. The work showed a notable reaction against the free thought of Voltaire, and was welcomed by the learned as well as by those in high places, from Winckelmann to Prince Carol of Brunswick. It was the first book of philosophy read and discussed by Goethe and later by Schiller, and dissuaded from suicide many disappointed or degenerates. Mendelssohn rapidly acquired a unique position among the intellectuals of Berlin. His chief friends, besides Lessing, were Hamann, Gleim, Wieland, and Herder, and the Swiss writers Zimmermann, Iselin, Gessner, and Lavater.

The last was the famous physiognomy, immortal-
ized by Darwin; but it was in his capacity as a very zealous pastor that he caused the Jewish philosopher much trouble and annoyance. He publicly dedicated his translation of C. Bouyon's Policingisi philosophique (1769) to Mendelssohn, and urged him to abandon Judaism and become a Christian. The Jew, having obtained the sanction of the 'Cour de Cassation,' wrote Schreiben an den Herrn Diakonus Lozzer zu Zirich (1770), manfully defending his position. It was not only yesterday that he had examined the evidences of his own religion. What but conviction would induce this self-styled pietist, converted Jew? He would never change his religion.
This reply produced a storm of protest. J. B. Kolbele in his Antiphonade (1770) was among those who leaped invective upon him in various pamphlets, of which his best biographer, M. Kayserling, gives a full list. Next year an anonymous Pro memoria appeared in his defence.

The attack, though it injured his health, turned his thoughts to Judaism, and as early as 1761 he had prepared a Hebrew Commentary on the Logia of Maimonides, and had presented the MS to one Samson Kalin, who published it as his own. The book was attacked, and so far as his influence on his co-religionists was concerned, was his translation of the Pentateuch into classical German with a biir, or commentary, in Hebrew. His first assistant was Solomon Dubno († 1819), who quarrelled with Mendelssohn 1780. Mendelssohn’s brother Saul took Dubno’s place in the translation of Exodus, but Hartwig Wessely, a scholar born rich, but afterwards impoverished, later became his chief collaborator. This translation of the Pentateuch met with much opposition from the orthodox Rabbis Landan, Jacob Lissa, Eljah Wulfs, and Hirschel Levin (formerly chief Rabbi of London and then of Berlin) because of what they thought a heretical mistransliteration in Lv 19, where ‘thou shalt rebuke thy neighbour’ was toned down to ‘casts’; but the storm of opposition was chiefly through the spirit of the Italian Rabbis, who, through orthodoxy, were also enlightened.

Mendelssohn’s translation of the Psalms, which had been begun before 1770, was not completed for five years after the quarrel that took up the work only spasmodically and just when some particular Psalm suited the mood of the moment. It was intended for Christian rather than for Jewish readers, and it was first printed in German characters, not Hebrew. The publisher Maurer bought the MS for 500 thalers and published it in 1783, but lost money by the publication; next year it was published in the Brockhauch with a biir by one Joel Löwe. The Song of Deborah and the Song of Songs were the other Bible translations completed by Mendelssohn.

His commentary on Ecclesiastes he had published anonymously in 1769. It was clear and sympathetic, but, though greatly admired by Herder, is notable chiefly for a novel division into sections, differing from the traditional chapters. Mendelssohn’s opponents were critical of these, and Bishop DSL Michaelis, the editor of these, and Bishop DLS Michaelis, the editor of the Jewish Liturgy, was also translated by him, viz. the Haggada, a Passover service—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of bibliographers.

In 1770 Mendelssohn collected money—and students—for the unsectarian college ‘Philanthropin’ of Dessau. In 1781 he and his rich disciple, Isaac Daniel Izaic, founded the Jewish Free school in Berlin, the first institution of the kind, where not only Bible and Talmud, but also German, French, and sciences were taught by Jewish and Christian teachers. Similar institutions were afterwards founded on the same plan in Breslau and other cities.

After his wife’s death, Lessing had to battle for tolerance in his Anti-Goeze, and conceived the idea of meeting the theologians with a comedy, which was the origin of his famous drama Nathan der Weise, which appeared in 1778, and which was in some respects a development of his youthful production. Lessing’s idea of the play on the story of the Jew Melchizaek in Boccaccio’s Decameron. About no German work except Goethe’s Faust has so much been written.

Mendelssohn, Recha his daughter Dorothea, the templar Lessing, the Swiss widow Deja is intended for Lavater, the dervish is Mendelssohn’s mathematical friend Abraham Wolf Rechenburg, and so on. The play itself is not a plea for Jews and Judaism, but for toleration and his thought of Judaism as a religion of all kinds. In Vienna it was consecrated. The controversy engendered by Nathan der Weise led to a plea for the civil emancipation of the Jews by C. W. von Bunsen († 1871), who also decried the prejudice against Jews.

In 1878 Mendelssohn published a translation of Manasseh ben Israel’s Esquonose de Israel (Amsterdam, 1693), with an introduction pleading for emancipation. Mendelssohn was opposed to a Jew or for being a ‘wobbler’ between Judaism and Christianity, and this induced him to write his Jerusalem (1783), a work on religious power and Judaism. In a book, translated into English in 1788, he vindicated his Judaism and explained why he was not a Christian. It is a plea for the separation of State and Church, and urges that ‘Kirk, Synagogue, and Church are not one religion. Judaism, he urged, has no dogmas or chains upon belief; Joseph Albo († 1445), who had reduced the thirteen creeds formulated by Maimonides to three (cf. EIZE IV 2480), was no heretic. Judaism requires not a legal but a moral law, but tolerated complete liberty of opinion.

In a Reader for his children, Mendelssohn substitutes in the creeds the words ‘I recognize as true and certain’ for the words ‘I believe.’ Ceremonial laws he regarded as a sort of living scripture and the great bond between Jew and Jew, urging that, even if their utility were no longer clear, they were still binding. Actions are our duty, but creeds, symbols, and formulas are the fetters of reason. In this way he reconciled the denials of Leibniz and the English deists with revealed law. His Jerusalem and his unfinished Betrachtungen über Bonnets Palingenese are both pleas for toleration, but not for uniformity of belief. In both he warns his disciples against prejudice, superstition, and even enthusiasm. Jerusalem expressed his firm conviction that it was incontrovertible, and wrote a highly appreciative letter about it; Mirabeau said that it ought to be translated into every European language; Michaelis found fault with its condemnation of Anglican bishops for consenting to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and Mendelssohn had to explain his position in the Berliner Monatschrift, of which he was one of the founders in 1773. By some contemporaries he was attacked as an atheist and by others as a ‘Talmud Rabbi,’ but he saw no inconsistency between his philosophical belief and his faith. His Hebrew works are written entirely from the Rabbinical standpoint, and he was a good Talmudist, as is proved by his correspondence with Jacob Emden.

Mendelssohn’s Morgenstunden, like his Bible translation, was in the first instance intended to lead his son Joseph to a true belief in God. Its publication, in 1755, was designed as a refutation of Spinoza itself as well as of the charge that Lessing was a Spinozist. In 1838 Alexander von Humboldt, in a letter to M. Mortara, described him, in his youth, he and Mendelssohn’s sons had heard these very Morgenstunden given forth by the philosopher. Lessing founded the play on the story of the Jew Melchizaek in Boccaccio’s Decameron. About no German work except Goethe’s Faust has so much been written. In
were to be treated in the second part. Its philo-
sophy is an attempt to advance upon the sensualism
of Wolf by the help of English empiricism. He
claimed that human common sense, when working
hand in hand with reason, was infallible.
Though self-taught, Mendelssohn was neither a
dilettante nor a popular philosopher. Hegel de-
precates him as a philosopher, but, as a writer of
German prose after Goethe and perhaps Lessing,
his characteristic was its Socratic irony. A
predecessor of Kant, his writings are far easier
to understand and himself was proud that the
Jewish scholar had attended one of his lectures,
and was always polite to him, though he expressed
disappointment that Mendelssohn had not reviewed
his 'Kritik der reinen Vernunft,' when it appeared
in 1784. Simultaneously with the publication of
the Morgontiunden appeared F. H. Jacob's treatise
Uber die Lehre des Spinoza an den Herrn Moses
Mendelssohn. Lavater had rebuked him for not
being a Christian; Jacob now charged him with
atheism. He was profoundly disturbed by what
he considered a cruel attack, and retaliated with
his Address an die Freundes Lesungen. He brought
the whole matter before the court on 31st Decem-
ber 1755, and died two days later of a paralytic stroke.
There is little doubt that Jacob's attack, in which
Lavater, Herder, and Goethe had all sided against
the Jewish philosopher, brought about his end.
He left three sons and three daughters. His
Joseph and Abraham founded the famous
banking house of Mendelssohn and Co., which
still exists. The former in 1840 reviewed Kossetti's
Daniel. The latter, Mendelssohn was
Abraham's son; another grandson, G. B.
Mendelssohn, edited the philosopher's complete
works in 1843-45.
Mendelssohn's first biographer, his pupil I. A.
Euchel, described him as short and broad-
shouldered, but feeble and pigeon-breasted, with
thick black hair, dark complexion, bright eyes,
and high forehead, a voice soft and gentle, and in
conversation crisp and persuasive, but never long-
winded (Tödlich Rambam, Berlin, 1756).
There is much difference of opinion among Jews
as to whether his influence has been beneficial to
them. The general sentiment is that it has proved
better for Jews than for Judaism. His
chief opponents were the 19th cent. Russian
intellectuals known as the Maskilim, especially
Peter Parnin, who deplored the rise of denying
Jewish nationalism, belittled his knowledge of
the wisdom of Israel, and characterized him as a
merchant rather than a Rabbi. Yet without doubt
he was the first and most typical of modern Jews,
the first to identify himself with another nation
and yet remain a Jew.

Mendelssohn's work is relatively important. His
study of the Jewish Bible and of Jewish history
proved of inestimable value to their history and
was of great importance to the science of histori-
graphy. His "Religion of Judaism," which he
published in 1783, is still the best and only
work on the subject.

MENNONITES.—Mennonites is the name
applied to three bodies of groups, namely,
(1) the Mennonites of Canada; (2) the Amish,
known as "Plain People" in Germany; and
(3) the Brethren from the United States.

Mennonites (1) are a distinct branch of the
Church of the Brethren. They are descendants
of the Brethren who migrated with others to
Canada in 1817 and 1818. The origin of the
Church of the Brethren is traced by some
writers to the Peace Church of the Swedes
in Sweden, but others attribute it to a
meeting of Brethren at the beginning of
the 17th cent. in the Netherlands.

The Mennonites (2) are a sect of German
origin. The word "Mennonite" is derived
from the name of the leader of the sect,
Menno Simons (1536-1609). He was
a member of the Catholic Church who
became a Protestant and joined the
Swiss Brethren. He refused to take
the oath of allegiance, and fled from
Switzerland to the Netherlands. There he
founded the Church of the Brethren, which
proved to be the forerunner of the
Mennonite Church. The Mennonites
are distinguished by their simple
dress and their refusal to bear arms.

The Mennonites (3) are a sect of Swiss
origin. They are the descendants of
Menno Simons and his followers. They
are distinguished by their simple
dress and their refusal to bear arms.

Mennonite MSS..—The Mennonites
have a large number of MSS. in their con-
gregations. These MSS. are used by the
members of the congregation in their
devotions and in their religious
instruction. They are also used as
texts in the Sunday School and in
the Sunday School classes.

Mennonite MSS. are divided into three
categories: (1) the Old Testament
MSS.; (2) the New Testament MSS.; and
(3) the Apocryphal MSS.

The Old Testament MSS. are used by
the members of the congregation in
their devotions and in their religious
instruction. They are also used as
texts in the Sunday School and in
the Sunday School classes.

The New Testament MSS. are used by
the members of the congregation in
their devotions and in their religious
instruction. They are also used as
texts in the Sunday School and in
the Sunday School classes.

The Apocryphal MSS. are used by
the members of the congregation in
their devotions and in their religious
instruction. They are also used as
texts in the Sunday School and in
the Sunday School classes.

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E. N. ADLER
and Mrs. A. Bros; and, in 1884, in order to prevent the decline of their little number, the Mennonites founded the Vereinigung der Mennoniten-gemeinden im deutschen Reiche (the Union of the Congregations of Mennonites in the German Empire). Their periodical, Mennonitische Blätter, has been issued since 1854.

They have congregations in Alsace, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Wurtemburg, Hesse, Nassau, and the lower part of the Rhine, in Westphalia, East Prussia, and, in West and East Prussia.

In 1874, and, after the church. In 1878, they emigrated to France. freedom was promised them in the document the magistrats. In a manly and Christianlike spirit they declared: 'Freedom of conscience reigns here, which is right and rational, and personal freedom ought to reign here for every one, criminals of course excepted. In the War of Independence their defencelessness was respected; nevertheless many emigrated in 1786 to Canada, as they could not approve of insurrection against the British government. Conservative in all things, they have not even yet, after two centuries, given up their old language, 'Pennsylvania Dutch.'

(c) France. — In France the Mennonites held their first conference at Toul in 1901; their paper, Christ, appeared in 1908.

(d) Russia. — An emigration of Mennonites to Russia took place when the celebrated empress Catherine had promised them great territories in her empire, where they would be permitted to live according to their own religion and customs. About 3500 left Prussia in 1785; and many others followed them until 1824. At first they suffered many trials, not the least of which were due to discord among themselves. As they persisted in their belief in apostolic succession, their congregation was needed among others, so was imposition of hands. They prospered, however, in their new fatherland, which gave a shelter also to the fugitive Mennonites from Hungary. At present their position is that of Jekatierinoslaw and Tauria, Warsaw, the Crimea, Samara, Caucasus, and Chiva. In their colonies the school management is excellently ordered, the church affairs are managed by the elders of the congregation, the preacher selected from among the brethren, fulfilling not only the duties of their ministry, but also those of their civil calling.

In 1874 a great danger threatened the Mennonites: excommunication from military service was abrogated, and thus the privilege conceded to them by the empress Catherine and the emperor Paul was annihilated. Large numbers of Mennonites prepared to quit Russia; in the years 1874–80 more than 15,000 left for America. This made an impression upon the Russian government; the emperor sent the minister, F. E. I. von Todt-Beben, to them; after mutual deliberation the resolution was made that the Mennonites could perform their military duties in the forestry of the State. This favourable arrangement has been maintained ever since; the Mennonites, however, according to their oldstyle idea, have always sought to relieve the sufferers of war.

(e) America. — The Mennonites are far more numerous in America than in any other country. The first colonists were Dutchmen who, about 1650, settled in New Amsterdam (now New York). Under the pressure of the heavy persecutions in the Rhine-land, thirteen families at Crefeld resolved to emigrate to the New World. They landed on 6th October 1653, three pioneers having already bought 8000 acres of land in Pennsylvania from William Penn, and they founded Germantown (now part of Philadelphia). Seven other families followed in 1658; and from that time the emigration continued during the whole of the 18th cent. and still more during the 19th. In 1820 Swiss Mennonites came to America, followed in 1839 by many South Germans, and afterwards, as we have said, by whole congregations from Russia, besides one from Galicia and one from West Prussia. The estate immigrants formed many friendly connections with the Quakers and other sects, but they preserved their independence. They came with the hope of remaining free from all hindrances in following their own traditions and institutions; some of them even entertained the desire to establish in the New World the true Kingdom of God according to His Ordonnance. It was only after long deliberation that they dared to entrust the ministry of baptism and of the Lord's Supper to an elder who had not received the imposition of hands in Europe; and even now the most rigid of them will not permit their fellow-members to enter a 'church.'

The Mennonites have a great regard for their past history — and not unjustly. Their forefathers were the first to protest against slavery; they committed their scruples to writing on 16th April 1685, and delivered the document to the magistrates. In a manly and Christianlike spirit they declared: 'Freedom of conscience reigns here, which is right and rational, and personal freedom ought to reign here for every one, criminals of course excepted.'

In the War of Independence their defencelessness was respected; nevertheless many emigrated in 1786 to Canada, as they could not approve of insurrection against the British government. Conservative in all things, they have not even yet, after two centuries, given up their old language, 'Pennsylvania Dutch.'

The Mennonites in America are divided into: (1) Old Mennonites, the great majority; their periodicals are the Mennonitische Rundschau and The Herald of Truth (the Germ. ed., Herald der Wahrheit, has ceased to appear since 1901—an evidence of the influence of the杂志 among them); (2) Anab'h Mennonites; and (3) the 'General Conference.' Since 1860 the last-mentioned party has endeavoured to form an organization between all the Mennonites of America, respecting the autonomy and the peculiarities of each congregation. The foundation of Bethel College at Newton, Kansa, was favoured by them. 1

2. Characteristic. — Wherever Mennonites are found — in Switzerland or in Germany, in Russia or in France, in the United States or in Canada — they are known as excellent husbandmen, simple in their manners, blameless in their behaviour, honest, conscientious, and diligent, so that most of them are in easy circumstances. In consequence of their seclusion the civilization of later times has had little influence on them; they are very conservative and often suspicions of opinions which differ from their own. (An exception must be made in the case of the German Mennonites who live close to the frontiers of the Netherlands—East Prussia, Westphalia, and on the Rhine; they have been influenced by the Dutch and the French, below.] They have remained where their forefathers stood three centuries ago; in order to understand their opinions, it is, therefore, necessary to understand the writings composed by their fellow-believers in the 16th and 17th centuries.

3. Religious beliefs. — The oldest defenders of baptism after confession of faith entertained a strong aversion to the papal hierarchy. They would not reform the Roman Catholic Church; they would destroy it by the foundation of separate and wholly autonomous congregations. The preachers were elected by the majority; there was no tie between the congregations except that of community of faith and of love. According to the example of the separation of Israel, the people of the Lord, the Gentiles, the congregation of Christ ought to be separated from the world; this was done by the external bond of laws and commandments that formed a sort of fence round the true believers. As the congregation of the Lord consists only of believing and regenerate persons, the children of the Lord, only those who are sufficiently advanced in years and experience, and, therefore,

1 One of the most renowned professors of this college was C. H. Wezel, author of the Aktion der Geschichte der Mennoniten, Newton, 1900–04, who died in 1910.
able to believe, can be admitted into the congregation by baptism. Hence they highly valued baptism as a token of the confession of faith, but they did not acknowledge the baptism of children as a baptism, and the infants were not baptized at all. The name of Anabaptists (q.v.), therefore, was an undeserved nickname, given them by their enemies.

They sought to maintain the purity of the congregation by baptism, and taught that true believers must avoid all intercourse with an excommunicated member. The charge has often been brought against them that, since they regard themselves as the perfect or holy congregation of the Lord, they do not admit that they are poor lost sinners. Their lives and their writings, however, contradict this accusation most positively. It is true that they separated themselves from all those who were of a different opinion, but it was from fear of seduction. By the simplicity of their manners and their dress they showed their rejection of the world. A wedding outside of the congregation was a 'worldly', as I may say, wedding. They were strangers on the earth; therefore no interference with the powers of the world, no using of the sword, was permitted. The oath is forbidden, as a token of the faith which with God in His word has not clearly connected salvation or condemnation. They even took an interest in the things of this world; e.g., they supported with their money the great William of Orange in his efforts to liberate the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. Afterwards many of them held magistracies, but the influence of the State Church has put an end to that.

The Mennonites exercised a remarkably attractive influence upon the Brownists who, from 1593, had settled in Amsterdam to evade the persecution in England (see art. BROWNISM). One of them, John Smyth, came to Holland in 1606; with his friend, Thomas Helwys, he forsook Brownism in 1608, administered baptism on confession of faith, and founded a separate congregation. A year afterwards he tried to amalgamate it with the Mennonites; in this his followers were successful (1615). Helwys, on the contrary, though he entertained friendly relations with the Mennonites, maintained his independence; he returned to England in 1611. His followers, influenced by Edward Barber (1644), came to the conclusion that only baptism by immersion was legal. Henceforth they called themselves Baptists, and broke off community of faith with the Mennonites.

In the 17th cent. Socinianism exercised such a great influence on the Mennonites that the Reformed theologian, J. Hoornbeek, could write: 'Anabaptista indolent Socinians, Socinians autem doctus Anabaptista.' The more conservative tendency was to defend themselves against the intrusion of this dreaded heresy by maintaining the old confessions of faith—a dangerous measure, for these confessions had never had any binding authority. At last a great schism took place in 1664 between the liberal and the orthodox members ('Lamisten' and 'Zonisten'). With regard to the practice of Christian charity, however, the unity was not severed; the two parties worked together to relieve their suffering brethren in the Palatinate and elsewhere.

In the golden age of the Dutch Republic many of its poets and painters—among them probably the celebrated Rembrandt—were Mennonites. They formed more than one-tenth of the whole population, but as a rule neither the nobility nor the lower classes joined their ranks. In the 18th cent. their number declined for many reasons. The lay-preachers, elected from among the brethren, no longer satisfied the congregations; consequently, a great number of
families passed into the State Church. The foundation of a theological seminary in Amsterdam (1735) did not produce any lasting improvement. At many places, fortunately, the pietistic spirit of the forefathers continued, and the spiritual well-being of the people and the spreading of a higher civilization were objects of great care. The Teylers' Genootschap ('Society of Teylers') and the Montschap (Montanus's 'Society for the Promotion of the General Good')—two institutions that to this day do a large amount of useful work—were founded in 1738 and 1784 by Mennonites. They fully agreed with the Revolution of 1789, for their old ideals appeared to them to be realized by it; they gladly supported it by many sacrifices, but their prosperity greatly declined in the hard times of Napoleon. To improve this state of things the Algemeene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit ('General Society of Mennonites') was founded at Amsterdam in 1811 by some wealthy congregations, and at present all the Mennonite congregations are members of it. This Society took upon itself the care of the theological seminary and the support of the indigent congregations. By its influence the desirable end was obtained that all the congregations, in the time of need, possessed of ministers who had received a university education. From that time their secession from the other Protestants ceased. In the theological sciences the Mennonites are of a conservative tendency, e.g., J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, A. W. Wybrands, C. Sepp, S. Cramer). Often their ministers preach to congregations of another confession—in other words, they exchange pulpits. The professors of their seminary also profess theology at the university of Amsterdam.

Still the Mennonites have remained congregationalists; they are zealous for the entire independence of each congregation. Consequently, in the various congregations there is some difference in the form of public worship—e.g., in the use of psalters and hymn-books—and there is also a difference in the manuals used for religious teaching. Nevertheless, they are strongly attached to each other and to their community, and promote their common interests in fraternal unanimity. Their ministers are elected by the majority of the brethren (and often also of the sisters) or, in many congregations, by the church-committee. They are ordained and wear no official dress, for they found no necessity of having a clergy.

In regard to baptism and oath-taking the opinions of the Mennonites are unchanged. Self-reliance, evident in the voluntary act of becoming a member of the congregation, is still the condition of membership, so that they would rather abolish the whole rite of baptism than permit the baptism of infants. They have no confessions of faith and would not tolerate them. They dislike dogmatic speculations, and hold that the characteristic of a true believer is not his creed but his life. Hence, their toleration allows persons of very different opinions to live peacefully together in the same congregation. The majority of the Mennonites are liberal, the more conservative profess a Biblical orthodoxy.

Their original tenets concerning ecclesiastical discipline, bearing of arms, and civil office are at present unaltered. Contemplating that the Mennonites form little more than one-hundredth part of the population, it is a significant fact that an important number of ministers, representatives of the nation, burgomasters, etc., have for many years been charged with service. The same applies also to the Mennonites of other countries is maintained chiefly by the means of the missionary society, which propagates the gospel in Java and Sumatra. The missions and the correspondences come principally from their foreign brethren.

LITERATURE.—The literature concerning the Mennonites is very extensive, but there is no good history of them, based on the advanced knowledge of our days. There are several works on the subject; the following:


MENTAL RESERVATION.—The great Mennonite leaders have been universally admitted that there are cases in which we should do a grave wrong by supplying a questioner with the information which he demands, and that we must either answer, as far as possible, in such a way as not to give him his wish, or, if we can avoid it, we must simply refuse to answer. Yet, there is considerable difficulty as to the ethical grounds on which such deception can be defended. Does it not necessarily involve either a false impression on the part of the questioner or a wrong to him? The question is an old one, and moralists have answered it in different ways. The doctrine of mental reservation is the solution offered by many theologians both medieval and modern. This doctrine is, in a sense, based upon the Roman Catholic teaching as to the intrinsic maliciousness of lying in that in order to explain it it will be necessary first to state briefly what that teaching is. Roman Catholic theologians are unanimous in holding that a lie is always and necessarily sinful; there can be no such thing as a permissible lie. This is the teaching of St. Augustine ('de Mentacio, contra Mundacum, ad Consensum, Enchiridion, xvii. 5'); and every Roman Catholic theologian of weight is in agreement with him. The utterances of Scripture on the subject are, they believe, quite decisive, and leave no room for dispute. Moreover, the Scholastics of the 12th and 13th centuries reached the same conclusion on rational grounds. A lie, they teach, does not necessarily presuppose the wish to deceive; it consists in the intentional assertion of what is contrary to the truth, with or without the man's own knowledge, or even without his own belief. The liar may know that his lie will not deceive; yet, so long as he intends to assert what is false and is not manifestly joking, his words are a lie. Nature has provided us with the power to express our thoughts by external signs. He who employs this faculty to convey to others the very opposite of his thought is withholding, moral or physical, the use of his power for an illegitimate purpose; and his act contains an intrinsic turpitude. The wish to deceive is an aggravation of the offence; but it is not requisite to make the words a lie (Thomas Aquinas, Summa, iii, 73). It is enough if Falsehood is, further, an offence against justice; we owe the truth to our fellow-men. But, even apart from this aspect of it, the act is intrinsically evil.

It is plain that, where so strict a view is taken as to the obligation of truth, the cases which we are considering constitute a grave difficulty. Whatever be the circumstances, a lie can never be justified. Augustine seems to have thought that...
the only choice lay between silence and a frank declaration of the truth irrespective of consequences (de Mend. xii.). But it is clear that this does not solve the problem; for in many cases silence is equivalent to an admission; and it may well be that to answer the question proposed, whether by words or by silent asent, would constitute a flagrant breach of justice. A violation of the elementary principle that speech is not a whit less wrong than a sin against veracity.

Here, then, arises the question as to the permissibility of 'mental reservations.' A speaker is said to do this if he states a fact, or makes a statement true only if qualified by a restrictive clause, and when he does not openly express this clause 'reserves' it within his own mind. Thus, e.g., should a member of the Government reply to some impertinent inquiry regarding matters of State, 'I do not know,' his answer is in all likelihood qualified by such a reservation, and is to be understood as signifying: 'I do not know in my capacity of a private citizen.'

The general verdict of theologians is that a man may lawfully use mental reservations under certain given conditions, viz. if there be a real need of preserving a special circuit. There are such as to indicate that the words may have to be understood in a restricted sense. Where these conditions are present, he may use reservation. But what are these conditions? for one reason or another, his question will not advert to the restriction. Thus, to take a classical example, if murderers inquire of a man whether their intended victim is lying concealed in his house, it is allowable for the man to say in reply, 'It may be true; for the circumstances are such that even the murderers themselves should be aware that the words may have to be understood with a restrictive clause; 'No one is concealed there, of whom I can justly speak to men like yourselves.' Mental reservations of this kind are termed restrictions late mentales. It is only in a loose sense (late) that they can be called 'mental'; for their presence is externally recognizable through the circumstances of the case.

It is contended that these statements are not in any sense falsehoods. For it is a principle universally admitted that, in judging of the meaning of words, we must take into consideration the circumstances in which they are used. No one regards the prisoner's plea of 'Not guilty' as a lie. The concrete surroundings show that his words signify only in the eye of the law. A priest is not looked on as guilty of falsehood when he professes never yet to have heard of some matter which was long since revealed to him in confession; all are aware that what is spoken in confession is to him as if it were unknown. In each case the circumstances indicate that the words may be employed in a restricted sense. Taken in that sense, they are true; they correspond with the speaker's real judgment. The same holds good in the cases where we are justified in using mental reservation; the circumstances show that there may be a qualifying clause.

It may be brought in a mental reservation that we use language with the deliberate purpose of deceiving another, and that this is, to all intents, falsehood. But the objection is not, in fact, justified. In the first place, our true purpose is not to deceive but to protect our secret—a thing that we have every right to do. We may not, indeed, in order to do so, tell a lie; but we are not bound to supply the questioner with all the information which the unjustly seeks to extort. And, secondly, in such cases it is more correct to say that the questioner deceives himself than that we deceive him. He is well aware that to such a question we may be unable to give a full answer without the betrayal of a secret, and he must expect an evasion. If he chooses to take it as an unqualified statement of the whole truth, let him attribute the error to his own folly. We may be the occasion of his mistake; we are not, properly speaking, the cause of it.

It stands to reason that mental reservation may be employed only where there is real necessity of preserving a secret, and where there is no other way of doing so. To employ it for any cause, is the possibility of a restricted reply. This, however, is not the case if the restriction is such as to be manifest to all except the extremely unobservant. Under such circumstances a comparatively slight cause—e.g., to set aside an inconvenient question—will be justification enough. Again, if the person who asks has a right to demand the information from us, then, unawake as the question may be, we must answer fully. It would not, e.g., be justifiable to practise mental reservation to the income-tax commissioner.

In the 16th cent. a prolonged controversy arose as to the permissibility of the restriction pur mentalis, viz. a mental reservation the presence of which is not indicated by a general circuit. There was, however, the first to put forward this opinion appears to have been the famous canonist Martin de Aspilcuetas ('Doctor Navarrus'; 1491–1586). His authority was so great that he was followed by not a few authors, e.g., noted London, Diana, etc. On the other hand, theologians no less eminent maintained what is clearly the case, that such reservations differ in no way from falsehoods. This was the view emphatically taught by P. Laymann, J. Azor, G. de Coninck, and many others. In 1769 Innocent xi. condemned three propositions drawn from the works of those who defended the use of the restrictio pura mentalis (H. Denzinger and C. Bannwist, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Freiburg, 111, nos. 1176–1178). Since that time the opinion has been acknowledged to be theoretically indefensible.

Protestant moralists reject the doctrine of mental reservation, and those of them who deal with the cases at issue solve the problem by adopting a less rigorous view as to falsehood than is taken by the Roman Catholic theologians. They hold that the malice of lying consists in its being an offence against justice, truth being a debt which we owe our fellow-men; and that, where that debt ceases, falsehood is legitimate—thus, e.g., Grotius (de Jure Belli et Pacis, III. i. 11), J. Milton (Treatise of Christian Doctrine, in Prose Works, London, 1848–53, v. 115–119), Jeremy Taylor (Doctor Debitantium, in Works, London, 1823 xi. 351), W. Paley (Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, bk. iii. ch. 15, in Works, London, 1821, i. 138). For reasons given for this view is regarded as erroneous by the Roman Catholic theologians.

Literature.—P. Laymann, Theologia Moralis, Munich, 1859, iv. 325; T. Raynal, Pensees de Religion et de Restrictions, in Opera, Lyons, 1655, xiv. 71; V. G. Diets, Thesaurus d'Alex. VII., Alex. VIII., Padua, 1788; G. J. Walfelsbergh, Dissertation sur la nature des mensonges, Bruges, 1781; J. H. Newman, Apologia pro Vitae Sane, London, 1861, Appendix 9, T. Slater, Art. 'Lying,' 'Mental Reservations,' in CE; A. Ballerini, Opus Theologico Morale, Prato, 1850, vi. 41; and other Catholic theologians.


Mercy.—Mercy, as an ethical quality predictable in both God and man, may be usefully dis-
tonguished from love or kindness as connoting in its object a certain inferiority, whether natural or spiritual. It excludes the idea of equality, in this or that relation, as between giver and receiver. In the Bible the divine mercy signifies active pity for the guilty or the miserable; it is manifested in countless ways, but pre-eminently in the bestowal of salvation in Christ, and may therefore be looked upon as the expression of divine love in the presence of the sinful or the frail. Either moral failure or creaturely weakness is sufficient to evoke it, and both things are always found in all men. Hence mercy in God is rather a permanent disposition than merely an intermittent source of specific acts. As exhibited at its noblest in Jesus' personal demeanour, mercy has in it nothing of condescension, which is an attitude bordering on scorn; it was because He sought to establish with them such communion of spirit as might produce inward renewal that Jesus showed compassion to the needy, and under these circumstances mercy became the instrument of His trust in the divine capacities of man. Ere long Jesus was able to call the recipients of His mercy by the closer name of 'friends.'

Justice; instead of mercy to God implies a positive estimate of religious cognition, or at least the rejection of some negative estimates which have figured prominently in 19th century philosophy. To say of mercy that 'it is an attribute to God Himself,' is the equivalent of holding that anthropomorphic judgments do not necessarily or substantially falsify our apprehension of the divine reality, and that moral qualities which faith sees in God are not essentially different from qualities in men called by the same names.

Apart from special tenets of the schools, Christian minds have usually held that the divine mercy is characterized, or even constituted, by two qualities. (1) It is free; it is not forced by any outward constraint, nor does it come to manifestation as the automatic response of reason to the facts of the world. God is love, love which has its measure in the Cross; and His mercy, as everlasting as Himself, is greater than we could either ask or think. It is misleading to speak of Him as constrained to mercy, if we mean simple that His action is the free expression of a perfectly loving Will; His pity is evoked, not by merit, or by tears of repentance, but by the need or ruin of His creatures. (2) It is absolute, and covers the whole remnant of man's life; it is a limit from human prejudice, but puts all men in debt for every good gift. For St. Paul the mercy of God has the aspect of miracle or paradox as being vouchsafed to the unworthy and even to the actively hostile, whose worth it creates but does not presuppose. Our part is not to measure or explain it, but rather to enjoy it with wonder and adoration.

Yet the best religious thought has never held the divine mercy to be incompatible with hostility to sin. Ethically pure compassion is a real capacity for holy anger; there is no mercy in allowing a bad man to go on badness. Doubtless to an evil conscience mercy and judgment appear to be in conflict, but for Jesus both were living expressions of the Father's heart. Mercy in God asks for mercifulness in man. In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Mt 18:28-30) Jesus made this plain for good and all. Mercy for Him is an element in the righteousness of the King, and He has been stated to be so much at variance with evil that it needed much to be inculcated in Christ's time when sympathy was killed by the theory that all suffering was penalty of special sin, a theory which formed a part of the very justice of righteousness' (A. H. Bruce, in Expositor's Greek Testament, i. [1897] 99).

To seek at God's hands a pity which we refuse to others is insincere; not only so, but in the absence of a merciful spirit we are morally incapable of appreciating the free, unobtained mercy of God. Hence the promise to the merciful that they shall receive mercy (Mt 5) expresses one aspect of the moral nature of things.

Human mercy must take the mercy of God as its model and limit. It is not to be accurately doled out in proportion to the receiver's deserts; in its perfectness it will rather exhibit a certain abandonment and overflowing munificence, and will ask no questions about the offender save as to his penitence. But feeble and complaisant mercy is as demoralizing as indiscriminate charity. 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful' (Lk 6:32) is a call for discipline no less than lenity.

The supreme motive of mercifulness, whether to the guilty or to the necessitous, is not the natural desire to be treated mercifully in our own time of need; it is the thankful memory of pity bestowed on us by God. And the living sense that from the mercy of God all our hopes begin, the sight of its glorious freedom and absoluteness in Christ, is far more than a matter of immediate need; it is charged with moral inspiration enabling Christian men to do and bear all things for the sake of the unmeasured divine love that for them has made all things new.


MERCY (Indian).—Adequately to discuss the significance and operation of the quality of mercy within the range of the Indian peoples would demand a book or treatise of no incon siderable length. All that is practicable within the limits of an article is to attempt to exhibit the natural qualities and general tendencies that have been at work, to estimate the utility and worth of the influences that have been brought to bear, and to indicate the broad results in the character and disposition of the inhabitants of the country, as they are found in evidence at the present day. It is manifest that environment and ethnological origin and development, no less than religious prejudice and ethical culture, have contributed to a resultant quality or characteristic which can be distinctly described.

It is clear, moreover, that, from early historical times at least, the expression of this quality in the races of India has been obstructed and almost stifled in two directions, the one more or less, a consequence of the other. The barriers raised by caste, which became only more formidable with the lapse of time, while permitting or even joining the exhibition of kindliness, generosity, and pity within the narrow caste limits, formed insuperable obstacles to the exercise of these qualities without, and therefore tended inevitably to isolation and degradation. And religious pride and prejudices, alloying themselves with caste distinctions, promoted the growth of a narrow parthianship and class organization, within which the development of a spirit of sympathy in human kindliness was as little practicable as that of community of interest. The earlier periods of Indian history and social life also show clearly the presence of those feelings of mutual hostility and antagonism which in general mainly allying among groups of primitive peoples dwelling in a wide land, among whom isolation and the difficulties of communication are an effective ground of the mercifulness' (A. H. Trench, in Expositor's Greek Testament, i. [1897] 99).
acrer and intentions. Thus the suspicion en-
gendered by mere strangeness leads not seldom to
acts of cruelty, which ultimately obtain the
sanction of custom and are fortified by religious
precept and rule. An unreasoning dread of that
which is exceptional, rather than any other
natural impulse, is probably at the basis of all
such ruthless practices. The angry and hostile
feelings thus aroused are the growth of this
spirit of sympathy and mercifulness; and the
latter must wait for the rise of a wider and more
intelligent and generous outlook upon life and
human relations.

The claims, moreover, of a religious ritual which
not only sanctioned, but enjoined, animal sacri-
fices were hostile to the development of the
kindlier qualities of pity and regard for the
weaker or less fortunate members of the tribe
or community. Familiarity with the taking of
life has always tended, not only in India, but
elsewhere, to deaden sensibility and to bring into
play the harsher and more cruel passions. When
the sacrificial act claims the sanction of religion,
and is transformed into a sacred rite and duty,
the performance of which in all its rigid details
is obligatory, the decision-biasing effect of custom
and habit is reinforced by an appeal to the strongest
human motives and prejudices. That which in many
Instances it would be felt to be unnatural, it is
probable that the one will well be determined
and with a clear conscience under
what he conceives to be divine authority. The
elaborate Vedic sacrificial, with their large
demands and imposing ritual, could have had in
this respect only one consequence—to familiarize
men’s minds with thoughts of savagery, and to
close their hearts and cars to the cry for com-
passion. With facilities for mutual intercourse
and the advance of civilization, and with a higher
estimate of the value of life in all its forms,
these practices changed their character, or tended
altogether to disappear. Offerings of fruit or
flowers, or more in past of animal, took the
place of the living sacrifice at the altar, and
bear witness to an alteration of feeling on the
part of the worshipper, and a desire to free his
ritual from acts and observances which had be-
come repugnant to a more cultivated and sensitive
nature.

It is probable also that a distinction should be
made—a distinction due to racial characteristic
as well as to time—between the primitive people of India and the later Aryan
tribes, who entered the country in successive
waves of invasion from the north-west and north.
The latter were swayed by the gentler, more
peaceable, and kindly temperament incident
always to the pastoral habit of life. Eventually
this tendency, though with many a set-back and
cross-current of savagery, and gave its general
tone to the character and disposition of the entire
Indian people. The primitive tribes, for the most
part isolated from one another in gloomy
and treacherous forest homes, received a training which
developed the suspicious and harsher elements of
human nature, brought into prominence the rugged
aspects of nature as a whole, and was calculated
to present few attractive features of generosity
or humanity. Thus they were taught lessons of
sterile pitylessness and disregard of the life or well-
being of others, and more or less unconsciously
cultivated a disposition akin to that of the wild
beasts of prey, and had to watch over their
resources. These two currents of thought and
feeling may be traced all through the course
of Indian history, and are observable at the present
time among the racial and caste divisions of the
country, as is the credit of the innate
courtesy and sympathetic kindliness of the native Indian that a merciful and generous spirit lies, on the
whole, maintained itself against religions
and social prejudices, and, in the face of influences
from within and from without, to a large
extent prevailed against isolating class-feeling and
sectarian pride.

In the Indian sacred books the duty of pitiful-
ness and compassion is a constantly recur-
ring theme. Mercy (dāya) and abstinence
from injury to life (ahimsā) are primary obliga-
tions. Especially in the Bhagavād-Gītā (q.v.),
in the type of religious thought and experi-
ence which it represents, the emphasis at this
duty occupies a prominent place. The true Brāh-
man may be known by his friendliness to all;
and not only the Brāhmaṇ, but other castes also,
are bound by the same rule. The best proof
is that which refrains from doing hurt to any
creature; respect should be shown for the life
and happiness of even the lowliest of creatures,
and no animosity being should ever be subjected
to injury or wrong. In a similar manner the
religious teaching of the schools that are in sym-
pathy with the Bhagavād-Gītā repeats and en-
forces the same idea. The observances
upon these injunctions are perhaps natural and
inevitable. They seem, in the first place, to show
more regard for animal than for human life; it
is probable that this originally was, but has to large
extent been, read into the latter, or regarded as inclusively stated in the
larger precept. And, further, the interpretation
placed upon the rule has been, at least to the
Western mind, in practice so one-sided and
agitated as to destroy in large part its operative
worth. The general tendency, however, it can
hardly be doubted, has been in the direction of the
cultivation of the qualities of mercy and mutual
consideration. These qualities we usually
find little or no statement or emphasis in the
books on law or ritual, or among the regulations
for the detailed observance of the sacrifices. The
Vedic hymns, while they extol the forbearance
and mercy together with the justice of the gods,
leave it a matter of inference rather than of com-
mand that men should follow in their steps.
In general it may be said that the decisive influ-
ence upon Indian character and belief has largely
been exercised not by the ritual precepts, but by the
humanitarian teaching of the Bhagavād-Gītā, by
the popular epic poetry, and by the tradition of
the lives of the heroes.

The first organized protest against the sacrificial
rule in the interests of a kindlier and more humane
spirit was made by Buddhism. The character of
Gautama Buddha, as depicted in the extant litera-
ture and stereotyped in painting and sculpture,
is singularly gentle and attractive. In practice as
well as by precept he would seem to have urged
the duty of forbearance and brotherliness to all;
to do no harm to any living thing was a rule en-
joined upon all who desired to unite themselves to
his company and be enrolled among his disciples;
and the purpose of the law which forbade the
slaughter of any insect during Vassa, was at least
as much to avoid the otherwise inevitable
destruction of animal and insect life which would
ensue, at a time when the multiplicity and activity
of all such life are most apparent, as in
recognition of the difficulties of travel incident
to the season. Hindu monks and ascetics appear
also to have observed similarly to be
universal or to the same extent. The merciful
spirit, of which the rule of ahimsā was the out-
come and logical conclusion, pervaded Indian Bud-
dhism as long as it remained in its native land,
found expression in the acts and edicts of its
greatest emperor, Aśoka, and emphasized and extolled a generous tolerance towards the feelings and opinions of others, which, with rare exceptions, has characterized its attitude and life in all countries to which it has been carried. In India the influence which it exerted in this respect was strong, and remained as a permanent force in the life of the people after the Buddhist faith itself had been weakened and had perished from the land. In the wider aspect also, and as illustrating this spirit, Buddhism alone of the great religions of the world has never been guilty of persecution.

 Jainism, the ancient sect contemporary with Buddhism and possessed of similar views and doctrines, inherited also from Hinduism the principles of mercifulness and regard for life in all its manifestations, but carried these principles to an extravagant and abnormal length. Even noxious creatures, however irritating or insignificant, may not be destroyed; and the literal interpretation of the injunction to do no hurt to living beings has led with them to practical inconveniences of a serious nature, which are not counterbalanced by an equivalent development of a religious duty or a soteriological merit. Moreover, in the days of its strength in India, made provision for sick, infirm, or worn-out animals in special hospitals; and similar institutions have been maintained by adherents of the Hindū and Jain faiths, for many centuries past and even at the present time, bear witness to a compassionate spirit worthy of all commendation. To Western thought, however, or these institutions do not seldom defeat their own object, and to be accompanied by contradictions in feeling and practice which it is difficult to reconcile with the spirit of the implied religious teaching. The form has been preserved and the letter of the law obeyed; but the meaning and motive of the whole have, in many instances at least, lost their force and been disregarded in the external fulfilment of an obligation which satisfied the conscience, but did little to effect a change in the character or disposition of the individual.

With the coming of the Muhammadans a new spirit invaded India, antagonistic to the old, the consequences of which were great and permanent. Born of religious fanaticism, and nurtured in the camp and on the field of battle, the warlike spirit of Islam, like the faith of Jainism, was able to refuse to accept the symbol and confession of faith of the vanquished creed. From the minds of the conquerors religious fanaticism, in alliance with a temper naturally stern and self-contained, had banished all feelings of compassion towards aliens or foes. Thus a spirit of inhumanity, based ultimately upon religious precept and belief, not only inculcated indifference to life where the honour or extension of the faith was concerned, but urged the entire elimination of the infidel by force of arms. In a further respect also, and that wholly new to India, the example set has been followed with results calamitous for the whole peninsula, the untoward effects of which have only begun to be repaired within comparatively recent years. There is no evidence that before Islam the various religious prejudice or rivalry ever found expression to any considerable extent in overt acts of persecution. The warfare between the sects was waged by word and argument; in no way was the sword invoked, nor was there any attempt at violent force. The followers of Muhammad taught men to throw the sword into the scale; and the spirit of division and hatred has never since that time been other than latent on both sides, ready to spring to arms and perpetrate cruelties upon any violation of religious comity or outrage upon religious conviction.

Two further external influences deserve consideration, but are of very unequal weight and importance. Of non-Christian provenance, one is that of the Parsees: the Parsees are an offshoot of the brahminical class of Aryan race, and are professed adherents of the Zoroastrian faith, with its two great oracles, or masters, called Parsees, like the Bards of the Celts. The Parsees have always been a wealthy and influential sect, and have been at times very poweful, and have produced many emperors, especially in Persia, and have been instrumental in introducing the fire worship and the Zend-Avesta into India. The Parsees have always been by the Parsees, and, except by way of example, it cannot be said that their principles or practice have made any deep impression upon the nation as a whole. Their numbers, moreover, are too few, and their social sevance from Hindu and Muhammadan alike too complete, to enable them to exercise a wide-spread influence for good in this respect. They are and remain strangers in the land, whose character and life have been for the most part for themselves alone, neither shared in nor sought as a pattern by those among whom their lot was cast.

With Christianity it has been entirely otherwise. From the very beginning it threw itself into the national and social life of the country, and, as far as the religious sentiment and pride of its opponents would permit, endeavoured to permeate society with its own mental and spiritual life as a whole to the level of its own ethical ideal. The influence of its temper and teaching has always been wider than the limits of its acknowledged churches or professed disciples. Its example has been pervasive and powerful, and mainly through its preaching and its schools it has exercised a far-reaching ethical influence on the doctrines and practice of the Indian peoples. Whether or how far early Buddhism was indebted to Christianity for moral precept and belief remains an open question, to which it is improbable that any definite or certain answer can ever be given. The later centuries, however, afford abundant evidence of the extent of Christian influence and the attractiveness of Christian ideals in modifying the hold of cruel rites upon the popular mind and in securing, although not always permanently, the acceptance of higher standards of right and mutual regard.

The influence described was never stronger than during the old and present centuries, and it was especially marked in the reform movements of the 19th cent., whose leaders never hesitated to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian teaching and to the Christian Scriptures. Ram Mohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, and others, to a large extent accepted the principles of the Christian faith, while repudiating its more distinctive doctrines (see art. Brahmagram). Moreover, it was on the ethical side that most would seem to have been learnt and adopted. The broad and kindly tolerance of all sects, which is a marked feature of the religious life of the Reformed churches, the gentle habit of mind and speech, and the regard for the rights and consideration for the needs and sufferings of others, if not altogether due to the leaders' knowledge and appreciation of Christian principles, were thereby greatly strengthened. With the exception of the Arya Samaj (q.v.), however, which exercises a growing ascendency in many directions, the contributions of these sects to the ethical life of India have not been so effective or lasting as at one time was anticipated. The leaven of their influence has been restricted in its range, although within these limits a genuine effect has been produced.

At the basis of Indian religious and moral
thought, therefore, at least in its earlier stages and as regards the conception of the nature of the gods, lay a belief in the generally beneficent and merciful character of the divinity. They revered God by what is commonly called his haram and curtailed towards mankind. It is reasonable to suppose that in those remote ages also the quality of mercy found a place among the attributes of the god, because if we recognize any one as superintending and protecting by their worshippers. On the other hand, the awesome and threatening character which a nature-religion often and quite naturally assumes must not be overlooked. The two elementary characteristics or tendencies met, and, being incapable of complete reconciliation, existed side by side throughout the entire development of Indian spiritual and ethical history. Like Orientalism the Indian is by nature gentle and disposed to kindliness and generosity; and this aspect of his disposition found expression in the Bhagavat-Gita and kindred works, and was put into practice by those sects which more or less sincerely acknowledged its authority and were permeated by its spirit. Lower and darker forms of religious faith maintained a cruel and blood-stained ritual, the effects of which, however, do not fail to promote hardness and insensibility to suffering or need. And the more influential systems of philosophy, if not actively hostile to the idea of mercy, did little to uphold it. The Indian, at least, stood aside, and found their interest and life in a region where the kindly mutual relations upon which mercy is dependent have no part.

It may be said, therefore, that the Indian faith that heaven is merciful has, on the whole, found expression in the Indian creed, and been translated into Indian practice. To generalize, however, with regard to races so diverse in origin, history, and character, on any but the broadest and most general basis, is impracticable. The cross-currents in the case of India are exceptionally numerous owing to the many elements that have entered into the life of the inhabitants of the country. An appreciation can take account of little more than the general characteristics of the majority, their habit of mind, and mode of action, in order to be justified to the fullest extent the description of the native peoples of India as by nature indulgent and merciful.

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed more or less incidentally in all works on the religions and philosophy of India. See artil. Budhism, Jainism, Parsis, Hindu, Modern. For general history, see EDWARD SELL.

MERCY (Muslim).—To despair of God's mercy is one of the great sins, for mercy is one of the attributes of God, and to doubt whether He will show it implies disbelief in this divine attribute.

'the servants who have transgressed to your own hurt despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive; (Qur'an, xxxi. 54). 'Who despares of the mercy of his Lord, but they who err?' (xxv. 50).

The words 'In the name of God, the Merciful One,' form the heading of all chapters of the Qur'an except the ninth. Al-Ábrahám, the Merciful One, is one of the names of God; it is used in some sūras for Allāh. The Qur'an refers in various ways to the mercy of God. The angels who celebrate His praise cry out: 'Our Lord! thou dost embrace all things in mercy and knowledge' (xi. 7). Satan is said to have claimed mercy on the ground that he was a thing and, therefore, part of the 'all things.' The reply is that the mercy of God is 'wholly above the reach to avert the ruin of the wicked' (xvi. 84). The 'treasures of the mercies of the Lord' is a Qur'ānic expression, and the word 'mercy' is used as a description of divine books. The book of Moses is spoken of as a guide and a 'mercy' (xi. 29). The Qur'an is frequently called a 'mercy.'

'Oh! how hath a warning come to you from your Lord, and a medicine for what is in your breasts, and a guidance and a mercy to believers' (v. 55). 'And we send down of the Qur'an that which is a mercy, and comprehending, but, it shall add to the ruin of the wicked' (xvi. 84). It is said of those who follow Jesus that God put into their hearts 'mercy and compassion' (vii. 27); but this is not consistent with the denunciation of them (ix. 29–33) and the prohibition of friendship with them (v. 56). The words probably apply to Christians who become Muslims, for the message goes on to address those who believe:

'Fear God and believe in His apostle; two portions of His mercy will He give to you; He will bestow upon you a light to walk in' (xxv. 55).

The two portions are: one for believing in Muhammad, and one for belief in the former prophets (Būlūd). The light is either the Qur'an to enable the convert to walk in the right path, or, if the walking refers to the bridge (al-Sirāt) finer than a hair, over which all must pass at the Last Day, then the 'light' is true faith which will preserve his possessor in his perils walk over that bridge. One chapter of the Qur'an (iv.) is called Sirāt-al-Rahmān, the 'chapter of the Merciful One,' and begins with the words: 'And, O ye of weak faith, hath created man, hath taught him articulate speech.' The phrase 'God is merciful' is in constant use, and in practical daily life has most often been associated with the idea of His righteousness and justice. It too often leads to complacency and self-satisfaction. A man commits sin and says, 'God is merciful'; so, instead of leading to repentance and amendment of life, his idea of the mercy of God too often tends to make disobedience easy and safe.

LITERATURE.—There is no special literature on the subject; see LITERATURE UNDER SALVATION (Muslim).

MERIT (Introductory and non-Christian).—In the earlier stages of religious development, as is attested by abundant examples in artt. LEST, ABOVE OF THE (Primitive and Savage), ESCHRATOGY, and STATE AFTER DEATH, the moral character of life in this world is not a factor either for securing immortality at all or for determining rank and status in the future world, whether immortality be attained by an individual or be vouchsafed to all. In these early stages earthly positions, notably chieftainship, or a particular manner of death—e.g., in battle—is a requisite qualification for life in the future world; character, whether good, bad, or indifferent, has nothing to do with the question. When, however, religion advances, when immortality is not conferred automatically (if the religion in question believes it to be conferred at all), but is a boon which must be achieved by long and toilsome endeavour, then three conditions—sometimes separated, but usually combined in greater or less degree—are imposed: works, faith, and love.

The ideal combination of these three requisites is found in but one religion—Christianity; and within Christianity only Roman Catholicism gives full recognition in its official statements to all three. The doctrine of the Merit One, is one of the names of God; it is used in some sūras for Allāh. The Qur'an refers in various ways to the mercy of God. The angels who celebrate His praise cry out: 'Our Lord! thou dost embrace all things in mercy and knowledge' (xi. 7). Satan is said to have claimed mercy on the ground that he was a thing and, therefore, part of the 'all things.' The reply is that the mercy of God is 'wholly above the reach to avert the ruin of the wicked' (xvi. 84). The 'treasures of the mercies of the Lord' is a Qur'ānic expression, and the word 'mercy' is used as a description of divine books. The book of Moses is spoken of as a guide and a 'mercy' (xi. 29). The Qur'an is frequently called a 'mercy,'
with firmness what one loves with fervour. Faith and work are the essential bases of Mankind (W. Brandt, *Mandänische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 171-174). Mere intellectual faith, without love or works, has never been held, so far as the writer knows, to avail for salvation, except possibly in extreme Lutheranism.

The stress laid by St. Paul on justification by faith apart from the law (Ro 3:28; cf. 5; Gal 2:9) must not be wrested from its context in the Apostle's teaching, for he himself tells us that love is greater than even faith (1 Co 13), and that faith worketh by love (Gal 5:6; cf. 1 Th 1:1; 1 Ti 1:5 etc.). There was reason for him to speak disparagingly of works—it was necessary for him to combat the excessive nomism of Judaism. But St. Paul was a man of balanced judgment, and to say that he condemned all works because he deprecated reliance on them alone would be a misrepresentation of his true attitude. He recognized the value and the merit of good works (2 Co 5:8), enjoining the church at Philippi, as 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling' (Ph 2:12), and at Thessalonica to establish their hearts 'in every good work and word' (2 Th 2:17). There is no doubt that this would have pleased heartily to the famous passage of St. James (Ja 2:23; cf. v. 26) that 'faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself.'

The doctrine of the merit accruing from good works has been regarded by some—the council of Trent— from the side of man and from the side of the deity. From the human side, the more a good man does, or even tries to do, the greater is the merit which he deserves; from the divine side, it is recognized, practically by Christianity alone, that no man can be so rich in good works as to merit salvation; 'all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God' (Ro 3:23); all human righteousness is, as Isaiah said (Is 64:6), but as 'pamus mensuratus.'

Only a shallow thinker would stress the apparent antimony here set forth; the two partial truths blend harmoniously in the perfect truth of the Christian faith. Indeed, the Christian is saved solely by merit, though not by his own. Our Lord Himself could say, as His earthly life drew to its close, that He had accomplished the work which His Father gave Him to do (Jn 17), and He emphasized the necessity of work (5:17). Only through the work consummated on Calvary did salvation come to man; only through the merit of the Atonement can we hope at last to attain to heaven (cf. Council of Trent, sess. v. ch. 3, sess. v. chs. 3, 16, can. 10).

In the primitive stages of religion its essence must be regarded as works. Beliefs are fluid; ritual is stable; every rite must be performed with minute scrupulosity. If the proper rites are thus exactly observed, the result is certain (provided, of course, that no stronger counter-force opposes); and, if a happy hereafter is the object of such rites, that blessedness is thereby assured (cf. POC ii. 90 f.). Not all, however, are content with the discharge of minimum requirements and, consequently, with minimum results. If one wishes for more, he must do more; perhaps, also, it will be well for him to provide a store against unforeseen contingencies. In that case also he must be more numerous, if he is to do as much works as will effect such a result; it is even possible that merits may be deliberately amassed for the purpose of achieving results unattainable for those who are content with the requirements imposed on every one; and in some cases rewards thus stored up are available for others as well as for him who originally accumulates them. The doctrine of the merits of our Lord's Passion and, in Roman Catholic theology, of the intercessory work of the Virgin, is based on the latter connexion; and the Roman Catholic dogma of the merit of works of supererogation also falls within this general category.

The doctrine of merit is, on the whole, a characteristic of the higher types of religion. We find it, it is true, in such religions as that of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The Brazilian Ipanna says that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowsards will be turned into reptiles (PFC ii. 7). But the popular belief is recorded of the African Maravi and of the Satall of India (ib. pp. 8, 10). Elsewhere, as among the Nicaraguans and the Negroes of Guinea, the good alone enjoy immortality, the wicked being annihilated (ib. p. 22 f.). Among the Greenlanders the condition of happy immortality is to have been a hard worker in this life (ib. p. 86; the manner of death—e.g., by drowning or in childbirth—is also a factor). In all these cases, which might be much multiplied—e.g., from African and American Indian tribes (ib. p. 94 f.),—the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' must invariably be interpreted by the standards of the particular society concerned. If this is done, there is undoubtedly a very real ethical basis and a true morality—even though quite rudimentary,—as the foundation of the belief in the future destiny of the soul.

The doctrine of merit is much developed in the higher religions, as in Egyptian (cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 7 f.), and Veide (cf. Mair, v. [171]). In the end, the characteristic culmination in the Zoroastrian triad of 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' as antithetic to 'bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds.' The course of the evolution is well summarized by E. B. Tylor (PFC ii. 84 f.).

'The idea of the next life being similar to this seems to have developed into the idea that what gives prosperity or misfortune here will give it there also, so that earthly conditions carry on their contrasts into the changed world after death. Thus a man's condition will be a result of, rather than a compensation or retribution for, his condition during life. ... Through such an intermediate stage the doctrines of simple future existence was actually developed into the doctrine of future reward and punishment.'

Turning to the higher religions, we observe, first, that the teaching of Muhammadanism on the subject of merit is practically to the effect that good works are requisite, but that the true believer, being predestined (Allah) to perform them, is, in reality, saved only by divine grace, while the wicked are punished eternally for the sins which they have committed, and for their refusal to submit to divine law. If we add to this problem is complicated here by the fatality of Muhammadanism (see art. FATE [Muslim]).

At the Last Day 'every soul shall be recompensed as it hath deserved; no injustice on that day' (Qur'An ii. 17). It was said that 'whosoever of the 'People of the Book' believed in God and the Last day, and doth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord' (ib. 59; cf. ii. 76, 106, 215, iii. 194, iv. 60, 121-123, 172, v. 73, vii. 40, xi. 14, xxv. 64-76; the idea is closely paralleled by Ac 10:9); and elsewhere faith is enjoined with observance of almsgiving and the appointed times of prayer (ib. ii. 2-4), while throughout faith and works go together (e.g., iii. 190-199). The whole attitude of Islam on this matter may thus be summarized from the earliest åzara (xxvii. 22-55) which deals extensively with it:

*Gather together those who have acted unjustly, ... and guide them to the road for hell, ... But on this day they shall submit themselves to God, ... *Just, therefore, is the doom which our Lord hath passed upon us...* 

It shall surely taste the painful punishment, and ye shall not be rewarded but as ye have wrought, ... Save the servants of God.*

But for the favour of my Lord, I had surely been of those who have been brought unto damnation.*

In a word, hence to uploads to the Latter connexion (vii. 41): 'Praise be to God who hath guided us hither! We had
not been guided had not God guided us!' (cf. also E. M. Wherry, Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran, London, 1822-86, ii. 12, note 31, and index, s.v. 'Salvation').

The most complete development of the theory of merit among the ethnic religions is undoubtedly found in India. The main aspects have already been considered in length in the art. KARMA, where it will be seen that the Indian concept of merit is closely connected with several other religious systems—with belief in transmigration (q.v.) and in asceticism (q.v.). One aspect, however, calls for mention here—the accumulation of merit for the attainment of supernatural results in this life.

On the theory of sacrifice as set forth by the Brahmanas—i.e., that it is a rite which ipso facto escapes the result at which it aims—it follows that the accumulation of merit not only by sacrifice but also in other ways will constrain the gods themselves to bow before the might of the ascetic. This power may be used for good or for evil, according to the purpose of him who possesses the merit in question. The records of India are full of stories of sages who have won enormous powers by the accumulation of merit, almost wholly by asceticism alone.

Thus, Bāll conquered India and all the other gods except Viṣṇu, and ruled the world until Viṣṇu overthrew him; Chaya-vāna was constrained by its own law to do his will (Mahābhārata, ii. 51.38); the particularly ill-tempered Durvāsas by his curse brought thousands of magic demons that destined him to be the only famous curing of the Ocean of Milk, which produced the amrita ('ambrosia'), restored the divine away (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, viii. 29.3). Mārkaṇḍeya, the demon that destroyed the only meritorious character of the earth, was eventually raised to heaven, though he unhappily boasted of his merit and fell, because, according to the law, the product of evil acts is evil; still remains, in its aerial central hall-way between heaven and earth (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, i. 7.23). Kaṭparī's austerities, like those of many other sages, were said to be so great that to do them one had to send him (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 15); Kartariva thus obtained power over the earth, which he used wisely (G. vi. 31); the demon Rāvaṇa, the evil figure of the Ramayana, won supernatural power by the merit of his austerities; Vivantaka, whose conflicts with the almost equally meritorious Vasūtiya form an important theme in the earlier Sanskrit literature, rose to be a Brahman instead of being merely a Kṣatriya (Jāt. 17 [1903] 317 ff.). Indeed, the idea recurs constantly throughout Sanskrit literature, the implication being always that the sage owes his power solely to the merit which he has accumulated; and in modern folk-belief the same supernatural might is accessible to the Yogi and Pāṇi.

In later Zoroastrianism merit conditions very strictly one's position in the future world. Through full remuneration of sin and complete confession of it of the duty and good works which were, before probation, due to be done (see IV, viii. 5-9). Those whose good and evil exactly balance go neither to heaven nor to hell, but to Hāmēstagan, the 'Ever-stationary' (cf. H. H. Harward, New rev. iii. [1802] 2), which in one text (Dāstān-i-Dinbik, xxvi. 6, xxxii. 2) is divided into two parts, one for those whose goodness slightly preponderates, and the other for those whose evil minutely overbalances the scale. Not only is punishment in keeping with one's sin (cf. M. N. Dhalā, Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1914, pp. 541, 273-275, 280 f.), but in the future world justice is so strictly observed that even the good deeds of a wicked man receive reward.

For instance, a man whose whole body was either cooked in the flesh of another man or undergoing some other torture that had one of his legs stretched out unnaturally, because he had either shoved a whip of wool before a hungry animal that was thus, and could not reach it or his mouth, when it died he had not done any other good deed his whole life long!' (Dhalā, pp. 272, 274). Also L. C. Casarenzi, 'A History of Maharshān Religion under the Sasanidhs, Bombay, 1899, p. 167 ff.).

Merits availed, as the doctrine of the merits of the sages teaches, not only for one's self, but also for others. This has been recognized by other religions as well as by the older form of Christianity. In the Buddhist Upanisad, rama-karmādakā, or ritual for admission to the Buddhist priesthood, the candidate prays: 'Let the merit that I have gained be shared by my lord. It is fitting to give me to share in the merit gained by my lord' (J. F. Dallmayr, Mediaeval Technology, London, 1888, p. 273). The Lord, however, stands almost alone in thus transferring merit during this life. The transfer of merit from the living to the dead is less common, although the Marcionite practice of 'baptizing for the dead' may possibly be the origin of several other systems, with belief in transmigration (q.v.) and in asceticism (q.v.). One aspect, however, calls for mention here—the accumulation of merit for the attainment of supernatural results in this life.

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A brief glance at Hellenistic Judaism of the same period will conclude this part of our survey. The morality of the book of Wisdom and of Philo combines with the Jewish idea of obedience to the Law Plato's philosophy of the subject of moral retribution. Judaism remains practically one with the earlier Ecclesiastics. Philo, however, further distinguishes himself both from the Wisdom literature and from the teaching of the scribes by avoiding the principle of 'atomism' and carrying back all virtues to one root, love or faith. The punishment of sin, moreover, he regards as a living death, the reward of virtue as communion with God (see J. Drummond, ad. 'Philo', in HDB v. 207).

As regards the views of educated paganism, when Christianity came into being, the doctrine of Plato was a formative influence. Plato 'in several dialogues expresses the thought that a judgment upon all souls takes place at death, at which they receive, according to their deeds (Phaedo, 112 E), both the reward for their good and the punishment for their evil deeds (Rep. x. 611 E, Corp. 252 E, Phaedo, 112 F). Here, however, the more conception of merit is overlaid by the other, that he escapes after righteousness and virtue seeks δικαιοσύνη, and therefore will not be overlooked by God (Rep. x. 613 A D) (J. Ruetschi, in FREQ xx. 501).

The last thoughts carry us beyond the sphere of the doctrine of merit. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that paganism, as well as Judaism, emphasized the view that regards God above all things as a rewarder of good and evil, and tends to review His relation to man under legal analogies, was the dominant and most usual religious tendency. The total position of things is well summed up by Schultze in S. LXXvi. 9:

1When Christianity entered the world and found its first expression in the different Jewish circles and the teachings of the prophets, a question arose as to what their actions were. We find, for instance, that in the Jewish literature the idea of merit was the dominant one. The liturgical books of the early Christians, and especially the Gospels, contain many references to the merit and demerit of man.

2. The doctrine of the NT.—The teaching of Jesus links itself on to that of the OT prophets, and also to that better side of the later Judaism which Montefiore and Dalman insist. It is, in the first place, essentially ethical-religious; religion and morality are completely blended in it. Jesus demands of His disciples an absolute conformity with the will of God (Mt 5:17). Righteousness better than that of the scribes (5:19). Without this none can enter into the kingdom of heaven (7:22). This better righteousness is, however, not to be attained by a closer conformity to the Law. Jesus further teaches that the only true righteousness is heart righteousness; that, apart from a right motive, outward conformity to the Law is worthless. Again, the idea of God as the Father, so central in His teaching, is the very antithesis of and makes impossible a legal conception of the relation of man to God. The righteousness which Jesus demands is, therefore, in the end just the spirit of sonship, energizing in the imitation of the Father (5:19).

While thus rejecting the legalism of the scribes, Jesus employs in His ethical teaching the current ideas of reward and punishment. That righteousness shall be rewarded and wrong-doing punished He reiterates again and again (Mt 5:6-18, etc.). He speaks once (unless it be the Evangelist) of 'good works' (διακήναι ἀγαθά, Mk 10:42); he did not approve the doctrine of 'What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' (Mt 10:5); in His answer, moreover, He points the sinner to the keeping of the commandments. Cf., further, the teaching of the parables of the faithful and unfaithful servants.
(Mt 24:42), and of the talents (22:13), and observe again the principle expressed in Mk 4:24.

The principle of merit, therefore, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the teaching of Jesus. On the one hand, there are fundamental doctrines which appear to leave no room for it; on the other, we find in places a general recognition of it. The position of things in the NT as a whole may be illustrated.

The rest of the NT corresponds exactly in its ethical demands with the teaching of Jesus Himself. The necessity of righteousness is absolute, alike for the Jewish Christians of the Epistle of James and the anti-Jewish Christianity of Paul, as well as for the other NT writers (cf. Ja 1:18, Gal 5:21, Eph 5:1, 1 Jn 3:12 esp. v. 9). Throughout the NT also the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is fundamental, though not so dominant as it is in the teaching of Jesus. The idea of retribution according to works is also generally prevalent. Paul, indeed, in the most important cycle of his teaching—that upon justification—appears to exclude the principle of merit altogether. Justification is by faith alone: by the works of the Law no man can be justified (Ro 3:19-29, Gal 2:16; 3:10-15); observe especially the direct exclusion, in so many words, of the principle of merit in 1 Cor 15:19-28. Yet the Apostle teaches also that reward and punishment are according to men's works; and here regards this doctrine as axiomatic, feeling himself here on common ground not only with the Jews, but also with the Graeco-Roman world (Ro 2:8-11, cf., further, 2 Co 5:9-10, Gal 6:7, 2 Th 1:1, and also Col 3:24, Eph 6:1, 1 Th 4:1, 2 Th 1:1).

Even more prominent is the doctrine of retribution according to works in the Apocalypse, and the Epistles of James, 1 Peter, and to the Hebrews (cf. Rev 2:10-11, 13-21 etc., Ja 4:14, 1 P 1:17 etc., He 10:28, 11:25-29). The current idea of retribution is therefore almost universal in the NT, though, as Schultz says (op. cit. p. 13), 'without systematic development.' Only in the Gospel and Epistles of John is it almost wanting. The reason for this is assigned by Schultz as follows:

'At bottom there is no room for it. The true life work, which the community elect of God performs, is belief in the Son of God, and to this belief eternal life is already given, as possession and as hope' (p. 13).

Here, then, enters a problem which the NT writers do not themselves seem to have felt much. We have little retribution. But the NT writers which the NT has in common with the current thought of its age, to the specifically Christian ideas, such as those of the Divine Fatherhood, or of the Father's reward to His Children whom He has full significance was later to be brought to light. We may, however, refer here to the passages in the NT which suggest the limitations with which the doctrine of retribution is to be taken.

To begin with Jesus Himself, when He describes, as He often does, the relation of God to men by comparing it to that of a master and his household servants (cf. Mt 20:22-25, 25:14, Lk 17), He thereby does away with the idea of merit and reward in the strict sense.

'The servant in the sense of antiquity can acquire no merit. He is given a disgrace, even when he has done all he should (Lk 17). His master owes him reward, but He is his master by an act of good pleasure' (Schultz, p. 13).

In the one instance where Jesus actually does speak of paid laborers, and so leaves the way open for the strict idea of reward according to merit, He emphasizes by contrast the truth that God will not be bound by this rule, but reserves to Himself the right of graciously transcending it (Mt 20:16).

Finally, Jesus opens out the view of a reward which belongs rather to the personality revealed in the work than to the performance as such.

'MERIT (Christian')

Only where the tree is good, can the fruit be good (Mt 7:23)'. It is the conduct of life, the work, which is recognized and rewarded in the individual deeds (Schultz, p. 10). Paul, again, suggests a recognition between the idea of justification by faith and judgment according to works in the conception of good works as the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22-23).

Where justification is by grace, there is also thought of the Spirit, and therefore also good works. Thus the verdict of present justification and of the future judgment recorded in the Epistles by St. Paul and St. Peter (cf. Franks, Men, Sin, and Salvation, London and Edinburgh, 1966, p. 125 f.). Again, in Eph 2:8-10 good works appear not as a condition, but as a result, of salvation. 'Sometimes, however, the ethical interest so predominates that Paul even comes to represent future salvation as conditional on perseverance in faith and obedience' (ib. p. 129).

Of Ro 8:1, 1 Co 9:25, Ph 3:18 with exposition given by Franks (ib.).

Finally, we may take into account the recession of the idea of retribution in the Johannine writings, which has already been noticed. The tendency in the NT, at any rate in the most important parts of it, is in general to limit the principle of merit and retribution in favour of the doctrines of grace.

At first it may be admitted that such limitation is by no means universal or absolute (it is least observable in the minor NT writers); and there remains, therefore, a fundamental antinomy in the Christian religion as originally conceived; the theology is called upon to solve. How difficult the task is, the history of doctrine reveals.

2. The doctrine of merit in the Christian Church.

We begin with primitive Gentile Christianity, and note that the whole cycle of Christian ideas by no means passed over equally to the Gentile Christians — what they received was naturally conditioned by their previous preparation. As to the necessity of good works, we find an intense moral earnestness in primitive Gentile Christianity. But, further, the idea of the twofold retribution according to works (reward or punishment) was familiar to the whole Graeco-Roman world; hence this element of NT doctrine was easily assimilated, and, indeed, emphasized in more than its proper proportion, so much so that we have to recognize in the early Christian Church a return to a great extent to the Jewish doctrine of works. The doctrines, on the other hand, which should have prevented this return, such as, above all, the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, found their limit in the fact that the idea of retribution by means of future rewards on the whole, even in the NT, was not in the way of developing in such a way as to make it a part of Christian doctrine. The whole cycle of good works in the Apostolic Fathers is very similar to that of the Jewish Rabbis. Christianity appears as a new law, and eternal life as the reward of keeping it. Just as in later Judaism, stress is especially laid on the merit of fasting and almsgiving. Cf. 2 Clem. vi. 4 (almsgiving becomes a mitigation of sin); Barn. xix. 2 Clem. iii. 3f., viii. 4-44, 9; Hermas, Sim. ix. xxviii. 3, x. ii. 4. We actually find already the idea of a work of supererogation (Hermas, Sim. v. iii. 3: 'If thou doest a good work beyond the commandment of God, thou shalt win for thyself more abundant glory').

In the Greek Fathers this line of thought continues, side by side, indeed, with the idea of grace, with which, however, it is never properly correlated. A more important and characteristic development belongs to Western theology, and begins with Tertullian. Himself a jurist, he gave to the doctrine of good works an essentially juridical stamp, which it has never lost in Latin Catholicism. A typical sentence is:

'A good deed has God as its debtor, just as also an evil one, because a judge is a mere steward of every cause' (Tertullian, in fact, looks upon the whole life of the Christian after baptism as strictly a life under the Law, its motives hope of reward and fear of punishment, and the result deter-
So far as proceeds from the free will is ‘de congruo’; so far as it proceeds from grace, it is ‘de condigno’ (ib. p. 545 f.). Thomas Aquinas, more cautious. He denied the possibility of merit before baptism. All merit, however, so far as it proceeds from the free will is ‘de congruo’; so far as it proceeds from grace, it is ‘de condigno’ (ib. p. 545 f.). Duns Scotus taught that ‘meritum de congruo’ was possible to a man in puris naturalibus according to God’s ‘potentia absoluta,’ not, however, according to his ‘potentia ordinata’ (ib. p. 596 f.). Finally, the Nominalist, like the Galilean of William of Occam, is taught without hesitation that he who does what is in him can merit ‘de congruo’ the grace which enables him ‘de condigno’ to merit salvation (ib. p. 596 f.). Thus is the Reformation antithesis to the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works takes its start. Luther, returning to Paul’s principle of justification by faith, declares that the doctrine that salvation can be merited by good works, however modified by a reference to the cooperation of divine grace, is absolutely opposed to the pure gospel.

We ought to notice that Luther’s point of view is not altogether without parallel in the Middle Ages. Above all others Bernard of Clairvaux presents similar thoughts.

"His foolish and mad, whoever he be that trusts in any merits of his life, who trusts in any religion or wisdom but only humility." (De Diversis, sermon xxvi, 1; other passages are given in A. Ritschl, Rechtfertigung und Verkündigung, 1., Eng. tr., p. 90.)

Luther, however, elevated what was thus occasionally expressed in the Middle Ages as a devotional point of view into the central doctrine of the faith. This teaching, in its ultimate form—there were many stages of development—is that salvation—as far as one is concerned with the condition of righteousness, but righteousness received as a divine gift by faith is the condition of good works. Faith works by love, and its natural fruits are good works.

In opposition to Luther’s view the Roman Catho-
conception of salvation by merit, and views good works, in essential agreement with the prophets, with Christ, and with Luther, as the expression of the filial attitude towards God.

There is, however, a powerful tendency not simply to deny the applicability of the category of merit to the matter of justification, but to regard it as a complete intruder in the domain of Christian theology. It is the very origin of the name Myrddin, as a variant of the Welsh word for Merlin, that Ritschl not as an alternative to justification by works, coming in view of the failure of the latter, but as from the first the only method of salvation. The Ritschian doctrine of twofold retribution is regarded simply as a remainder of Pelagianism or as a dialectical concession to his Jewish opponents (cf. Ritschl, Rechtfertigung und Verwöhnung, ii. 319; also W. Beyschlag, NT Theol., Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 179; J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentl. Theor., Freiburg i. B., 1896–97, i. 129). Our Lord’s use of the category of reward is regarded as merely popular and not fitted to be the basis of a theological statement such as that of (Ed.) Holtzmann.

The question is really that of the rights of ‘natural theology’ within the Christian religion. There is some tendency to place the foundation of the doctrine of twofold retribution as due to the Hellenization of Christianity, and so being unproven by the proper path of Christian theology (cf. Rechtfertigung und Verwöhnung, iii. 24 f., Eng. tr., p. 250 f., also ii. 318 f.), maintaining that the doctrine of twofold retribution, in a word, is Jewish or Greek but not Christian. The Ritschian doctrine on this point has been by no means generally accepted.

Many would still agree with C. Gore when commenting on Ro 2 9, he speaks of natural religion as the necessary and essential basis of all evangelical teaching (The Epistle to the Romans, London, 1899, i. 108 f.). It must, however, be admitted that the co-existence in the NT of the doctrine of justification by faith and of reward according to works remains one of the antinomies of the Christian religion, of which, if the Ritschian position be refused, no satisfactory synthesis has yet been attained. And, further, Ritschl is surely right in considering the whole question as unsuitable as a comprehensive designation of the ethical side of Christianity (iii. 627, Eng. tr., p. 663). The phrase ‘good works’ suggests just that Pharisian atomism which is very opposite to the teaching of Christ, and, while employed in the NT like many other phrases derived from Jewish thought, it is not one in which the specific genius of Christianity comes out, but rather one in connection with which there is a perpetual danger of a return to a lower stage of religion.

**LITERATURE.**—The usual Biblical Theological and Histories of Dogma; also the great systematical theological works, among works remaining one of the antinomies of the Christian religion, of which, if the Ritschian position be refused, no satisfactory synthesis has yet been attained. And, further, Ritschl is surely right in considering the whole question as unsuitable as a comprehensive designation of the ethical side of Christianity (iii. 627, Eng. tr., p. 663). The phrase ‘good works’ suggests just that Pharisian atomism which is very opposite to the teaching of Christ, and, while employed in the NT like many other phrases derived from Jewish thought, it is not one in which the specific genius of Christianity comes out, but rather one in connection with which there is a perpetual danger of a return to a lower stage of religion.

**MERLIN.**—The name Merlin is a modification, first forming its Latinized form Merlins, of the Welsh Myrddin, and for that latter form in Welsh is not a mere orthographical variant of the former is shown by a line of the poet Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle 14th cent.), which attests the pronunciation with e in the first syllable. In medieval romance Merlin played a prominent part, in close conjunction with the Arthurian legend, as a prophet and as a magician. In the earliest references which we have to him in Welsh literature he appears as a bard, while, later, he is represented in Welsh and other poetical literature as a seer, until finally, in the Merlin romances, his character as a magician predominates. The origin of the name Merlin (in Latin Merulinus) is the rather phonetic equivalent of the Celtic Morid-dünon (‘the fortress near the sea’). The reason for the substitution of l for dl (= soft th) in the Latin and other forms of the name is uncertain. Probably it was due to the absence of the soft sound of th from these languages, and the consequent necessity for substituting for it some other sound, but it is not clear why that sound should have been l. As for the derivation of the name, it may be stated that there is one obstacle, and that a doubtful one, to its derivation from the Latin Martinus. This should give Merlyn (with B., l. th.), but that is in turn a late form; in an earlier form might change to Merdín, in accordance with a Welsh sound-change of th to dd which operated in certain words, but which was arrested by a form of true th in certain words. It is probably an instance of this sound-change in the place-name Gogerddan, in Cardiganshire, which doubtless stands for ‘Gogerth,’ another form of ‘Gogarth,’ a diminutive of ‘Gogarth’ (‘an eminence’). This derivation of Merlyn is one of a possibility; but, if it is sound, it is just conceivable that some of the early legends of Merlin contain distorted accounts of St. Martin, to whom St. Ninian is said to have dedicated the church called Candida Casa or Whitborn. A magician called Melinus is mentioned in the Vita Patricii of Jocelyn (x. 79, ed. AS, ii Mar. [1865] 556), written in the 12th cent., but whether or not the name stands for Merlins is uncertain; in the Vita Patricii which is ascribed to Bede, though more probably by Melianus Probus (ed. J. Colgan, Acta Sanctorum... Hiberniae, Louvain, 1645–47, ii. 51–60), he is called Locrus. It is interesting to note that Adamnan in his Life of St. Columba makes no mention of Merlin.

1. Merlin in Welsh legend.—So far as the earliest allusions to the good works of Merlin are concerned, it is clear that his name belonged to the same legendary zone as the majority of the heroes and saints commemorated in early Welsh literature and included in early Welsh genealogies, namely to that of the ‘Men of the North,’ who are represented as having come into Wales from Northern Britain, more especially from the region of the Clyde and the Forth. This is the zone, e.g., of Cunedda Wledig, Urien Rheged and his son Owain, of St. Kentigern (the patron saint of Glasgow and of St. Asaph), Caw, Rhuddderch Hasi, Gwenllibon, Cynon ab Clydno Eidinn, and of Arthur and Llên. It is interesting to note that the well-known British legendary cycle is to be found in Nennius, as well as in poems of the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Book of Aneirin, the Book of Taliesin, and the Red Book of Hergest, while fragments of the same cycle may be detected in the Mabinogion, the Triads, and the Brus. It is in the Book of Aneirin, a MS of the 13th cent., but containing much earlier material, that the Merlin of Welsh literature and included in early Welsh literature and included in early Welsh
Since it is clear that the legend of Myrddin (Merlin), in its earlier developments, must have arisen on British soil and have been circulated in the ancient British tongue, it will be of interest before considering its later evolution in Latin and other non-Welsh sources, to review the forms in which we find it in the literature of Wales. Unfortunately, the Welsh form of the Merlin legend do not go further back than the 12th cent., but they doubtless embody more primitive features, though it is no longer easy to determine these elements with certainty. The Merlin legend owed its popularity in Wales, in the 12th cent. and later, to its convenience as a vehicle for the enunciation of prophecies as to the ultimate success of the Welsh in their struggle against the English. In this form of the legend Myrddin is represented as having, in the battle of Arderydd (often wrongly written Arderydd), caused the death of the son of his sister Gwendolen, who apparently was the wife of Rhysderch Hael, a prince of Strathclyde, who, in the battle in question, was the opponent of another Northern prince, Gwendolen, with whose court Myrddin as a poet essayed to be in connexion. According to this Welsh legend, smitten with remorse, he flees in his frenzy, under the pursuit of Rhydnderch Hael and his hounds, to the Forest of Caledonia (Coed Celyddon), to which, in Welsh medieval literature, he and his associates sometimes was as the home of spirits and departed spirits. In his flight the bard's sole companion is a little pig, and with his companion he reaches the shelter of an apple-tree in the woods of Caeretlaw (near Carlisle), which he is represented as uttering prophecies concerning future events in the history of Wales. It would appear from some of Myrddin's utterances that, in the bard's condition of communication, he was sometimes made to him by a female friend, who bears in Welsh the name Chwimbian or Chwipl, who is probably the original of the Viviane of the later Merlin romance. It is possible that, in earlier forms of the legend than those known to us from Welsh literature, this nymph or Egeria may have originally played a less shadowy part than that which comes to view in Welsh 12th cent. legend, when the chief use of the Myrddin story was as a vehicle for encouraging vaticinations. It is notable that in no part of early Welsh literature, not even in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which was written in the Principality of Carmarthen, in the latter half of the 12th cent., is there any attempt to connect Myrddin with Carmarthen (in Welsh, Caer Fyrdin), as was done by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hence we may conclude that the story of the connexion of Merlin with the North and with the battle of Arderydd—ought, according to the Annales Cambriae (ed. Monumenta hist. Brittanicae, 4, London, 1848, pp. 580–840), in A.D. 573—was traditional and well-established. The Northern associations of the story are further confirmed by the fact that Nennius mentions a Riderch Hen (Hist. Brit. ed annot. 397, ed. Mon. hist. Brit. i. 275), who is probably to be identified with Rhysderch Hael, while the life of St. Kentigern (xv., ed. and tr. A. P. Forbes, Historians of Scotland, v., Edinburgh, 1874) names a Rederech, who is doubtless also to be identified with the same person, and a Lalocian, or Lalocian, whose name is clearly the same as that of Llallawc, identified with Myrddin in a poem purporting to be a letter written to the Welsh minister of Merlin, found in the Red Book of Hergest and generally known as the Kywossi Myrddin ("The Conversation of Myrddin"), H. L. D. Ward (in Romanic, xxii. [1889], 573) has added conclusive evidence to show that Llallawc (Laloic) is a proper name, found, e.g., in a Breton document called the Rodon Cartulary as Laloic and Laloan (see Romanic, xxii. 594). The simpler form of Llallawc, Lallaw (=Lallog), is probably a purely Welsh variant. It may be stated that the precise site of Arderydd (given in an older form in the Annales Cambriae) is as yet unknown, and with certainty, the usual identification with Arthur. But it is probable that the name Gwendolen survives the place of Carnallog (near Carlisle), in the fragments given above, Laloic is said to have been driven mad by the events of the great battle "in campo inter Lidel et Carwansow situato."

The attribution of prophecies in Welsh literature to a bard Myrddin is not an isolated phenomenon, but is also found in the case of the Welsh poet Taliesin, in whose case, as in that of Myrddin, a legendary nucleus has survived, the chief feature of which is an account of his transformations. It is probable that the connexion of the name Taliesin with prophecy was earlier than that of Myrddin, as is suggested by a statement put into the mouth of the latter in the first poem of the Black Book of Carmarthen, in a dialogue between him and Taliesin about the battle of Arderydd, to the effect that Myrddin's prophecy of the battle is only known after that of Taliesin. The conception of a poet that is implied in the utterance of such vaticinations resembles the medieval idea of Vergil, who was then viewed more as a prophet and magician than as a poet (C. D. Yonge, Vergil in the Middle Ages, Eng. tr., E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895). As for the genesis of such prophecies as those of Myrddin, the original models were probably the so-called Rhuddninae Oracles, and such imitations of them as bridged over the time between the period of their composition and the Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages and even later there was a congenial mental atmosphere for the composition of prophecies and the practice of magic, but there was an interest in vaticinations confined to Wales, as may be seen, e.g., in the popularity of such writers of prophecies as Dafydd ap Gwilym, Llwyd, John of Bridlington, Thomas of Ercildowne, and others in England, not to speak of Merlin himself.

In the Black Book of Carmarthen (12th cent.) the two chief forms of prophecy that are associated with the Myrddin legend are those known as the Afallenau ("The Apple-trees") and the Hoiana ("The Hills"). Both poems contain prophetic allusions, mainly to events of the 12th cent. in Wales. The former poem mentions Coed Celyddon ("the forest of Caledonia"), which was represented as the scene of the Myrddin legend, as well as Brydyn (Pielhain) in the North, Mon (Anglesey), Arudwy (N.W. Merioneth), Dinwidyw (near Carmarvon) in N. Wales, Cors Fochno and Pum-lunom (Pynllunom) in Cardiganshire, and the rivers Tawe, Tal, Teidi, Towy, Machafwy, and Edrywy in S. Wales. The Hoiana poem refers to the disagreement between Henry II and Henry III, and also to the Welsh prince, Llwelyn ab Iorwerth, lord of Gwynedd or N.W. Wales. There are allusions in this poem to Gwernwyd (N.W. Wales), and to Tir Ethin, the Land of the Heir-Apparent, which was the district situated in N. Wales between the rivers Conway and Clwyd. The student of the prophetic allusions of these poems would do well to consult the Introduction and notes of J. Gwenogryn Evans’s edition of the Black Book of Carmarthen. Here, again, most of the topography or version of the Laloic story, in S. Wales, such as Dyfed (S.W. Wales), St. Davids, Milford Haven, Mynyw (Monymouth), y Sarrfen
and Castell Collwn in Radnorshire, together with the river Taradyn, Mynyw (the Monnow), Mochafwy, and Teifi, while there are also allusions to certain famous battles of early Welsh history, which are probably taken from some current bardic list of such battles.

In the Book of Taliesin (14th cent.) there is a similar prophetic poem (but without any account of the Merlin Myrddin) and the three poems, published in the Monmouthshire Archierary and the National Library of Wales, are said to be the works of Myrddin under the title Argeg Prydrein Fawr ("The Prophecy of Great Britain"). The events which are foretold are similar in character to those of the Afallenau and Holaioan. There are other poems in the MS which, without expressly mentioning Myrddin, are clearly cognate with the Myrddin poems already mentioned.

In the Red Book of Hergest (14th cent.) there are two poems which have clear links of affinity with the Afallenau and Holaioan, but which may have been composed later. They undoubtedly belong, like the latter, to the Welsh Myrddin tradition. These two poems are (1) Kyvossi Myrddin a Gwennyd y chwfr, 'The Conversation of Myrddin with his sister Gwendydd,' and (2) Gwasgargyr Yrdrin yr y bod, 'The Diffused Song of Myrddin.' In both the poems which make it clear that their writers were familiar with the legend of the Northern Myrddin. Myrddin in these poems is little else than the instrument through which the poet speaks. It is noted that a common feature of the Myrddin and other prophecies of the Middle Ages was an expectation of the return of the princes Cynan and Cadwaladr of Dyfed in order to head jointly the Welsh forces to victory over the English.

It is in the Kyvossi poem that the term Lliallogan, already mentioned, occurs. Though this word is doubtless in origin a proper name, yet W. O. Pughe ('Not. Dial. of the Welsh Lamps,' Denbigh, 1882, s. v.) interpreted both it and llallaweg as meaning 'twin brother.' It is not improbable that the term was misunderstood in this sense, even by the author of the Kyvossi, since he makes Gwendydd speak of 'my llallaweg Myrddin,' while the term llallaweg, as a synonym for lliallogan, is doubtless invented from it by analogy. In the original narrative on which the Kyvossi poem was based, Lliallogan was doubtless a proper name, as it is in the Life of St. Kentigern, in the passage 'in curiosis (Iodar) eras homo fatuus vocatum Llaiologan,' and it is this Llaiologan that is identified in the Scottish sources with the Welsh name, Llaiologan ("Llallaweg," 1750), as in the Kyvossi poem, with Merlin. Poems xix., xx., and xxi. of the Red Book of Hergest (in Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales) clearly belong to the same cycle as the preceding prophecies.

Occasional references to Myrddin are found in the Welsh poets of the Gododdin period (A.D. 1190-1300), as, e.g., in Cynuddel's Elegy to Owain Gwynedd (Myrddin Archierary of Wales; Denbigh, 1870, p. 152), where the poet says that Owain 'faireth rather than Myrddin.' Gwynfardd Brychiniog, too (ib. p. 193), speaks of the Lord Rhyd of Deheubarth (S. Wales) as having been prophesied by Myrddin Edrydyd. Edrydyd (ib. pp. 234, 244) refers to Myrddin's brilliancy in song, and likewise Gwilym Ddu o Arfon (ib. p. 277) speaks of the 'excellent Myrddin of the stock of Meirchion.' The poet Sefnyn, also, in an elegy on Iorwerth Gryrrog, compares the dead bard to Myrddin (ib. p. 334). Further, a cynical and sarcastic poet, Madog Dwygraig, satirizes the Afallenau in one of his poems Gwaelod Satire on a Woman.

In Dafydd ab Gwilym (poem xxvii.), there is an echo of the fame of Myrddin as a poetical lover, while in poem xlvii. he is said 'to have made with the craftsmanship of love a house of glass about a mistress.' The few other allusions to Myrddin in Dafydd ab Gwilym are unimportant. Later legend (see MS 162 in the Penrith Collection, now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, written about the 13th or 14th century, and discovered near the island of Bardsey, off the coast of Carnarvonshire, and located his grave there (cf. R. Higden, in Polychronicon [ed. T. Gale, Oxford, 1691, i. 187]), and Giraldus Cambrensis may have had this legend in mind when he spoke of the famous Cledonius' grave (see below) as being shown near Nefyn in Carnarvonshire.

That Wales was not without an interest in the prophecies of the Sibyl of Seville and the other prototypes of the Merlin and similar variations, is shown by the fact that MS 5 of the Penrith Collection, belonging to the second quarter of the 14th cent., contains a Welsh translation of the Sibylline prophecies, called Llyma Prophecydol y Sibil doeth ('Here is the prophecy of the wise Sibyl'), based on the De Sidillis of Isidore of Seville. This translation is also found in the Red Book of Hergest (cols. 571-577), and in Penrith MS 14, pp. 45-57. The latter bears the title 'The Sibyl's Dream,' and belongs to the middle of the 13th century. It differs both from the versions of Penrith 5 and MS 20 in that there are allusions which make it clear that their writers were familiar with the legend of the Northern Myrddin. Myrddin in these poems is little else than the instrument through which the poet speaks. It is noteworthy that the inclusion of such prophecies in this and the subsequent century in Wales is further shown by the inclusion in Penrith MS 3, written about 1300, of the Kyvossi poem, which is interesting to note that a common feature of the Myrddin and other prophecies of the Middle Ages was an expectation of the return of the princes Cynan and Cadwaladr of Dyfed in order to head jointly the Welsh forces to victory over the English.
its dedication, to be the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but the legend which it embodies is so entirely different from that given in Geoffrey's Historia that it is in the highest degree improbable that he is its author. The legend which it incorporates and expands is essentially that of the Welsh Afallencau and Hogenau and of the 'Laloicem' tradition that goes back to St. Kentigern.

Ferdinand Lot has published an analysis of the Vita Merlini (Annales de Bretagne, x.,) and has shown to be later; than the Laloisian fragments already mentioned; it could be readily assumed that Geoffrey was its author, and goes too far in seeking to trace the influence of the Vita Merlini on the Welsh Myrddin poems of the Black Book of Carmarthorn and of the Red Book of Hergest, with the exception of the first poem of the former, which purports to be a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliesin. The Latinized proper names of the Vita Merlini show quite clearly that they were formed by some one who was familiar with the Welsh names of the Myrddin legend, such as Ganieda for Gwenddyddu, Telgesinus for Taliesin, and the like. At the same time, there are irregularities of form and of the legend, as, for instance, the opposition of Guennolus to Merlin; but in the Vita Merlini, as in the Afallencau, there are prominent allusions to apples, and the whole setting of the Merlinium and Myrddin poems, in spirit of certain discrepancies, is for the most part the same. The Vita Merlini, however, contains one name, Mel- dinus, which, as Lot has pointed out, is probably derived from the model of Hogenau. How it happened that Geoffrey did not take the proper name of the model, it is not for us to say.

Though the Vita Merlini appeared to be the work of some one other than Geoffrey, it is not certain that he is the author. The poet is of great interest as showing the popularity of the Northern and Welsh type of the Merlin legend in cultured circles in Britain in the 12th cent., but familiarity with Geoffrey's Historia is already shown by the reference to Vortigen (I. 681).

3. Merlin in Geoffrey and in the Chronicles.—The introduction of the figure of Merlin into the medieval Chronicles is due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, as is shown by theAmbrosius of one of his sources, Nennius, into Merlinus. This is clear from the fact that, in the Prophecy and in the last part of the preceding book, Geoffrey calls Merlin Ambrosius Merlinus. The innovation in question was first made by Geoffrey, when he published 'The Prophecy of Merlin' as a separate work, before the appearance of his Historia Regum Britanniae. This Prophecy must have been published early enough for Ordeicus Vitalis to quote from it, as he does in bk. xili of his History, written about 1136 or 1137. Later it was incorporated in Geoffrey's Historia, and forms bk. vii. of that work. The Ambrosius with whom Geoffrey identified Merlin first comes to view in Gildas (de Excidio Britanniae, xxi., ed. Mon. hist. Brit. i. 15), as Ambrosius Aurelianus, but the first to make it into a legendary person was Nennius, who describes him (xli.-xlv.) as a child without a father, for whom Vortigern searched, by the advice of his sorcerers, in order to render stable the foundations of the tower that had been built. He was found, according to Nennius, in the field or plain of Ellett, in the region of Gleguissing (=Glywyssing in Monmouthshire), and in Nennius's narrative he is also associated with it that he is the brother of Dinas Emrys (Eurys being the Welsh derivative of Ambrosius), near Beddgelert, and is represented as a sorcerer (magus), who prophecies the final overthrow of the English by the Welsh. Ambrosius in Geoffrey appears as a separate character (Hist. Brit. vii. 1), but the role which he plays in that author was filled in Nennius by Guorthemir (Vortimer). It is Geoffrey, too, that first connects Merlin with Carmarthen (Hist. Brit. vi. 17).

Another new element introduced into the story, and which became a notable feature of the Merlin romance, was the suggestion that the boy's father was a supernatural being of the type known by the name of Merlinaus, a Roman man made by Nennius, that the boy was the son of a Roman consul, is omitted by Geoffrey. The idea of introducing an incubus into the story probably came from a reminiscence of the pseudo-Bede (de Elem. Phil. P. 1. [PL xc. 1131]), which doubles reflects a view put forward by St. Augustine. The germ of the conception of Merlin as a sorcerer was already in Nennius, and the idea of putting prophecies into his mouth was ready to Geoffrey's hand, and even then a practice of the times, as is seen by Geoffrey's own references (ii. 9, xii. 18) to the prophecies of the eagle at Shaftesbury. Giraldus Cambrensis, too, makes Merlin prophecy from the Book of Silvestris (or Celidoniensis), and attributes to the former only prophecies taken from Geoffrey, and he likewise states (Brit. ii. 6, 8) that he discovered, in an out-of-the-way locality, a copy of the prophecies of Merlin in the possession of a historian of longue.

Geoffrey gives prominence to Merlin's powers, not only as a prophet, but as a magician, and represents him as one whose magic power conveyed Stonehenge from Ireland to Salisbury Plain and changed the forms of Uther and his companions. In Geoffrey, however, Merlin is not mentioned later than Uther's reign, but subsequent legend and romance could not resist the temptation to associate him with Uther's son, Arthur. In romance, Merlin, as a magician, tended to come more and more into prominence, until at last he became a figure second only to that of Arthur himself. In the case of subsequent chronicles the following points may be noted. The Welsh Brut Tysilio, an adaptation of Geoffrey's History, shows a development on the lines of the later Romances, and probably under the influence of the Ambrosius of one of his sources, Nennius, into Merlinus. In Geoffrey's History, Merlin is represented as owing his birth to the machinations of Lucifer and other evil spirits, and the increased prominence of the magical conception of his character is seen by the statement that he, by his magic art alone, is able to draw the stones that are to be carried from Ireland to Salisbury Plain as far as the ships, after the complete failure of the warriors. The same tendencies may be noted in Wace, who omits Merlin's prophecies, with the exception of those about Vortigern, on the ground that they are unintelligible to him, while he invests Merlin throughout with superhuman powers, and does not even mention any mechanical assistance in the transmission of the blocks of Stonehenge. Traces of romantic influence come to view also in the Chronicle called Draco Norvannicus (c. 1170) ed. R. Howlett, Chron. of the Reigns of Stephen, etc., London, 1884-89, ii. 389-757), which, it may be stated, contains many affusions to the section of Merlin's prophecies that relate to the first half of the 12th century. In Layamon's Brut there are a few additional touches to the story of Merlin, such as Merlin's explanation that the immediate cause of the fall of the tower which Bermuda fort or the tower of the Dinam Emrys (Eurys being the Welsh derivative of Ambrosius), near Beddgelert, and is represented as
marked emphasis on the supernatural conception of Merlin, which shows itself on the side both of supernatural knowledge and of supernatural power. The closest connection of Merlin with the Vita Merlini, as in the account of the discovery of Merlin in a forest, at Uther’s instance, when he wished for his aid to obtain Igraine as his mistress, is in the Latin hexameter poem called Gesta Regum Britanniae (ed. F. Michel, London, 1862), Merlin is entirely supernatural, as, e.g., where he transmits the stones to Stonehenge by means of magical songs, or where he magically changes Uther’s form. Merlin, too, gives Arthur new strength in his contest with Frollo. Here, again, there is a link with the Vita Merlini, where it is said that Arthur was conveyed to an ever-to-be-remembered island, on which a royal maiden dwelt. In the case of other chronicles, some omit the prophecies or certain of them, as, for instance, Alfred of Beverley (c. 1150); ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1710), who omits most of them, and Richardus Glumiacensis (in 1162), who omitted the prophecies in the first edition of his Universal Chronicile (ed. L. A. Muratori, Antiq\itunes. Hicton medii evi, Milan, 1788-42, iv. 1679-1118), and E. J. G. de Heer, published from the Latin text in his second and third editions. Again, it is clear that all Chronicles did not share equally in the tendency to exaggerate the powers of Merlin; e.g., Richardus Glumiacensis (ed. London, 1851) has a mere allusion to Merlin’s transportation of the stones of Stonehenge.

There are, as already stated, traces in Giraldus Cambrensis of an attempt at the fusion and reconciliation of the Caledonian tradition and that of Geoffrey, in his theory of the existence of two Merlins. He follows Geoffrey in his connexion of Merlinus Anbrosius with Carmarthen, while he knows of the madness of Merlinus Caledonius, but attributes it not to remorse at having killed his sister’s son, but to fright at the sight of an apparition in the air. Giraldus, like many of the chronicles who succeeded Geoffrey, succumbed to the temptation of bringing Merlin down to the time of King Arthur. One story, which Giraldus records (Itin. Camb. i. 6), to the effect that Merlinus Anbrosius had been found near Nevrn in Carnarvonshire, is probably conformed with the legend that associated him with the island of Bardsey. Merlin’s burial appears to have been located in some traditions at Carmarthen, where a ‘Merlin’s Grave’ was marked. It was also located at Drumwelier, ancient Dunmeller, in Tweed-dale.

The wide-spread popularity of the prophecies of Merlin may be gauged by the fact that two Latin poems appear to be extant embodying a number of them from the pen of a Scandinavian monk called Gunlungs Leif of Thingeyra, while a similar MS in the Copenhagen Library was translated into English, with the History of Hulfdan Einar, and published in London in 1718 (see San-Marte, Die Sagen von Merlin, Halle, 1853, p. 18).

In 1185-89 there appeared a commentary on the History of Geoffrey, which was published under the pen-name of the poet. In 1493 it was published at Frankfurt. In this commentary Alamus testifies to the existence, in the Britanny of his day, of a strong belief in the prophecies in question. Further, John of Cornwall, a disciple of Peter Lombard, commented on these prophecies publicly in the University of Paris (see Prophetia Merlini cum expositione Johannis Cornubensis, op. K. J. Grubh, Spieclig. Vatican, 1867, p. 183), and in 1596-1603 the prophecies continued, in Britain and in France, well into the 17th cent., if not later, and the Council of Trent sought to counteract the considerable effects of this popularity by putting the prophecies on the Index. A similar attitude of mind to that of the Council of Trent is reflected in the work called Vincentii Bellowanus, Speculum Historie (xx, 209), and the story of the Life and Prophecies of Merlin, see Literature.

4. Merlin in romance.—Merlin first comes to view as a character of romance proper in a poem of which only a fragment has come down to us, probably dating from about the 12th cent., and is usually attributed to Robert de Boron (ed. Paris and Ulrich, in their ed. of the Huth Merlin; see Lit.). This poem was the basis of a French prose work which forms the monograph of Merlin, and is again, is thought to be partly the work of the same author. It has come down to us in two forms, the first being generally called the ‘ordinary’ or ‘vulgate’ Merlin, while the second is known as the Suite de Merlin. Of the latter work Malory’s first four books are an abridgment, and from it is derived one of the minor Arthurian stories, namely that of Balin and Balan. In the Merlin romances, as in the later developments of the Arthurian story (see Arthur, Arthuriann Cycle), there is an ecclesiastical or theological development, the leading motive which led to the birth of Merlin, being the conspiracy of the world of darkness to produce an Antichrist, who would be the means of rendering the work of the Incarnation ineffective. Thus the birth of Merlin is represented as a kind of re-enactment of the fusion of the elements of the demons, he is brought into the world as the child of a woman whose family has been ruined by the evil spirits, and who is herself seduced by a demon. Providence, however, Blaise, the confessor of Merlin’s mother, baptizes the child as soon as it is born, and thence brings it into the Christian fold. The child, nevertheless, retains, though a Christian, the demonic gifts of magic and prophecy, and these powers he puts to beneficial use even in his infancy, by saving his mother’s life and startling her accusers by revealing their family secrets. The narrative then proceeds on the lines of Geoffrey’s History in the account of his relations with Vortigern, Ambrosius, and Uther. After this, Arthur is represented as having been committed as an infant to Merlin’s care, and Merlin hands him over to Antor, who brings him up as his own son. It is Merlin who reveals to Arthur the fact that he is the son of Uther Pendragon and Igrine, and it is to Merlin that Arthur looks for guidance and counsel during the earlier period of his rule. At the time of the battle of Camlan, it was Merlin who vanishes from Arthur’s court. The stories accounting for his disappearance vary in different forms of the romance. One story states that he was betrayed by a maiden called Nimiane or Viviane, probably the Chhwimian of Welsh legend; but in some versions of this narrative she is represented as a water-fairy, in others as a king’s daughter. With this lady Merlin is in love, and she, in the spirit of Delilah, obtains from him the secret of his magic power, and uses this knowledge to cast him into a profound sleep and to imprison him alive in a rocky grave. According to this account, Merlin in prison under Ulrich, a disciple of Peter Lombard, commented on these prophecies publicly in the University of Paris (see Prophetia Merlini cum expositione Johannis Cornubensis, op. K. J. Grubh, Spieclig. Vatican, 1867, p. 183), and in 1596-1603 the prophecies continued, in Britain and in France, well into the 17th cent., if not later, and the Council of Trent sought to counteract the considerable effects of this popularity by putting the
introduction to the prose Lancelot and to the Arthurian cycle generally.

The Romance of Merlin, as already indicated, is to be found first in the fragmentary poem, attributed to Robert de Boron, giving, however, only an introductory part of the story, in a single MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, secondly, in the prose version based on this poem in combination with other, independent sources, the so-called name of Joseph of Arimathea. In two cases the Merlin story forms a small Arthurian cycle through the addition of a Perceval and a Mort Artus. Of the 'ordinary' or 'vulgar' Merlin, which is a long and elaborate romance, several copies are extant. This story is continued in two forms, each of which has survived in a single MS. One of these is called the Huc Quin, after the distinguished patron of learning, Alfred Huth, who bore the expense of its publication. It is a version of which Malory made use in his rendering of the story, and the Spanish and Portuguese translators also; in the Spanish it is in MS 337, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is called by Panis Paris the Livre Artus.

In English the earliest form of the Merlin Romance is a transcribed version called Arthur and Merlin, which was made from French at the beginning of the 14th cent.; and a later translation, generally known as the great prose Merlin, was made at the middle of the 15th century by the Spenser (Faery Queen, can. iii.) and by the French, and there is no reference to his work by the Lady of the Lake in Ariosto (Orlando furioso, can. iii. st. 379). The combination of the Merlins is double, mainly due to the desire of the French trouvères to bring the legend of Merlin, like those of Arthur and Tristan, into harmony with the general civilization and culture of their time. In the 19th cent. Tennyson utilized the Merlin legend in his Idylls of the King, and gave a version of his own of the character of Viviane.

5. Merlin in satire.—Like the other Arthurian romances, that of Merlin tended in the eyes of a more critical age, to provoke satire, and so it is not strange that Cervantes ridicules and parodies it in his Don Quixote, while Rabelais also parodies the propheties in his Pantagruelic prognostication certaine, véritable et insaisible, composed about 1533, while in his Gargantua he exposes the life and prophecies of Merlin to further ridicule. The epic poetry of the sprayed Cervantes or Rabelais, and that which delighted in the prophecies and romance of Merlin illustrates the change from the characteristic mental attitude of the Middle Ages to that of later times.


MESMERISM.—See Hypnotism.

MESSALIANS.—See Euchites.

MESSEIAH.—I. SCOPE OF THE ARTICLE. — Much confusion is caused by the fact that the term 'Messianic' should be confined to passages which imply the coming of an extraordinary person, normally regarded as a king, who is to be in a special sense sent and endowed by God, and whose advent is to mark the end of a world-age. It would, indeed, be an advantage if the looser use of 'Messianic' could be dropped; it suggests that, in the hope of a Golden Age, the principal and origin of hopes was the expectation of a Saviour-King, which might here and there be ignored, or which might be assumed to be implied even where it was not actually mentioned. In fact, however, the reverse is the case; the oldest and the most general expectation is that of the era of happiness, and with this the hope of the Messiah was sometimes combined in later times. For it is quite clear that a majority of the OT passages which deal with the hopes of a glorious future do not speak of the King of the future at all; Jahweh Himself is the agent of deliverance and of judgment; He alone is Saviour and Redeemer in the OT; the nation, as a whole, or the dynasty of its kings, is the object of His favour. In such cases the Christian interpreter may have good ground for maintaining that, from the OT, this wider range of hopes were realized in the coming of Christ, but historically they are not the same as the expectation of a Messiah, and can be called Messianic only in the lax sense of our ordinary language, with reference to the subject of eschatology (q.v.), and this article will, therefore, be confined to the consideration of the Messiah in the strict sense, and the term 'Messianic' will be used only in connexion with him. It may be added that, while this view does not always imply a Messiah, neither does the
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Messiah himself always appear in a strictly eschatological setting.

II. MEANING OF THE WORD.—The term 'Messiah' represents the Heb. Mashiāh, the Anointed, and is to be interpreted generally in the OT as an epithet, both of priests (Lev 4:4-6 etc., and perhaps Dn 9:9) and of kings, esp. of Saul (1 S 15:12 etc.), while in Is 43:1 it is applied to Cyrus. Northerner in the OT does it occur in its later technical sense, which is first found in Enoch and Psalms of Solomon (see below, IV. 1). In the OT language any Jewish king is 'Messiah's Anointed,' and the phrase is in no way confined to a single pre-eminent king. In Is 10:5, 1 and 1 Ch 16:14 'Anointed ones' occurs in the plural, of the patriarchs. Dalman suggests that Messiah in its later sense is a shortened form of Yāhve's 'Anointed,' and that no single passage of the OT was responsible for its adoption.

'Christ' is, of course, Χριστός, the Gr. equivalent, which translates the Heb. Mashiāh in the Septuagint. In view of discussions connected with its use in the NT, it is well to note that it is sometimes used without the article even when it is as an epithet standing in apposition to a proper name—\( \text{\textup{Messiah}} \).

The general significance of anointing is discussed in the art. under that heading. In view of the fact that 'Messiah' did not become a technical term till late, the primitive meaning of anointing is naturally the more closely associated with the figure; e.g., even if it be true that anointing was originally transferred from the image of the god to the king, we cannot argue that the Messiah was regarded as a divine being. Anointing had come to denote the two ideas of consecration and endowment.

III. TEACHING OF THE OT.—In order to discover the general trend of the OT teaching it is essential first to discuss, however briefly, the exegesis of the separate passages which speak, or may be reasonably thought to speak, of the coming of a Messiah; in no other way is it possible to realize the precise extent and nature of the hope. The examination is complicated not merely by difficulties of interpretation, but also by questions as to authenticity and date. Here it should be noted that, if critics reject as late certain passages which refer to the Messiah, it is by no means always from any a priori unwillingness to allow the Messianic hope to be of early date or to have been realized in actual prophecy, but because on external evidence such passages seem to be inconsistent with the context. In many cases they presuppose the Exile in a way which seems to be impossible in a pre-Exilic writer; in others the note of hope and promise seems to nullify the message of judgment and punishment which occupies the central place. Here the criterion to be applied is a very delicate one. How far did threats and promises actually exist side by side in the message of the same prophet? At what point do the promises become so contradictory of the threats that they can be regarded only as later insertions? How far may those questions be answered in any particular case, it may not be superfluous to point out that, when a passage is regarded as 'unauthentic' and late, it does not lose its value, either historical or religious; and it still remains evidence of the Messianic hope, only in a different age and circle from that to which it is commonly assigned. The principle being admitted that the prophetic books are composite works, the interpretation of such periods, each case must be judged solely on its merits.

1. The data.—It will be well to begin with 2 S 7 as the passage which is most clearly typical of the OT belief, at any rate on one side. It seems to be Deuteronomistic in tone, and can hardly be earlier than the reign of Josiah. Its main purport is to insist on the spiritual Messiah of the dynasty (vv. 11, 16). In its context this is contrasted with the fall of Saul's house (v. 1), but we may also assume an implied contrast with the various short-lived dynasties of the Northern Kings (cf. Hos 8). The passage itself does not speak of any single pre-eminent or final successor of David and is in no way eschatological, but precisely in its proportion as the actual occupants of the throne proved themselves unworthy, it would be natural to look for some one king who could realize the ideal. And, if at the same time there were other expectations of a wonderful Saviour, the two lines of hope would easily coalesce. At any rate, the personal Messiah in the OT is nearly always associated with the Davidic dynasty, and the references in the early prophets which have any claim to be regarded as Messianic are all connected with it. They may, indeed, be older than 2 S 7, and in any case this passage will hardly be the origin of the hope; it rather embodies and gives literary form to something which is natural.

In Am 9:11-15 there is a promise of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, with no reference to a personal Messiah, but the passage is almost certainly an Exilic addition (so J. Wellhausen, K. MARTI, G. A. SMITH, etc., though R. DRIVER * defends it with some hesitation*).

In Hosea it may not be necessary, with MARTI and VOLZ, to reject all passages which speak of future happiness, but the only verse which is in any way Messianic in the strict sense is 3, 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king.' Here, again, the stress is laid on the Davidic dynasty, but either the whole verse or at least the words 'David their king' are of doubtful authenticity. The crux of the question with regard to early Messianic prophecy is reached when we come to Isaiah.

(a) In 7:14. Until a new factor was introduced by considerations derived from comparative religion, it was becoming generally agreed that the passage had no reference to the birth, circumcision, or otherwise, of a Saviour-child or king at all. As Gray points out, the promised sign is not necessarily a marvel or miracle (cf. Ex 3:5, 1 S 9:15), but is to be looked for as unpreventable. 'By the time a child is to be born reaches a certain age the promised deliverance will have come. His name Immanuel does not imply the divinity of the child, or even that he will play a role as God's agent in the deliverance (as a matter of fact, there is not the least hint that he does anything of the sort), but, after the common Hebrew usage, expresses the point of view of the parents; it is the reverse of Lehboh (1 S 4:2).' H. Gressmann, however, and others argue that the passage is intelligible only if we suppose an already existing belief in the advent of a divine Saviour-child who is to be born mysteriously. On this view the virgin is 'the virgin of prophecy,' the mother spoken of in the tradition; 'butter and honey' are the food of the gods, as in Iranian and Greek myth; and the whole passage *Cambridge Bible, 'Joel and Amos,' Cambridge, 1881, p. 699."

REFERENCES should be made to the very full and excellent discussion of this and the other Isaiah passages by F. D. Gray, ICC, 'Isaiah,' Edinburgh, 1912.

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has a mythological background. The theory has an undeclineable fascination, but its main hypothesis cannot yet be regarded as proved (see below, 2 (d)). In this case it rests on the probably false assumption that the sign must be of a miraculous nature. Further, notice the article, no (the noun 'almah requires the meaning put upon it. If we reject the reference to the wife of Isaiah or Alzaz or to some other particular mother, the difficulty may be great. But as in Am 9:n, while at the same time it is now generally agreed that 'almah does not necessarily denote virginity, and is certainly not the word which would have been chosen if the supernatural character of the birth without a human father had been the point to be emphasized.

'Butter and honey' may be merely a symbol of plenty, a variant of the common 'milk and honey.' But perhaps the chief objection to the mythological view is to be found in the fact, to which attention has already been called, that Immanuel does not play any part in the deliverance, nor does he afterwards appear as a factor in this or any other of the future. The apparent reference to Immanuel in 8:24 is quite meaningless; there has been nothing to suggest that the child is the king to whom the hand belonging to the LXX 'for God is with us' (cf. v. 26). 2

(b) Is 9:n is a passage of a very different character. We have here a true Davidic Messiah, but Is 9:1-3 is a mere hint to that restoration is the work of Jahweh Himself; the child is not himself a conqueror, but is born to be Prince of Peace. The fourth name is remarkable, and, as Gray points out, 'Jahweh God' must not be toned down to 'mighty hero'; it is unique in the OT. Clemens admits that all four titles are 'perhaps mythological,' and the passage suggests the influence of the Hosea (see below). The child apparently anceses the throne at once—a suggestion that it is empty at the time of his birth; this may perhaps imply an Exilic date, though there is nothing else in the passage itself which necessitates its being placed later than Isaiah. 4 It is, in fact, the closest and best passage to establish an early expectation of a Messiah. It is, however, very remarkable that the passage seems to have had no influence on later, being, in later referred to in the OT or in the Apocalypse or the NT. 5

(c) Is 11:n had, on the contrary, a great influence on later thought, and lies behind the picture of the Messiah's sway in many other passages; in particular, the term 'Branch' became technical. Here, again, the Messiah is Davidic, with a special endowment of the Spirit. We note, too, the stress laid on the return of the Golden Age—a feature which may be derived from foreign mythology. At any rate, we have the Davidic Messiah in a clearly eschatological setting; 6 itself seems to imply a date after 539 B.C.; the metaphor is that of a tree cut down to the stumm and sending forth shoots, which would describe exactly the revival of the kingdom after its ruin at the fall of Jerusalem.

Is 5:25 is peculiarly difficult. 7 Omitting minor questions of reading and exegesis, the main points are as follows: (a) The passage does, though it may not be originally connected with, an eschatological passage in ch. 4 (cf. Is 2) where there is no mention of a Messiah. (b) It speaks of a Messianic king born in David's line, as in Am 9:n, while as in Is 9:1-3, it may now generally agreed that 'almah does not necessarily denote virginity, and is certainly not the word which would have been chosen if the supernatural character of the birth without a human father had been the point to be emphasized.

And what is the meaning of 'she which travaileth'? 8 Greemann and others explain it of the divine mother, and J. M. P. Smith admits this, but regards the verse as a late gloss, implying a Messianic interpretation of Is 7:14; the change of person from both v. 25 and verse is very awkward, and so is the contradiction between Jahweh's abandonment of His people and the previous verse. But, even if a mysterious birth is hinted at, there is no suggestion that the mother is a virgin or that the child is in any way connected with Immanuel. Whatever the date of the verse, it is far better to follow some of the older commentators (Calvin, Orelli, etc.) and see in the phrase a reference to the birth-pangs of the Messianic age, and the same word is used for 'travaileth,' while in both passages the return of the remnant is referred to (cf. Hos 13:4, Is 52:13, where the same figure of travail is used). 9 WHICH TRAVALLETH IS, THEREFORE, ZION PERSONIFIED. (c) Verse 6c certainly implies that there is no reigning king and, therefore, suggests an Exilic date. (d) Verse 6d seems to belong to a different prophecy (or this part of this prophecy) to that on which the Messianic hopes are based. The Messianic speaks out, and the confidence of the passage rests on a different basis. 10

In Jeremiah the main stress is laid on the continuation of the Davidic line, and this figure prominently in the book as we have it—a feature which is significant in view of the Deuteronomic origin of the fundamental passage Is 7:14. In 23:24-25 we have the right Branch being set us as a king (as in Is 11), with the name Jahweh Sidqenu, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' perhaps with an ironic reference to Zedekiah, the reigning king. But the apocalyptic passages in 40-41 are parallel to this, and in the parallel passage (33:9) shows that the main stress is on the dynasty rather than on any single or final representative, and this feature appears clearly in 7:14-25 'kings sitting upon the throne of David' 11 while in 33:24 'a very special emphasis is laid on the covenant with David, interpreted as meaning that he should never want a successor. In 30' (they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them') the reference seems to be to each successive representative rather than to any single descendant, or to a belief in the actual return of David himself. Finally, we have the characteristic here, of the kingdom arising sate of the agent of deliverance, the Davidic king and its appearing only after the salvation is completed. The general presentation in Ezekiel agrees with that of Jeremiah, and is referred to 'David my servant, as the ruler of the future (34:28-37) with pictures of the Golden Age and a strong

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1 * See Gray, ad loc. (p. 163), for a criticism of R. H. Kennet's argument. (The Conjectural restoration of the text of Isaiah, London, 1910, p. 71) that the word used for 'book' means a military book worn by Syro-Greek soldiers, this implying a Macabean date.
2 * See Gray, ad loc. (p. 165), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
3 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
4 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
5 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
6 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
7 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
8 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
9 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
10 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
11 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
12 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
13 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
14 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
15 * See Duhm, ad loc. (p. 167), for a discussion of the date of the Books of Daniel, or the influence of the history of the Maccabees.
stress on the presence of Jahveh Himself. In 17:28 the cedar twig planted on the mountain of the height of Israel may be a reference to the prince (cf. 2 K 11) from the Messiahian age. While ‘unto him come whose right it is’ (217) suggests the Shiloh prophecy of Gn 49:10,4. On the other hand, in the ideal State of chs. 40 f., the ‘Prince’ is only one of a series of kings as the prevailing subordinate part in the reformed Jerusalem. The general impression given by Ezekiel is that he was acquainted with popular hopes of an individual Messiah and, in particular, with the promises ascribed to the Davidic dynasty; these were too strong to be entirely ignored, but the priest-prophet himself had little real interest in them.

In Hagg 2, Zerubbabel is to be the ruler in the Messianic Age. So in Zec 9:9±12 he is the ‘Branch’ and the servant of Jahveh. The importance of the passages is twofold: (a) we have the first undoubted example of the identification of a historical person with the Messiah; (b) the reference to the Branch shows, even more decisively than in Ezekiel, that earlier prophecies were being studied and interpreted in accordance with contemporary conditions.

Zec 9:9 belongs to another and a later prophecy. Though the ass may originally have been the symbol of royalty (cf. Gn 49:2), it here stands for humility. The king is victorious over his enemies (‘saved’ rather than ‘having salvation’), but the stress is on the peaceful character of his rule. He is not explicitly Davidic.

In the Psalms we are concerned with a group of royal Psalms, especially 2, 45, 72, 89, 110, 132. Here are we met with almost insoluble problems as to date, since there is not even the a priori presumption which we have in the case of passages which stand in the writings of a particular prophet. Further, we must allow the possibility of glosses in the course of the many editings through which the various Psalters passed; such glosses may have emphasized a supposed Messianic reference — e.g., Ps 2:4±5. In all these Psalms we find startling language used of kings, the extent of their dominion, and their power, usually with stress on the Davidic covenant. It is common ground that such language was never strictly true of any Israelite king in either kingdom. Are these Psalms, then, addressed to the expected Deliverer of the future, i.e., to the Messiah? The objection to this view is the strong impression made in most cases that the divine living king is presupposed; e.g., Ps 45 is clearly an actual marriage song and is accepted as such, e.g., by Kirkpatrick and Briggs. And, if some of these Psalms are to be understood historically, the general similarity of language suggests that the same principle is to be applied to all. A. F. Kirkpatrick, in fact, argues that all have a primary historical reference, of course without prejudice to their spiritual application. In interpreting the language we are helped by the existence of the Hoshaf, or ‘Court style,’ to which Gressmann 3 and others call attention. Exaggerated language of this kind was a regular feature of the court addresses and poems in honour of Oriental monarchs; cf. the language of Ps 21±8, which is certainly addressed to an actual king. It is possible that this Hoshaf is Israeli, and perhaps elsewhere (see below, 2 (di)), included elements derived from the Messianic. If it be believed that some member of the Davidic dynasty should be the greatest of all, it was natural for the admirers of any king to suggest on his accession that he and no other was the long-desired. In this case the Psalms may be called quasi-Messianic, and at least illustrate the nature of the Messianic hope.

A warning against too strict an interpretation of this Hoshaf is to be found in the phenomena presented by the Babylonian hymns. We find Nahum addressed as ‘begetter of gods and men,’ ‘King of kings who has no judge superior to him;’ but then precisely the same flattery is offered to Assur, Ishtar, or Nebu.

As F. Hamilton points out (The People of God, London, 1915, p. 58), the ascription of universal dominion to so many of them (cf. the gods) was merely a piece of inexpensive flattery which one might mistake for serious truth. . . . It was a sound policy to avoid too much particularity.

In the same way we must beware of laying too much stress on the uniqueness, majesty, or finality ascribed to the king addressed in any particular Psalm. Its language, taken literally, cannot be applicable only to a unique Messiah, but in the month of an Oriental its application is less strict or exclusive.

The following points are further to be noted.

(i.) As in the Prophets, the stress is on the Davidean covenant; 2S 7 seems to be continually before the poets’ eyes. This is especially marked in Ps 89, which refers to the nation and the dynasty, the nation itself being personified in v. 6 (cf. Ps 89:26). So ‘firstborn’ in v. 30 seems to refer to the description of Israel in Ex 4, while ‘servant’ in v. 29 suggests a parallel with 2 Isaiah. The Psalms speak a whole is a prayer for the dynasty and the nation, rather than for the coming of any particular king who is to mark a new epoch.

The same applies to Ps 132, though ‘horn of David to bud’ (v. 3) may refer to ‘the Branch.’ Ps 45, however, is not Davideic (Briggs and Sellin ascribe it to N. Israel), nor is Ps 110 except in the title.

(ii.) The language of the Psalms had great influence on later Messianic ideas, terms being used which afterwards became titles of the Messiah. As they occur in the Psalms they are, however, hardly technical; they are not used of one definite figure or king to the exclusion of all others. We have ‘anointed’ (Ps 2. 32) 49:8, &c., in a general sense (see above, § II.), ‘son’ (Ps 2, probably not in 23) , ‘firstborn’ (89f), while ‘thy throne, O God’ (45), may imply delimitation.

(iii.) Ps 110 stands alone in speaking of a priest-king, who is not, however, Levitical; it is very generally regarded as Maccabean, referring to Simon (see, however, Briggs, ad loc.).

There remain a few other O.T. passages, mainly fragments of poetry embedded in the historical books, which require brief notice.

Gn 49:4—It may be taken for granted that Shiloh is not a personal title of the Messiah. The first hint of such a view is found in the Talmud (Sanh. 98b), and it was not so used till the version of the 10th century (Driver). The reading and interpretation are both doubtful, but it is possible that the passage is Messianic—until he come whose right it is (Ezr 21:17). See above.

2. As showing that earlier prophecies were by this time definitely studied, see 337, where there is a re-editing of Jer 5, 6, 7.

3. The text is in disorder; Zerubbabel must have been originally an acrostic of Ps 110, with ‘crowns’ in the first and ‘throned’ in v. 4. Possibly when the power was the central in the midst the priest the text was deliberately altered, giving us perhaps the first of the Psalms (cf. Cambridge Bible, ad loc.).


5. As showing that earlier prophecies were by this time definitely studied, see 337, where there is a re-editing of Jer 5, 6, 7. 

verse is a late addition on the basis of the Isianic prophecies (Deuteronomy, or whether, with Gunkel, Gressmann, and Sellin, we are to regard it as a fragment of pre-prophetic eschatology, not specifically Davideic. But it is a strange eulogy to say that Judah shall rule only till the great one from elsewhere comes. Skinner holds that the reference is simply to the Davideic dynasty; Judah is to be independent till it is merged in the kingdom of its heavenly King.

Of Gn 31* the most that can be urged in the way of Messianic interpretation is that the passage is a prediction of the ultimate victory of man, the seed of the woman, in the conflict with evil, typified by the serpent. It is, therefore, referring to any definite descendant of Adam in the singular. The same applies to the other predictions in Genesis with regard to the seed of Abraham, where the thought is of the nation; the exegesis of St. Paul in Gal 3** is admittedly untenable.

Nu 24* is usually understood as referring to David’s conquest of Moab. But, on the ground that ‘star’ suggests a semi-mythological figure, Sellin* and others find in the passage a trace of a primitive Messianic hope; others regard it as Messianic but late. Note that the passage is certainly not to be viewed as a prophecy. Dt 33? may refer only to the dominion of Ephraim (the Song belongs to the N. Kingdom), but Sellin† again urges that the hyperbole is too strong and that we have an echo of an early Messianic hope, transmitted through the Coheren. In Dt 34 this is the passage influenced the idea of the Messiah ben Joseph.‡

Dt 18* (applied Messianically in Ac 3** 7)† is clearly a promise of a succession of prophets, not of a Messianic and final prophet.

A word must be said with regard to the Servant passages of 2 Is. Very few critics now consider these to be Messianic in the strict sense, the reference being either to the Babylonian exiled nation or to the ideal Israel. This is so clear in the early songs that it must also hold good of Is 53; this is best understood of the sufferings of the Exile, which we see (p. 242) have a referential value not only for the nation, but for the world as a whole. Gressmann,‖ however, on the ground of the obscure and oracular character of the language, argues that the writer is using already existing material which was to be united with his own, and to which his own mystery hymn, addressed to a dying and rising God; he is treated as an eschatological figure, parallel to that of the Messiah, who is here neither a prophecy nor specifically a king. It cannot be said that there is any real evidence for this view (for a criticism see Clemen, p. 149). Nor, again, is it possible to find a suffering God or Messiah in Zec 12*, which clearly refers to some historical martyr.

In Dn 7** there can be little doubt that the figure of ‘a son of [a] man’ appearing ‘on’ or ‘with the clouds of heaven’ is, in the context, a symbol of Israel itself, a human being contrasted to the ‘beasts,’ hostile world empires. But it is equally clear that the expression came to be understood of a personal Messiah (see below, IV. 2 (d) (2)), and it is urged with some reason that it did not originate with Daniel but that a later Hellen period had a. Koran behind it. The figure is introduced as familiar, and no explanation is given in the ch. of the coming with clouds, which may, therefore, be assumed to be a recognized element in the conception. Gressmann‡ believes that we have a figure of foreign origin, parallel with the Messiah and afterwords identified with him. To Sellin§ he is the Messiah transformed, the Urnesesch, or ‘primal man,’ of Paradise, who is to return once more; Clemen‖ is inclined to agree with this explanation of the origin.

In §26 the references in the AV to the Messiah are certainly misleading. In v. 8, ‘the anointed one, the patriarch’ is either Cyrus or Joshua; in v. 28 he is Onias the high priest.

2. Survey of OT teaching:—(a) From our review of the OT passages it becomes clear that the expectation of the Messiah in the strict sense occupied a comparatively subordinate place. The fact that in a large number of books and passages which deal with the future he is not mentioned at all is of the greatest significance as showing that his coming was not an essential or invariable element in the national hopes: e.g., he is never mentioned in Zephaniah, which is entirely eschatological, nor in Joel. It cannot be assumed, as the Christian interpreter often unconsciously assumes, that the Messiah is in such cases taken for granted. There is, in fact, no hint of him, and often no room for him. Further, even in books or groups of writing where we would have found possible the inclusion of Messiah there are many passages where he is completely ignored (e.g., in Isaiah). The idea is introduced suddenly and sporadically and as suddenly dropped.

Jahweh Himself is always the Redeemer and Saviour, and it is the partial and temporary element in the OT teaching; the stress is on His coming and manifestation and not on that of any representative.

(b) There are constant references to hopes connected with the dynasty of David, and these sometimes take the form of the expectation of another David, a specially endowed ruler. During the Exilic period particularly, which was an earlier period than the Messianic, the idea of the great king was taken up, and the idea of the Messiah was identified with the king. In this way the Messianic hope was both preserved and partly transformed.

(c) The way in which the references to the Messiah are introduced and the fact that they are so frequently enigmatic in form suggest that the Messianic belief did not originate in the entire period, but had its germ in the prophecies and religion. It is wanting in the Priestly writings, and, as we saw, Ezekiel seems to have been somewhat suspicious of it; the prophets do not use it consistently, and it appears and disappears in an extraordinary way. Its connexion with the kingdom would commend it to the mind of the people, while religious teachers could avow themselves of it only with caution and reserve, though it could not always be entirely ignored. It is obvious that these were, in fact, the features which determined Christ’s attitude to the hope in later times.

(d) In recent years the whole subject has been reconsidered in the light of comparative religion. Gunkel and, especially for our present subject, Gressmann have urged that Jewish eschatology, including the Messianic hope, is not a new development in the j.p. period, but an entirely new hope that it goes back to a far earlier age and is really not specifically Jewish at all. They argue that the hope of a semi-divine Deliverer, or Heilbringer,
was a common possession of the ancient world, especially in Egypt and Babylonia, and that the OT language is intelligible only when understood as one expression of that hope. Sellin essentially agrees as to the antiquity of the belief, which he regards as not merely pre-prophetic but as pre-Davidic, while he rejects the hypothesis of its foreign origin, being ready to admit foreign influences only in detail.

We have already had examples of the principles of this school as applied to such passages as Is 7, Mic 5, etc. It is further suggested that the Messiah is the Anrnenach, or primal man, the hero-king of Paradise, who is to return with the Golden Age at the end. Gressmann rightly points out that the Messiah is the prince of peace rather than a conqueror; i.e., he is the king of the Golden Age restored by Jahweh. Sellin’s development of this idea. Job 15 suggests a tradition of the first man as pre-existent with God and sharing His wisdom; he finds a trace of this in Gn 5, “to make one wise,” while the same word is used in Jer 23, Is 52; cf. the stress on wisdom in Is 11. He is, further, the “son of man” of Ps 8 and of Daniel, while his pre-existence is hinted at in Is 40:11-14. Gressmann further arranges world dominion cannot be Hebrew in origin; cf. Ps 72, where the river Euphrates is the centre of empire (it cannot be a boundary parallel to the “ends of the earth”). A parallel is suggested in the prophet of Yahweh ascending the throne and becoming king must have originally referred to a divine Messiah; the latter, Gunkel and Zimmermann believe, is Babylonian in origin, while the same may be the case with the Hoftel in general.

The point of view is fascinating and has been argued with great ingenuity, but it has been generally felt that it lacks definite proof when we come to the details, whether of the OT passages or of the supposed parallels. As we have seen, the interpretation of the crucial passages is very doubtful. The Immanuel passage does not seem to refer to the Messiah at all, while, if it which travelled in Micah is understood of Zion, the idea of a mysterious origin disappears; the Shiloh passage is open to so many interpretations that it is very unsafe to build on it. It is quite true that with regard to eschatology in general (and it must be remembered that the view which we are considering starts from eschatology and not from the Messianic hope in particular) the prophets from Abraham onwards are dealing with ideas already to some extent familiar, and it is equally true that the same is sometimes the case with the Messianic passages, but this does not justify us in finding the solution of every obscure passage in hypothetical popular traditions. We have already argued that the way in which the allusions to the Messiah are introduced does suggest that the idea was general and popular, used only occasionally and with some reserve by the prophets, so that it cannot be regarded as the discovery of any one of them. But of its great antiquity there is no real evidence. The passages in which it is found are scattered and do not stand on quite definite grounds, and we could hardly prove that it existed before the Exile except in the form of expectations connected with the permanence and glory of the house of David. We must, in fact, admit that data are wanting whereby we might fix with any certainty the period in which the hope arose. We can only say that the way in which the allusions are found is the most natural, and the origin being placed in the Exilic period, in spite of the lack of definite evidence to the contrary, though they do not in any way carry it back to a dim antiquity.

A similar verdict of ‘not proven’ must be passed on the hypothesis of a foreign origin (with regard to foreign influence in detail, such as in the Hoftel and partial parallels, especially at a later period, the case is somewhat different). The preceding discussions have already dealt with many of the points. Sellin’s discussion of the supposed parallels in some detail, and concludes that there is no real parallel to the expectation of a divine deliverer to come at the end of history or to usher in a new era. The most that we can find is a yearning for the return of the Golden Age of Paradise, together with the courtier’s flattery applied to some particular king that he will be the one to bring this about— e.g., the famous letter to Assurbanipal. A. H. Gressmann has shown that the Leyden Papyrus has been misinterpreted and contains no reference to a ‘Messiah,’ while the Golenischeff Papyrus refers to a contemporary king Amen-em-het I. In all these cases we have examples of the Hoftel, with the natural hope that each new king will bring in an era of peace and happiness, but no real evidence of a genuine expectation of a Messiah, which, Sellin further suggests, includes, is peculiar to Israel: “The ancient East knows no eschatological king.”

To return to the OT, the hypothesis of the wide-spread expectation of a Redeemer-King is not necessary to explain the Messianic passages: even the earliest Messianic passages expect connected with the revival and increased glory of the dynasty of David. There are also the eschatological hopes of the return of the Golden Age, which probably go back to a comparatively early period; this is to be brought about by Jahweh Himself; but, since all critical periods of progress are in actual experience connected with the appearance of some specially great individual (Israel was familiar with the work of an Abraham, a Moses, a David, or an Elijah), it was natural to believe that this salvation of Jahweh might be mediated by His earthly representative, who would then be looked for among the descendants of David; in this way the national and the eschatological hopes would easily be combined as we find them combined in the late passage Is 11. So far from the Davidic Messiah being the precipitation of widely diffused ideas of a wide Saviour, the latter seems to have developed later as the offspring of the union of national and eschatological hopes.

IV. DEVELOPMENT SUBSEQUENT TO THE OT.

1. The data.—In passing to the period covered by the Apocrypha and the apocalyptic literature, it will be well again to begin by some examination of the actual data.

(a) Books where the Messianic hope is ignored.— In the eschatology of the Apocrypha, with the exception of 2 Esdras, the Messianic hope is practically ignored. It is just possible that there may be a hint of it in the reference to the coming of the “faithful prophet” in 1 Mac 14:2 (cf. 4:6), but, if so, the hope appears in a very attenuated form. In 2
domination of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909.
2 Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909.
3 P. 231 ff.; see also Wiegand, Geschichte des jüdisch-aegyptischen Buches der Propheten, 1892.
4 The references are generally to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. H. C. G. M. C. ed., Oxford, 1913, as well as to critical editions of the books. The dates given are generally those adopted by him; see also his Ezechielstudien.

This content is from a book and has been translated by P. 170 ff. for Oxford. Heb. Lexicon, however, translate πόποπος, ‘to look at.’
A similar silence is found in some of the apocryphal literature, and here this silence is all the more significant since the writers are dealing directly with the hopes for the future. The Messiah does not figure in *Enoch* i.-xxxvii., xxxviii. -xlvii., except in cp., where 'my Son' is suddenly introduced; Charles regards the chapter as an independent fragment. In the pictures of the Golden Age in *Jud. i.* xxix., xxxii. there is no mention of the Messiah, though not prominently, as the descendant of David had ascended to the white throne in the temporary Messianic kingdom; Charles, however, considers the clause to be an interpolation. In the *Assumption of Moses*, which comes from the 'Apostles' Quinaries,' there is no reference; Taxo (ix. 1) cannot be the Messiah; 1 Jahweh Himself is the avenger, and Moses the only mediator. The Messiah is in the same way ignored in *2 and 4 Macc., the Secrets of Enoch, the Letter of Aristaeus*, and the later parts of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*.

(5) Books where the Messiah is mentioned.—In *Ezech. lix.-lxxiii.*, (166-191 B.C.) the Messiah appears after the judgment as the 'white bull,' a human figure, with no very active or definite rôle. In the 'parables,' however (xxxvii.-lxxiii.), 64-66 B.C., we have rich material. Especially in xlviii., he is the central figure in the prediction of a race of men, judge, ruler, champion, and revealer. Besides Son of man, he is called 'the Elect One' and 'the Righteous,' titles which appear in the NT. His 'viii.' and 71-72, 73-75, are rich passages. In *Daniel* v., lii., 9, 14, and Charles regards these as the first example of the use of the word as a technical title, though Dahan 2 strikes out the passages as interpolations.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the salient point is that the Messiah is descended from Levi, and is a priest (cf. Ps 110); see *Test. Ramb. v.* 7-11. In *Ass. Levi* iv., viii. is repeated in *Ass. Judah* xiv., xvi., xxiv. 1, etc. In *Test. Jud. xviii.,* however, we find the usual Messiah ben Judah; so perhaps *Test. Naph.* iv. 5. According to Charles, the form of Apoc. in *Secrets of Enoch*, the book of dates from 109-106 B.C., the palmy days of *Hyrcanus*, the Maccabean dynasty, which came of a priestly family, being then regarded as Messianic. But, after the breach between it and the Pharisees, and the destruction of the Messiah's kingdom, the interpolations were made to the book, reverting to the ordinary view. The conception of the Messiah is that he is a priest and a warrior, sinless, with power over evil spirits, and bringing sin to an end; the ethical note is strongly marked.

In the *Psalms of Solomon* (70-40 B.C.) there is no reference to the Messiah in L-xvi., though the future deliverance is dealt with. In xvii., and xxviii., however, there is a very important description. He is Davidic in contrast to the non-Davidic dynasty of the Hasmoncees; though himself human, he comes with the power and special endowments of God; he is to conquer the nations and purge Jerusalem of sin. The whole picture is full of enthusiastic and vigorous touches, but there are no transcendent traits in the conception. The end and the destruction of the Messiah's kingdom is not very clear, but 'throughout his days' in xviii. 42 suggests that he is regarded as mortal. He is called 'His' or 'the Lord's anointed,' the title being here certainly a technical one, its first occurrence, if the passages in Enoch are rejected.

In the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 40 (168-51 B.C.), we read of 'a holy prince' who is to reign over the whole earth for all ages, though, somewhat inconsistently, judgment follows; ii. 652 (c. 140 B.C.) speaks of a king from the sunrise sent by God who is to bring peace to every land. In the later fifth book (before A.D. 130) we have (in 108) again a king sent from God, who destroys the nations, destroys Nero retalians (Antichrist), while 414 ff. speak of a 'blessed man' from the plains of heaven, who destroys evil-doers and sets up the new temple.

The Fragment of a *Zadokite Work,* first published by W. Lightfoot in 1857, is preserved by Charles in 18-8 B.C. and by most scholars before A.D. 70, and seems to have come from a reforming party among the priests. 'A Teacher of righteousness' has already been mentioned (c. 7), and a Messiah is expected (i. 10, viii. 2 (13, ix. 10, xxv. 4, xviii. 8) who is to arise 'from Aaron and Israel,' Charles interprets this phrase as pointing to the sons of Marianne and Herod. This is not quite certain, but the Messiah is clearly Leviticus, as in the *Testaments*, the book being marked by hostility towards Judah. The 'Teacher of righteousness' or the 'Lawgiver' (viii. 6) is a forerunner of the Messiah, though at a considerable interval, and is identified with the 'star' of Nu 24, the 'sceptre' of the same passage being applied to the Messiah.

In the *composite (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch* the Messiah is suffering, dying at the age of 70, and being resurrected, A', A', A', written before A.D. 70. In xxvi. f. (A') he is revealed mysteriously, apparently from heaven, whether he returns in glory; his rôle is a minor one and occurs in xvi., where he is non-Davidic. In xxxxi. f. (A') he is the warrior slaying enemies and ruling over the Gentiles; the influence of Is 11 is marked. In xx., instead of 'my servant Messiah,' occurs, but the whole verse is regarded as an interpolation. In the three later Fragments, B', B', B', there is the so-called Messiahian Kingdom without a Messiah. In the *Book of Enoch* (260 B.C.) *Apocalypse* (Antiquitas) we have the remarkable conception of 'My Son the Messiah' revealed with his companions and dying after a reign of 400 years (cf. 14). In 129 (the 'Eagle Vision') he is the Lion of the seed of David who destroys sinners; the text has been interpolated to represent him as pre-existent and dying at the end, in order to agree with 72. Of chief importance is the 'Son of man' vision, 81, where the Messiah is 'the man,' as in Daniel, 'My Son,' pre-existent, destroying the ungodly by the fire of his mouth and the breath of his lips, and restoring the ten tribes to the heavenly Zion.

While makes only very slight references to the Messiah, who is really foreign to his system. That he is mentioned at all must be regarded as a concession to the popular standpoint. *De Excezat.* 81 speaks of the restoration of Israel on one day; the dispersed are to return led 'by a divine superhuman appearance, which, though unseen by all others, is visible only to the delivered. So in *de Prom. et Pen.* 18-20 the Messiah is a man of war, reference being made to Nu 24.

In the same way the Messiah is recognized by Josephus only very occasionally, and that in a way which shows that he did not take the subject very seriously. In BJ v. 4 he practically treats Vespasian as the Messiah in the sense that he is to be the destined 'governor of the habitable earth'; cf. the account of his interview with the same emperor in iii. viii. 9, and see *Suet. Vesp.,* ch. 4, and *Tac. Hist.* v., 13, 2 passages which are good evidence that the existence of the Messianic hope was a

3 Besides the works already quoted see also a survey of recent literature on the subject by J. W. Lightfoot in the *London Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1915, p. 15.

2 See *Z. von der Wiesche, 'Messiah,'* for similar ideas connected with Alexander, on the basis of the interview recorded in Jos. Ant. xi. vii. 5.
recognized feature of Judaism. In Ant. x. x. 4 he exhorts to explain the 'stone' of Dan 2:46 on the ground that his history is not concerned with the future. A evidence of popular views, though not of the belief of Josephus himself, we have the various quasi-Messianic risings which he records: Thudas (Ant. xx. v. 1), the Egyptian (Ant. xx. viii. 6, R. xii. 10), and the unnamed impostor (Ant. xx. xii. 10).

A Samaritan Hyman for the Day of Atonement, dated A.D. 1576, but certainly embodying earlier material, suggests the Messiah under the title Taeb, which probably means 'the Restorer,' though A. Merx explains it as rediens, i.e. probably Moses, whose return was expected. This Taeb is not supernatural, but restores the lost dominion of the people, and is a prophet, the conception being based on the figure of Moses in opposition to the beliefs of the Jerusalem Jews. He dies after 110 years, and his death is followed by the Judgment and the end.

In Ant. xiv. 1 shows the antiquity of some Messianic belief among the Samaritans (cf. Jos. Ant. xvii. iv. 1).

2. Survey of the teaching.—(a) We note the special place of the Messiah in the religious colouring, though as in the OT. Certainly the Messiah is mentioned somewhat more frequently, and when he appears, we have in some cases a few more details, but it is still by far the least important figure. He is not an essential element in Jewish religious thought or even in its eschatology. If we exclude the NT, we may say that there was no period when the expectation of his coming could be taken for granted as accepted in almost all circles and as the centre of the hope for the future. This aspect is sometimes discussed (e.g., W. Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen der Juden* [Strassburg, 1905, p. 92 ff.], as though the problem were the disappearance of the messianic hope during the Maccabean period. If our interpretation of the evidence is correct, this misrepresentation of facts, since there is nothing to show that the hope was at any previous period either universal or essential. It may be true that the figure of the Davidic king came to seem too small for the larger stage on which Israel now found itself, and that the rule of the Maccabees left the people Jew for a time well content, but it is best to recognize that the data are insufficient for anything like a chart of the rise and fall of the Messianic hope. We can say is that in the 1st cent. A.D. the messianic hope had become much more universal than ever before. We recognize that even then it is absent in the *Ass. of Moses*, and is not taken very seriously by Philo or Josephus; but the NT evidence is indisputable, and is confirmed by the fact that the Messiah is an integral part of the creed of later Judaism. The explanation is probably to be sought in the political circumstances of the day and in the dislike of the rule of the Hrodos and the Romans.

(b) There is some evidence which suggests that, as before, the hope was mainly an element in the popular religion. The Apocalyptic in which it figures were largely popular products, and the NT proves that its chief strength lay among the people. 1

1 See A. Cowley, *Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah* (in Exp. viii. 1899, p. 101 ff.).

2 It is possible that the place of the Messiah was sometimes taken by Michael, as a parallel figure; in Dan 12:13, and not the Messiah from the Angel of the North, but as the angel who avenges Israel; note his prominence in Rev 12:7. Bouquet, *Rev. and Pseudo-Oracles of the Jews* (in 1900, ad loc.), suggests that the Christology of Hermes can be understood only by seeing that Christ takes the place formerly filled by the Jewish God in the Gospel, but Rev 11:14, where the Son of man on the cloud seems to be an angel; note the language of v. 2.


4 Ibid., p. 257.

5 Vol. vii.-VIII.
in its directly Messianic, rested hopes for the future as a preparation for the apocalyptic Messiah. This transcendent Messiah plays a natural role as champion of the righteous in *Enoch* xii. 2, and still more decidedly in 4 Es 13:9-12. Thus there is a twelve, however, is his appearance as judge, not only of men and the nations, but of evil spirits (*Enoch* 4:4, etc.).

4 This passage is not address to the human king. Except in 4 Es 12:2, a Christian interpolation, the transcendent Messiah is regarded as a descendant of David—a fact which may throw light on our Lord's question (Mk 12:35); he may have been a recognized line of thought which found the apocalyptic descent too narrow for the great conception. As is well known, He never speaks of Himself as 'Son of David.' We may note that, though the Apocalypse apparently rejects the Davidean descent, they yet use Davidean passages, such as Is 11, Ps 72, 89, in their picture of the Messiah.

(c) Pre-existence and mysterious origin. — The Son of Man is clearly in some sense pre-existent in *Enoch* (e.g., xlvi. 5, 6, xlv. 11; and in 4 Es 13:9, perhaps in 71:12, though the former passage is doubtful, and G. H. Box regards the latter as interpolated). The question arises how far a personal pre-existence is really implied. In Jewish thought the pre-existing wandering of the progeny of the pre-existing man was regarded as pre-existent in the mind of God, perhaps to some extent under the influence of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. This applied to such things as the Law and the Temple, while even Moses is pre-existent in *Ass. Moses*, i. 14, iii. 12; it is this sort of pre-existence that is ascribed to the Messiah or his 'Name' in the Targums. But it must be allowed that in *Enoch* and *Esdras* the Messiah is regarded as pre-existent in a personal sense and revealed from heaven, and this was certainly the view of St. Paul. It should, however, be noted that in 7:17 the 'Son of the Messiah' who is thus revealed dies after 400 years; i.e., he is not a divine being.

This point of view should be distinguished from the doubts which we have of the mysterious origin and birth of the human Messiah, since the Son of man of *Enoch* and *Esdras* is, of course, not born as a man at all. We have doubt the existence of such ideas in Isaiah and Micah, but they are clearly found in later Jewish thought and literature in *Test. Levi*, xvi. and in the king av * celibos* of *Sib. Or*. iii. 625 (cf. Bar 29:8). We have definite evidence of the belief in Jn 1:2 or *John* (xvii. 20) and the *Talmud* that the general idea was that the Messiah was to be born in secret (at Bethlehem) and hidden on earth, or even in Paradise, until the time of his revelation. Some such tradition seems to underlie Rev 12; on the question of foreign influence see below, (g).

At the same time the passages cited as evidence of a belief in his birth of a virgin or divine mother are unreliable. *Test. Jos.* xix., which seems to speak of a virgin-birth, is with good reason regarded by Charles as corrupt; so in *Enoch* xiii. 5, xix. 29 he reads for 'Son of a woman' 'Son of man,' while the *Midrash Ekkab* on *La* 5:10 is obscure and of very doubtful date. Nor, again, can 'the travail pains of the Messiah' imply anything of the kind; the expression is figurative, and applies to the Messiah, not to his mother. According to

1. *Messianic* is interpreted Messianically by Agis (c. A.D. 180), and gave rise to the later name for the Messiah, *Antist*, 'Cloud Man' (Dalman, p. 245).

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Joscin, *Diat. 49*, the Jewish belief is that the Messiah is born *dormant et in invisibile*.

To the circle of ideas connected with pre-existence belongs the identification of the Messiah with the first or the spiritual man. Something has been said of the *Eleazarite* teacher, who is regarded as the Son of man (see above, III. 2 (d)). Philo (Leg. *Allig.* i. 31, p. 49, *De Op. Mundi*, 134, p. 32) knows of an earthly and a spiritual man, the latter, whose creation is recorded in Gn 1, coming first, while the former is the man of Gn 2 and 3. Ps 1 (1 Co 15:42) represents the spiritual man as coming after the psychic or earthly, evidently opposing the other view, and identifies him with the Messiah. So in *Test. Levi* the Messiah brings back Paradise, while the Samaritan title *Tesh* seems to mean 'Restorer' (cf. ἄνωθεν ἀναστάσεως in Ac 3:21). The general idea in St. Paul, however, is the identification of Christ with the ideal archetypal man, as opposed to the historical Adam, and not with any first king of Paradise.

(f) Forerunners of the Messiah. — The starting-point is Mal 3:1, where Elijah is to return, before the Day of Jehovah (cf. Sir 48:3); the Messiah is not mentioned, and possibly Elijah is a kind of substitute for him. In the Gospels, however, he has become a forerunner of the Messiah (Mk 1:6; Luke 3:2; 1 *Co* 11:15). Elijah represented the belief in the return of Moses, based on Dt 18:15, and the two are combined in the Transfiguration; these are probably the 'two witnesses' of Rev 11. In the later Antichrist legend the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, who were translated without death. There are also hints of other 'companions' of the Messiah in 4 Es 6:2, 7:2, 13:2; Ezra appears as such in 14:3. Baruch in Bar 7:13, Jeremiah in 2 Mac 12:15; cf. Mt 16:13. We may compare the two predecessors of Sanashyant (see below, (g)).

(g) Foreign influence. — We were double of theories which traced the origin of the Messianic ideas to foreign sources, but this does not exclude the possibility of foreign influences at a later time on the details of the conception. Such influence is undoubtedly found in the development of Jewish Apocalyptic. We cannot discuss the wider question of the syncretistic character of its eschatology in general, but must confine ourselves to points which directly affect the conception of the Messiah. Naturally it is in this sphere that foreign and mythological traits appear most clearly, Hagne, following Gressmann, argues that such ideas lie behind 4 Es 13, and even goes further in holding that the 'travailing in travail of the man from the sea.' He also traces the whole idea of a mysterious revelation of the Messiah to Is 43:5, ‘Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour,’ which, he agrees with Gressmann, cannot be of Jewish origin. He traces it to language such as that used by Assurbanipal: ‘I was born in the midst of mountains which no man knoweth . . . thou (Ishtar) . . . hast brought me forth from the mountains, hast called me to shepherd thy people.’ Many critics argue in the same way regard to the conception of a miraculous birth, comparing the language of the foreigner (to whom I was poor, my father I knew not’), the beliefs connected with Sanashyant, and the legends of the birth of Cyrus, Alexander, and others; there is, in fact, a general tendency to regard extraordinary men as

wonderfully born, and this was particularly marked with regard to Egyptian and Babylonian kings. Without pronouncing on the question of direct influence, we may admit that we find the same general tendency at work with regard to beliefs as to the origin, though, in the present instance, the antecedent proviso that we have found no real evidence, except in Christian circles, of the idea of his birth from a virgin or divine mother, nor have we yet found proof to the expectation of a final eschatological king. 1

Something must be said of the possible influence of Zoroastrianism. 2 Here, again, we would at once admit a general influence in the sphere of eschatology. 3 Monlton allows this, though to a less extent even than Clemen. He draws attention to Bousset's 4 admission that Parthian influence must have come to Israel by way of Babylon, 5 when strongly tainted with Babylonian elements, 6 and argues, further, that Zarahshtra himself had very little influence in the West. Hence, all that the Jews can have known was Parsism in a comparatively debased form, as represented by the Magi (q.v.), and this compels us to regard most of the parallels between the higher doctrines of the two religions as pure coincidences. We are concerned here mainly with two points.

(1) A great deal has been said of the connexion between Yima, the first man, and the Messian. It is held 4 that this lies behind the idea of the 'Son of man' (see above, III, 2 and 3 (ii)), which, Clemen argues, 7 comes ultimately from Parsism. 8 There is, no doubt, some connexion between Yima and the fall story, though Monlton 5 holds that Parsism is the borrower. Further, as Bousset allows, there is the important difference that, while Yima is king of Paradise, der Urzeital, the Messiah is king der Erdezeit, and there is no trace of this transformation in Iranian legend. We may add that there is also no trace in Hebrew legend of the Messiah as original king of the first Paradise (see above, (c)).

(2) There is undoubtedly a remarkable similarity between the Messian and Saoshyant, which is originally an epithet rather than a title. The renovation of the world 'is accomplished by the present labours of those that will deliver,' the saoshyant, in the Gathas these are simply Zarathushtra and his disciple. 9 Hence the Prophet's faith pictures as assuredly loading on an immediate regeneration. 10 The hope failed, and Zarahshtra himself was to return as Saoshyant. This is certainly the one real parallel with the Messian proper, but it seems impossible to suppose any direct influence. Monlton 5 dismisses it among those 'certain fortuitous coincidences,' while Bousset 6 holds that the connexion is that between the Saoshyant and the forerunner Elijah, rather than with the Messian himself. At the same time however there may have been some reaction between the two, affecting details of the conceptions, especially in the idea of the Messiah coming from the morning star. 11

We must also allow for the influence of Greco-

Roman ideas 3 affecting at any rate the periphery of the Messianic hope and its development under Christianity. After Alexander the title saviour ('Saviour') became common, with designation of kings and emperors, accompanied by hints of their wonderful origin. We find it in the important inscription, with the legends connected with Augustus. But here, again, it is doubtful whether we really have proof of the existence of a belief in a final world-Saviour who is to appear in a new era, or only the inevitable court flattery which regards each king as greater than any of his predecessors.

The single exception is Vergil's famous Messianic Eclogue. 2 Here, whether the child who is to be born be the son of Octavian and Scribonia or not, we have a remarkable and almost unique agreement with OT conceptions—the era of Paradise and its king, the Golden Age following on his conquests, plenty without toil, animals sharing in the regeneration, together with the ethical note. Whether through the Sibylline Books or directly through the LXX, Jewish teaching may have penetrated to Roman literary circles of the 1st B.C. in the form of Zoroastrianism. 3 On the other hand, the parallel may point to an independent spread of something like a Messianic hope in pagan circles.

(b) Interpretation of prophecies. A feature of this period is the habit of working on earlier prophecies—a tendency which we have found as early as Ezekiel and Zechariah; for a later example see 145. 1 In the apocalyptic books there are certain prophetical passages and ideas which became part of the stock-in-trade and are constantly referred to in dealing with the Messianic hope. The chief are Dn 7, Is 11, 15 used continually (e.g., Psa 89, Sol., Ps 2 (see fn. 12), Ps 5 (e.g., Test. Jud. xxiv. 1), Ne 21, 16; the star of the Messianic was in Messianically in Test. Levi xviii. 3, Jud. xxiv. 1, but understood of the Teacher of Righteousness in Zad. Prov. ix. 13.

We have in this use of prophecy many examples of the scribal methods 3 working mechanically on the data and fusing the old and new into a single picture, of course not without contradictions. The application of a passage does not decide its historical meaning, but only the interpretation which had come to be put upon it. The vagaries of later Rabbinism had already begun—e.g., the interpretation of Am 7 and of Ps 118 in Zad. Prov. ix. 5 ff., or the way in which an interesting example of independence in 4 Es 12, 18 where the interpretation of the fourth kingdom as given in Dn 7 is definitely rejected. It is important to ask in this connexion whether by the first century A.D. the OT was in any circles interpreted as pointing to a Suffering Messiah. It is almost certain that it was not. The conception in 4 Es 7 is the quite different one of a human Messiah who is to die after a reign of 400 years (cf. the Samaritan Tact). There is no evidence that Is 53 was interpreted Messianically until a later period, and, when it is, the verses which speak of suffering are applied not to him but to the nation. 2


2 Rel. des Juden, p. 559.


4 P. 306.

5 Moulton, p. 128.

6 P. 390.

7 Rel. des Juden, p. 584, n. 2.

8 See A. Smythe Palmer, HI J v. (1906-07) 156.

9 For foreign influences in Rev 12 see Bousset, Offenbarung, ad loc., and Chyne, p. 77 ff., with criticism in Clemen, p. 386 ff.


11 Rel. des Juden, p. 559.

The most decisive proof of this position comes from the NT. It is clear that the death of the Messiah was not expected in any particular, and that the crucifixion of Jesus was the great stumbling-block, while it was not easy to find proof of its necessity from the OT. The story of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26) seems to call attention to an interpretation of Is 53 which is evidently not that generally accepted. The admissions of Tryphon (Justin, Dial. 68, 89 f.) do not express the Jewish belief but rather put the case mouth under the stress of the argument, while the NT does not refer to his personal sufferings, but to the woes which are to precede his coming.

The Messiah ben Joseph, who does, in fact, die, in contrast to the Messiah ben Judah, appears clearly only after A.D. 135. According to Bousset, he is the Messiah of the ten tribes, slain in the battle by Gog and Magog: the conception seems to be derived from Dt 33; Zec 13, and certainly has no connexion with Is 53. It is possible that this figure is connected with the failure and death of Bar Kokhba, explaining them on the lines of the expectation of a preliminary Messiah who was to fall in battle against the enemies of Israel (Rome).

V. DEVELOPMENT UNDER CHRISTIANITY.— The starting-point of the evidence of the NT, and especially of the Gospels, is the way in which the Messiah was considered as a representative of the messianic expectation of the OT. As we have seen, it is taken for granted in the Apocryphal writings where it occurs, but it is still sporadic in its appearances, and the future can be pointed without reference to the NT. But in the Gospels the expectation of the Messiah is common to all. It appears, indeed, to be taken more seriously by the common people than by their leaders; but Pharisees, priests, and Sadducees all accept the hope without questioning its validity. The point at issue is only whether Jesus is really the Messiah. As regards the nature of the hope, it would appear, as against A. Schenk, that it was at least as much political and national as transcendent, corresponding closely to what we find in Ps. Sol. The Messiah is to be a king descended from David, and his rule will be opposed to that of the Romans.

A full discussion of our Lord's own attitude towards His Messianic claims will be found in art. JESUS CHRIST. We may here emphasize the salient points.

(a) As against W. Wrede, it is certain that He did regard Himself as in some sense Messiah. He did not, indeed, proclaim Himself as such in His public teaching; it was His 'secret,' discovered by St. Peter at Cesarea Philippi, and first avowed to the world at His trial. (b) His favourite designation of Himself in this connexion was 'Son of man,' the title being chosen as containing in it elements of transcendence and mystery, and as free from the political implications of Messiah, and still more of Son of David, a title which He avoided. The difficulty is to reconcile His use of this phrase with the absence of any public proclamation of His claim, since from its use in Engish we should infer that it would, at once be recognized as a synonym for 'Messiah' itself. The difficulty is increased, on literary grounds, a certain number of the passages in which it occurs (e.g., Mt 5 with Lk 6, or Mt 10 with Mk 6) and its use is ambiguous, since it might be supposed to refer to some other unnamed person (Mk 8). It is not, however, possible, except by some drastic criticism, to eliminate all passages where it is used publicly of Himself or privately to the disciples before St. Peter's confession.1 We must, therefore, remember that the term 'Messiah' is regarded as Messianic only in certain circles, and that it could still be used, as in Ps 8 and Ezekiel, in a wider sense.

(c) He did not regard Himself as the Messiah merely in the strict sense in which we have used the term, but as gathering up in Himself the various lines of OT hopes and promises. It does not, however, appear that direct argument on the basis of the OT plays any part in this process of interpretation, except as recorded in the Fourth Gospel. The proofs from the OT in the NT seem rather to reflect a later stage of controversy between Jew and Christian, in which each adopted the same scribal methods of interpretation.

(d) Christ added considerably to the content of the Messianic hope, especially in His teaching as to the necessity of the death of the Messiah. It is not possible to decide with any certainty as to the lines by which He was led to this conviction, though it was, no doubt, helped by a growing recognition of the hostility of the ruling powers to His claims and of the inevitable results of their attitude. Further, He must have meditated on the deeper teaching of the OT as implying, especially in Ps 22 and Is 53, that the means of redemption and the character of Messiah are to be found only in suffering, and this quite independently of whether such passages technically applied to the Messiah or not. Though in Acts 1 Peter the Servant passages are directly quoted, they are used but little in the Gospels, and hardly at all in Christ's own teaching (see Lk 22, Mk 10 12-16). It would seem, then, that as the ultimate source of His conviction we are forced to fall back on an intuition which the Christian will regard as a revelation from the Father.

In the light of the expectation of the Parousia, the idea of a twofold advent of the Messiah was introduced, assuming that Jesus was not merely 'the Messiah of the future' during His lifetime. There is no trace in earlier literature of any belief in two comings of the Messiah.

(e) It follows, finally, that the title 'Messiah' or 'Christ,'2 as used in the NT and in Christian literature generally, has a far richer meaning and content than any that we have felt justified in ascribing to it in the OT. It involves itself the ideas associated with the Wisdom and Logos,3 and came to include the whole work of redemption from sin and spiritual regeneration accomplished by Jesus. He has become the sum of history and the inaugurator of a new age in a way which both differs from and transcends anything that we find in the OT or Apocalypses as associated with the future Deliverer. He is the mediator of a new covenant and the bearer of a new revelation to a world of which the outward conditions remain unaltered, while with the passing of the Jewish State the national element dropped away once for all. At the same time, the title 'Christ,' with its historical associations, is a reminder, even to those to whom the promises of the OT may mean little in themselves, that the coming of the Messiah is a thing new and unexpected, but was the true climax of the long preparation of the chosen people. In particular, the fact that functions which in the OT are reserved for Jahweh and not for the Messiah

1 But see Balman, Words of Jesus, p. 206 f.
2 It must be admitted that the title 'Christ' tends to become a proper name and to lose its technical Messianic implications; the distinctive title of Jesus in Hebrew Christology is 'Mesch.' (Lord). See Bousset, Deutero-Christos, p. 21, 45 f.
3 Note that in Philo the Logos largely takes the place of Messiah; in 1 Cor 1:14, 2 Cor 1:14, the 'branch' of Zec 6 is applied to the Logos. Cf. also art. Loos.
are in the NT transferred to Christ is of the deepest significance. The real desire of the highest spirits of Israel was not so much for a representative of Jahweh, however exalted, as for a revelation of God Himself. Christian belief finds this satisfied in the Incarnation, and we shall not be disturbed when we find that the OT says comparatively little about the Messiah. The vital question is whether the hopes which it entertained with regard to the coming of God did find their fulfilment in the Messiah.

VI. THE MESSIAH IN LATER JUDAISM. — From the end of the 1st cent. A.D. a belief in the Messiah was an integral part of the Jewish creed—a proof that the representation of the universality of the hope which we find in the NT is substantially correct. The Messiah is indeed strangely absent from the Mishna, possibly owing to fear of Rome, but he figures both in the Palestinian and in the Babylonian recensions of the Sh'monich 'Ezech—a fact which indicates that his presence therein must date from the 1st cent. A.D. and appears constantly in the Talmud. The failure of the Bar Kokhba rising in A.D. 135 marks an important stage. Attempts to anticipate the Messiah's coming were then abandoned, the principle being 'a plague on those who calculate the end,' and the political situation that remained of it was transferred to a temporary Messianic Kingdom, in which Israel was to be restored to Palestine, this national kingdom being, generally speaking, the answer of the world to come, where universalistic features are found. The Messiah is Son of David and an earthly deliverer, though in some sense pre-existent and appearing mysteriously (see above, p. 2 (c)—features which need not imply divinity. With the fall of Jerusalem apocalyptic fell into disfavour, and with it the belief in a transcendent Messiah. Polemic with Christians also worked in the same direction, and to this we may attribute the disuse of the title 'Son of man'; the form of the Beatitude in Lk 6:2 may be a hint of such controversies. The spiritual side is strongly emphasized in the Rabbinic teaching by its insistence on the need for repentance as the condition of the coming of the Messiah, while we also find considerable detail as to the features of the Messianic era, the Messianic king to be.

The twelfth article of the present Jewish creed as drawn up by Maimonides, is as follows: 'I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry I will wait daily for his coming.' Liberal Judaism, however, would seem to have abandoned the hope of a personal Messiah, though it still retains the Messianic hope in a wider and spiritualized sense—a sense in which it may fairly claim to have the general trend of the OT on its side.


1 See Dalman, Words of Jesus, p. 231 f., etc. ; J.E., e. 5: 6, A.D.

2 See J. H. Schürer, Messiah, for traces of belief in a transcendent Messiah in later Judaism.

3 Dibelius, p. 11 (a); see J.E., s. v. Messiah, for traces of belief in a transcendent Messiah in later Judaism.

4 Dalman, op. cit., pp. 146, 165.

5 G. C. Kistler, Outlines of Liberal Judaism, London, 1890, pp. 320, 314; also J.E., vol. vii., p. 608, etc.
MESSIAHS

all of whom, after an existence more or less brief, passed away. Prominent among them were Simon the Galilean, who endeavored to win the exclusive adherence of the Christians to his movement, but who is said ultimately to have become converted to Christianity, together with many of his followers, and Dositheus of Samaria, the leader who, in the course of restoring the Hebrew State, founded a Samaritan sect that survived until the 6th century.

The destruction of the Temple led for a time to a cessation of pseudo-Messianic activity. For sixty years or more, however, the memory of Bar Kokhba, who had attempted to secure for himself the sovereignty of Judaea, was kept alive. A rebellion broke out and a leader was immediately at hand in the person of Bar Kokhba or Bar Kozibah (probably from the name of his birthplace). Of the personality of this leader little is known. His original name is even doubtful. It is conjectured that he was one Simeon of Cozeba (1 Ch 42) or Chezib (Gn 38). The name Bar Kokhba, or 'son of a star,' was given to him by the fanatics who called themselves with the designation of Messiah himself. This dignity was attributed to him by R. Akiba and other sages. On the outbreak of the rebellion, the whole province, composed of Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, was evacuated by the Romans. The army of the Jews at this time has been estimated at as many as from 400,000 to 500,000 fighting men. Unfortunately, little is known of the knowledge that the Roman garrison and the generals in command at the time of the outbreak proved respectively inadequate and incapable. The services of Julius Severus, the greatest soldier of the age, were requisitioned from Britain, where he had been waging an arduous war with the native tribes, to recover the prestige of the Roman arms. But even he, with unlimited resources, was at first compelled to remain on the defensive, and trusted to his tactics of cutting off detached parties and supplies to wear out his formidable enemy. In the course of the operations 50 general engagements were fought with every victory enjoyed by numbers of Bar Kokhba's followers increased. From the most remote of the Jewish colonies men came to fight under his banner. Recruits were not drawn solely from Israel; Bar Kokhba's army included non-Jews in its ranks. Those who could not fight helped to fill the rebel coffers. At first the campaign proved a series of successes for the pretender. Jerusalem was soon captured, and served as a capital for Bar Kokhba, who was proclaimed king, and duly carried out the duties of sovereignty. For three years the Holy City remained in his possession, and during that time his armies succeeded in taking 50 walled towns and 985 villages. At length the tide turned. After a desperate struggle, Jerusalem was captured by the Romans, and two of its buildings were left standing in ruins. The town was occupied by the same hands until, of all the territories of Bar Kokhba, the town of Bither alone remained. Here the hero made his last stand, but not with the undivided support of the inmates of the fortress. Dissensions broke out among the garrison, and on the 9th of Ab, already the blackest anniversary in the Jewish calendar, Bither was stormed, Bar Kokhba killed, and his body brought in triumph to the Roman camp.

During the pacification that followed the males were slain by the thousand, and the women and children sold into slavery. Unheard of and unspeakable tragedies were enacted. In Bither alone more are said to have been slain than those who took part in the Exodus from Egypt. The number of dead was counted by hundreds of thousands. All those who were able escaped from a country laid waste, which offered them the only alternatives of slavery and death with torture. Many fled to Arabia, and the considerable Jewish population of that country, even to this day, may be reckoned one of the results of Bar Kokhba's abortive insurrection. R. Akiba, who had not even lived to witness the outbreak of the rebellion, died under torture at its conclusion. The war led to the final breach between the Jews and Judeo-Christians. The latter suffered severities at the hands of Bar Kokhba and his followers, in consequence of their refusal to join in the national uprising.

The fatal results of the Bar Kokhba movement discouraged for some centuries personation of the Messiah. In fact, an attractive opportunity did not occur again until the 5th cent., when, in accordance with a Talmudic computation, the day of the Messiah was supposed to be at hand. It was at this juncture that such a one, self-styled Moses, appeared in the island of Crete. Of his origin or his subsequent fate nothing is known. He induced the Jewish population of the island to support his pretensions, and had at first the good fortune to promise them dry-land to the mainland. On the appointed day the Jews gathered round him on a promontory and at his direction some threw themselves into the sea, expecting a path to be opened for them through the waters. The miracle did not occur. Many of the enthusiasts were drowned; others were rescued. The Messiah himself disappeared, but it is certain he was Isaac ben Yâ'qeb Obadiah Abû 'Isâ al-Îshâhānî, who flourished at Isfahan at the end of the 7th century. There are two estimates of his claims. The one was that he was merely the forerunner of the Messiah, the other that he was the Messiah Himself. His call came to him through a sudden and miraculous cure from leprosy, and in support of his divinity his disciples pointed out that, although an illiterate before his call, he was able after that event not only to read and write, but even to compose books. The affairs of the khalifate were a reality which rivaled the success of a military movement, such as Isaac's soon became, had good chances of success. The pretender and his followers met the army of the khalif in battle at Isf (Rhagae), but Abû 'Isa was defeated and slain, and with his death the rising came to an end. The movement, however, did not die with its founder. It survived among the Isavites, the earliest of the Jewish sects of the Diaspora, who did not disappear until a couple of centuries later. Abû 'Isâ's influence on 'Anân, the founder of the Karaites (q.v.), and on his ritual was, however, more enduring.

Abû 'Isâ is at least one disciple of influence. Yudghân of Hamadân, called al-Râfî ('the shepherd'), did not himself claim to be more than a prophet, although his admirers, in accordance with his doctrine that history showed undoubted traces of Şîfîslâm, then at the opening of its career; they were opposed to anthropomorphism, and to a great extent resembled those of his master Abû 'Isa. After Yudghân's death his disciples adopted an additional doctrine—that of the immortality of their master, who, they contended, was not dead, but would appear again.

Contemporary with Yudghân al-Râfî was Ser-ennus, a Syrian, who was both a political and a religious reformer. He promised to restore the Jews
to the Holy Land, and, perhaps in consequence, his influence spread as far as Spain. His career commenced in A.D. 720, but in very short time. He was speedily captured and brought before the khalif Yazid II., to whom he excused himself by stating that he had never been serious in his claims; he had merely been amusing himself at the expense of his contemporaries. He was accordingly handed over to the latter for punishment, while his followers, repenting of their hardships, were re-admitted to the fold.

For the next three centuries, a half no Messiah arose in Israel. Then there was in the West a small group of unimportant pretenders: in France (c. 1057), at Cordoba (c. 1117), and at Fez (c. 1127). Of these there are practically no records beyond the mere mention by Maimonides. About 1160, however, one of far greater importance arose in Kurdistan. David Alroy (or Airuj) came from the north of Persia, probably Adharbajan, being a member of one of the free Jewish tribes which claimed descent from the Ten Tribes, and to which the Aghdas, the Afrids, and Pathans of to-day trace their ancestry. The period was again one of political disorder; and the great element of disturbance was the efforts of the Crusaders to recover and to keep possession of the Holy Land. Moreover, intertribal warfare was incessant, and the Persians, especially to a paralyzing degree, of the Government. It was in these circumstances that Alroy visited Baghdad, and on his return to his own people he raised the standard of revolt. A large following immediately collected, and Alroy, who had meanwhile proclaimed himself the Messiah, determined to break the yoke of the Muhammadans and to lead the Jews back to Palestine. From this point truth and legend have so intermingled in the story of Alroy that it is impossible to disentangle them. His command of the magic arts led to the acceptance of his mission far and wide. Only the Jews of Bagdad were sceptical, but his hold on the others was so strong that those in Bagdad were quite incapable of suppressing the movement. Alroy is said to have been summoned by the Sultan, to have appeared in answer to the summons and proclaimed his divine mission, to have been cast into prison, and to have miraculously escaped. Despite his magic powers, Alroy's movement was undoubtedly a failure. In all probability he was killed in an unsuccessful attack on the stronghold of the city. After his death the governing powers, unable to overthrow the Messiah by fair means, bribed his father or father-in-law to put him to death. On the death of Alroy his followers, in order to appease the Sultan, had to pay a considerable fine. In Alroy's instance also the pretender's death did not mean the end of his cult. The sect of Memhenites, named after Memhen, the traditional designation of the Messiah, adopted by Alroy, continued for many years.

A century passed before the next prominent pseudo-Messiah appeared upon the scene, but before that period, in 1172, a minor prophet arose in Yemen. His course lasted but a year, at the end of which term he was beheaded, it is said at his own request, in order to show by his return to life that he was indeed the Messiah.

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia was born at Saragossa in 1210. While still a youth he was attracted to kabbalistic studies, and it was as a kabbalist rather than as a pseudo-Messiah that his career commenced. His life was spent in wandering from town to town and country to country. In 1281 he was in Rome attempting to convert the pope to Judaism—of course without success. He died very short-lived. His death was an improvement to the government, from which he is said to have escaped miraculously. Four years later, when in Sicily, Abulafia proclaimed himself the Messiah, and announced that the year denoted came and went, but the millennium still tarried. Abulafia continued his picturesque career for one more year and then disappeared from history. He also, however, left his spiritual descendants, for, according to his legend, he was succeeded by two of his disciples, Joseph Jikatilla and Samuel, both of Medinaceli. Where Abulafia had failed, they were little likely to succeed, and it was but for a moment that these two meteors flashed in the firmament.

Immediately following them came Nissim ben Abraham of Avila, who pointed to 1295 as the year of the millennium. There were sufficient believers to fill the Synagogue on the appointed day, there eagerly to await the divine manifestation; but again disappointment was the prevailing emotion, and, when the watchers found mystic little crosses on their garments, many, accepting them as heavenly manifestations, embraced Christianity. The fate of the prophet, as of many of his predecessors, is unknown.

A century later, Moses Botarel of Cisceros appeared. As a prophet he was of little consequence. In 1502 Asher Lammlein suddenly arose in Istria and announced that, if the people would prepare themselves for a general war of the godly, a Messiah would come the following year. At his suggestion fasting, prayer, and almsgiving became general throughout the empire. Jews and Christians alike accepted his teachings and prepared for the advent of the Messiah and the return to the Holy Land. Here again the precedent was followed: no Messiah appeared; the prophet disappeared.

At the close of the 14th cent. Jacob Carson (or Caroscel), a minor prophet, appeared in the north of Spain, and David Rubeni, the picturesque emissary of his brother the mysterious king of Kashbar, or the East, also came upon the scene. Kashbar, according to the generally accepted locality of the kingdom, was a district in S. Arabia inhabited by nomad tribes of Israelites, although the view has been put forward that Rubeni came from India (see E. N. Adler, in Aspects of the Hebrew Genius, p. xxii, and Auto de Fe and Jews, p. xxx).

Rubeni arrived at Venice in 1324 after having visited Palestine and Egypt. He immediately proceeded to Avignon and in presence of the governing powers, unable to overthrow the Messiah by fair means, bribed his father or father-in-law to put him to death. On the death of Alroy his followers, in order to appease the Sultan, had to pay a considerable fine. In Alroy's instance also the pretender's death did not mean the end of his cult. The sect of Memhenites, named after Memhen, the traditional designation of the Messiah, adopted by Alroy, continued for many years.

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claims were needed, his existence as a Jew unmolested at the court of one of the most relentless of the persecutors of Jews and Jewadis was considered sufficient. The people looked eagerly towards him and expected, not a material palliation of their tortures, but a final release.

By no means the least of those who were dazzled by the appearance and favour of Reuben was his fellow-Khaim, Diogo Pires (c. 1501-32), an official of the Government, of Jewish descent. Pires, who was a young man of great promise, aroused by the stir caused by Reuben's mission, abandoned Christianity, adopting his ancestral Judaism in place of it, and endeavoured to attach himself as a disciple to the newcomer. The latter, however, severely discouraged all conversions to Judaism, fearing probably lest in consequence of them trouble might react on him and his mission, and Molkho found little or no favour with him. Molkho's conversion to Judaism had placed his life in great jeopardy; and, deprived of the protection of Reuben for which he had hoped, he left Portugal for Turkey. In the East Molkho, although hitherto supposed to be quite unlearned in Jewish lore, is said to have become a rapid student, acquainted with that subject, and by his eloquence and learning, and the mysterious manner in which he had acquired the latter, he soon collected around him a number of disciples to proclaim him almost a divine. His teachings went without dispute far into the domain of mysticism. By him the advent of the Messiah was foretold for 1540, and the sack of Rome in 1527, an oft-foretold precursor of the millennium, seemed to confirm Molkho's prophecies.

The one ambition of the prophet was to earn a martyr's crown, and in pursuance of this aim after a brief sojourn in Turkey he returned to Christendom. As was expected by Reuben, the conversion and flight of Molkho, added to other incidents, shook the position which Reuben had acquired at the Portuguese court. The royal promises, although made apparently in good faith, lacked fulfilment, and the undoubted excitement of which he was the cause among the Neo-Christians of the kingdom rendered his continued presence among them most undesirable; and, after having spent a year at the Portuguese court, Reuben was asked to withdraw. The ship in which he sailed was wrecked on the coast of Spain, and for a time he was in the hands of the Inquisition. His release was, however, ordered by the Emperor Charles V., and he settled at Avignon, then under the sovereignty of the pope. From Avignon Reuben removed to Italy, preceded everywhere by the mysterious reputation which he had acquired, and followed by a host of believers, who hailed him as the precursor of the Messiah and even as the Messiah Himself.

Meanwhile Molkho had also come to Italy with the reputation which he had acquired in Turkey, enhanced, if possible, and a following that grew in numbers from day to day. In Rome Molkho, imbued with Messianic tendencies, had visions and foretold floods and earthquakes, which, it must be added, subsequently occurred. More valuable to him, however, were the favour and protection which he had obtained from the pope, Clement VII., and from some of the cardinals. With their assistance he was able to defy his enemies, who were drawn not only from among the emissaries of the Inquisition, but also from the Jewish community, which had long been sorely tried by its misfortunes; and his influence and pseudo-Messiahship harmful rather than beneficial to Jewry. His critics among his own community were, however, numerically insignificant. His influence among the Jews increased until he became indeed the accepted prophet. By Graetz Molkho has been described at this period of his career as 'the Jewish Savonarola' (Hist. ix. 274). In order to avoid the flood which he had foretold would overtake Rome, Molkho repaired to Venice, and here he met once again the first inspirer of his enthusiasm, David Reuben. His position in regard to Reuben had, however, undergone a change since their previous meeting; he had professed himself to him now, not as a disciple, but as an equal.

Reuben was still endeavouring to obtain assistance for his brother, the king of Khaibar, and from the authorities in Venice he received some encouragement in his mission. After the flood Molkho returned to Rome, where he was received with enthusiasm as a successful prophet. The pope, the cardinals, and the ambassadors of the Powers vied with one another in their flattering attentions to him. His influence was so great at this period that he was able to secure the indefinite postponement of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, but his Jewish enemies, especially Jacob Mantin of Venice, were unyielding, and they ultimately succeeded in securing his arrest by the Inquisition as a renegade Christian, and Molkho said to him, 'I will not yield a step in length of substituting another victim, and that Molkho himself was safely hidden within the papal apartments. In the circumstances it is not surprising that Molkho was smuggled out of Rome at the first opportunity.

Molkho thereupon rejoined Reuben, and the two decided to journey to Ratisbon to plead with the Emperor the cause of the Jews of Khaibar. There is a tradition that advantage was taken of the interview with Charles to endeavour to convert him to Judaism, and it was possibly this attempt that led to the arrest of both the ambassadors. They were put into chains and carried to Mantua, where at the Emperor's request Molkho was again tried by the Inquisition and sentenced to be burned. At the last moment pardon was offered him on condition that he returned to the Christian fold, but he rejected the offer with scorn. He had only one cause for repentance, was his reply, and that was that he had been a Christian in his youth. Molkho's ambition was thereupon gratified and he earned a lawful title, Charles V., and he settled at Avignon, then under the sovereignty of the pope. From Avignon Reuben removed to Italy, preceded everywhere by the mysterious reputation which he had acquired, and followed by a host of believers, who hailed him as the precursor of the Messiah and even as the Messiah Himself.

Concerning the existence of Reuben there can be no legitimate doubt. His mission, however, is not so well authenticated, and there are those, no mean authorities, who consider him to have been merely a charlatan and impostor. Graetz (ix. ch. 8), for instance, judging from the language of Reuben's Journal, expressed the belief that it had been written by a German Jew, and Neuber published the whole of it in Medieval Jewish Chronicles, ii.

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From Smyrna Shabbathai is believed to have gone to Constantinople, supported in every sense by his disciples and strengthened in particular by two of them — Messiahs and their own scientific knowledge and of mature years, and Abraham Uchini, a distinguished preacher, who, by means of an alleged ancient MS of very doubtless authenticity, rendered Shabbathai still more steadfast in the belief in his own divine mission. It is doubtful whether Shabbathai, if he ever intended to visit Constantinople, did so on this occasion, but it is certain that he tarried at Salonica, where mysticism was likely to find a sympathetic atmosphere, shortly after his banishment from Smyrna. In Salonica Shabbathai showed himself even more intoxicated with the consciousness of his new rôle than he had been at Smyrna, and his acts led here also to his practical expulsion by the Rabbis. After leaving Salonica the new Messiah spent some time wandering about the Orient, promulgating his views and his claims in every city that he visited and gaining adherents in all parts. In 1660 he was in Cairo, where he remained for about two years. There he gained a valuable supporter in the person of Joseph Chalebi of Aleppo, a mystic who had long awaited almost with impatience the coming of the Messiah, and whose wealth and influence were both extensive.

The approach of the apocalyptic year, 1666, attracted Shabbathai to Jerusalem, where, suppressing temporarily his extravagances, he built up an influence over the people on less theatrical bases. As the representative of the people of the city, he was sent abroad to obtain funds for their relief from an impending calamity, and the success of his mission rendered him all the more popular among the grateful people in whose midst he was sojourning. While in Cairo, Shabbathai succeeded in yet another mission. A Polish Jewess, who at the age of six had been left an orphan and whose subsequent career was almost as romantic as that of Shabbathai, was at the time in Leghorn, where she was reputed to be living an immoral life. Of great beauty and, moreover, of an eccentric disposition, she was already famous beyond the limits of the town, and her announcement that she was intended as the bride of the Messiah made her known to even a wider circle. In fact, her renown spread as far as Cairo, where it came to the ears of Shabbathai, much to the astonishment that she was his divinely appointed spouse.

Shabbathai thereupon returned to Palestine. Passing through Gaza, he met there Nathan Benjamin Levi, otherwise known as Nathan Gazit, who immediately became the leading advocate of the new Messiah and took unto himself the rôle of Elijah, the forerunner of the Anointed. One of his first steps was to announce the opening of the Messianic Age for the following year, 1666. This prophecy, together with many subsidiary ones, was promulgated far and wide, spreading even to the shores of the North Sea. These claims were, however, not by any means encouraged by the authorities at Jerusalem, and Shabbathai thought it well to find a more congenial centre for his activities. He returned to Smyrna, his journey thither taking the form of a triumphal progress which culminated in a reception at his destination, remarkable for its enthusiasm. At Smyrna, overwhelmed by his reception, he put the final touch to all the rumours that were current regarding the Messianic age and his Messiahship. He was forthwith entrusted with absolute power as the sole ruler of the local Jewish community. Wherever Jews were to be found, the rise of the new Messiah absorbed their attention, and the exchanges of Europe were neglected in order
that the latest of miracles might be discussed. The merchants of the North Sea ports wrote to their agents in the Levant for information. Tribute poured in upon the 'King of Kings.' Em-

bassies were sent to him from the four corners of the earth. In the synagogues he was publicly haled as the Messiah, and those who doubted went in danger of their lives. Even among the Christians believers in Shabbathai were to be found. In Hamburg Protestants went to their pastor and said: 'We have almost certain accounts not only from Jews, but also from our Christian correspondents in Smyrna, Aleppo, Constanti-

topole, and elsewhere in the East that the new Messiah of the Jews does many miracles, and the Jews of the whole world flock to him. What will then become of the Christian doctrine and the belief in our Messiah?' Prophets, male and female, in accor-

dance with Joel's prediction (Ji 2:28), arose and exclaimed in Hebrew, a language with which they were supposed to have no acquaintance: 'Shab-

bathai Sebi is the true Messiah of the Race of David; to him the crown and the kingdom are given!' The daughters of R. Pejima, Shab-

bathai's bitterest enemy, blessed the name of the pretender, one male and one female, of a Persian Jewish agriculturist refrained from work on account of the advent of their deliverer who would lead them back to the Promised Land.

At the year 586 Shabbathai left Smyrna forConstantinople, but before doing so he distributed the kingdoms of the earth among his principal followers. As soon as he had landed on European soil, he was arrested by an officer of the Sultan and placed in prison. It was in this condition that Shabbathai approached the capi-

tal. Despite his undignified landing, Shabbathai's popularity in no wise languished, and he was received by hosts of believers in his divinity, who, by the gifts which they brought, enabled the 'Messiah' to secure a considerable alleviation of the lot that would otherwise have fallen to him. Shabbathai's courage was, however, equal to his popularity; and, when questioned by the authorities regarding his claims and intentions, he replied that he was merely a Rabbi sent from Jerusalem to collect funds for charitable purposes. Despite this fallacy away, the influence of the pretender remained, instead of waning, grew stronger, and in his prison in Constanti-

nopole Shabbathai held a court which was attended by Muhammadans and Jews who all shrewdly suspected his thinity. The ruler of the prison was removed to Abydos, and there his court was continued, if possible, even greater success than in the capital. His renown and ex-

aggerated reports of the royal manner in which he was treated spread throughout the civilized world.

The castle of Abydos became a place of pilgrimage to Jews far and near. In parts of Europe the Jews made preparations for the return to Palestine under Messianic guidance. In innumerable syna-

gogues prayers for the pretender's welfare were regularly offered; and with every day the excite-

ment both within Abydos and throughout the world increased. Shabbathai, in order apparently to justify his existence, arrogated certain of the Jewish fast days.

Shabbathai's fall was due to the appearance of a rival, one Nehemiah Has-Shemon, who posed as a forerunner of the Messiah. Shabbathai, learn-

ing of Nehemiah's prophecies, summoned him to Abydos. After a long journey Nehemiah arrived. An interview between Shabbathai and the former was followed by dissatisfaction on both sides. Nehemiah, fearful of assassination by the Shabbathians, fled to Con-

stantinople, where he embraced Muhammadanism and denounced to the authorities the treasonable intentions of his master. Removed to Adrianople, Shabbathai at length realized the critical position in which he was placed. Hoping thereby to save his life, he also embraced Muhammadanism, and was followed in this course by his wife and some of his adherents. The Sultan was much pleased at this act and appointed the pretender one of his doorkeepers. Shabbathai, in order to retain his hold upon the Jews, annexed: 'God has made me an Ishmael for the sake of the adherents of this new Messiah!' The ninth day of his regeneration. His apostasy, despite the loyalty to him of many of his adherents, shattered his influence in Jewry, and hosts of it, believes at 136th leaving, by the last act of their prophet, repented bitterly of their support of the movement. For a time, in consequence of the schism caused by Shab-

bathai's apostasy, Turkish Jewry was in great danger of extermination, the fear of wholesale conversions to Muhammadanism being accom-

panied by that of the massacre of those who refused to follow Shabbathai's example. Power-

ful influences, however, warded off the latter danger.

Shabbathai seems never to have abandoned his Messiahic claims. He managed to found a Judaeo-

Muhammadan movement in the lands where the Jews had dispersed to, especially in Salonik, to the present day. After a time he fell into disgrace, was deprived of his office, and banished to Dulcigno, where he died. It is believed at 136th leaving, behind him a controversy which long continued in Israel. The Dümme are in a sense crypto-

Jews, inasmuch as, while outwardly conforming to Muhammadanism, they practise certain Jewish or debased practices. But, however, in practice little secrecy concerning their difference from the Muhammadans, from whom, although they mix in commerce, socially they keep carefully aloof.

Shabbathai was succeeded by quite a shool of petty Messiahs. The first of the line was Jacob Querido, or Jacob Sebi, who was the real founder of the sect of Donim. He was, so to speak, the brother of Shabbathai's fourth wife, who for her own purposes pretended that he was her son by the Messiah. Querido's principal doctrine was that the redemption could not come about until the world was either entirely good or entirely wicked, and, as the latter state was by far the easier of attainment, he preached and practiced licentiousness in order that the day of the millen-

nium might be hastened. Two months after his death, the latter was put to death by the Sultan of the 17th cent., and was succeeded in due course by his son Bereish (c. 1655-1740). Other Shab-

bathai Messiahs who flourished at this period were Miguel (Abraham) Cardoso (1630-1708), a Marrano, Mordcas Mokiah (c. 1650-1729) of Eisenstadt, Löbele Prossnitz († c. 1750), and Judah Hasid. These were all, more or less, pro-

phets of Shabbathai so long as he survived, and they endeavoured to step into his place when he died. Mokiah flourished and preached in Italy and Poland. Prossnitz was of the class of clumsy conjurers; nevertheless he attracted many ad-

herents in Poland, where he died. He was a leader of the sect of Hassidim, the 'Ultra-

holy,' traversed Europe at the head of a consider-

able following whom he led to Jerusalem. He died, however, immediately after his arrival in that city, and with his disappearance his followers were left leaderless and destitute.

The last of the most prominent of the successors of Shabbathai who flourished at this period was Jan Koci (c. 1650-1729) of Eisenstadt, who was born in Podolia, where his first occupation was that of distiller. His original name was Jankiev Lejbovicz, but he obtained the new surname of Frank from the subjects of the Sultan in whose court he sojourned for a long time. An
undisguised charlatan and an apostate from more than one faith, he pursued a career of unceasing warfare against Rabbinical Judaism, and in the peculiar view of events which he held, he pictured himself as the re--incarnation of all the prophets and Messiahs who had preceded him. In Turkey he obtained considerable renown on account of his kabbalistic learning, and on the return to his birthplace the remnants of the Shabbathian party, who were known as Zoharites, appointed him their prophet. The Talmudists, however, disapproved most vehemently of his doctrines, which were leading directly to the destruction of Judaism and of morality in Poland. Frank and the Frankists were excommunicated, but they found a powerful friend in the bishop of Kamnotz, whom they ingratiated by pretended points of strong resemblance between their faith—which was bitterly opposed to Rabbinical Judaism and Christianity. With his assistance the tables were turned, and for a time the upper hand was gained over the orthodox element in Jewry. With the death of the bishop, however, another change came over the fortunes of the parties. The position of the Frankists became precarious, and order was required to secure the safety of his followers. Frank instructed them to accept baptism, he himself setting the example. Conversions to Christianity followed on a large scale; but, when these converts were discovered to be leading double lives, and, while outwardly Christians, to be following Jewish practices in secret, the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities was directed towards them. Frank was himself arrested in 1760 on a charge of heresy and imprisoned in the castle of Czentschow, where he remained for thirteen years. This imprisonment did not by any means put an end to his movement or his teachings, and his name became a centre for the promulgation of his doctrines. The invasion of the Russians in 1772 led to his liberation, and he was then free to make a triumphant progress through Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. He lived in state until his death in 1791, latterly as the Baron of Offenbach, in various continental capitals, always with an immense retinue and a vast treasure, derived from his infatuated adherents, at his command. His later history, however, hardly belongs to the annals of Jewry, for his influence on Judaism had ceased long before his death. His followers, the Frankists or Frankists, as they called themselves apart as pseudo-Jews of a peculiar description, were ultimately absorbed into the population in whose midst they lived.

Frank was the last of the series of pseudo-Messiahs to be accepted seriously by any considerable section of Jewry, but there is one other who deserves mention, before the catalogue of these actors on the world's stage is brought to a close. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707-47) differed considerably from most of his predecessors in the rôle in which he also essayed to live. With most, if not all, of them there was a spirit of charlatanry manifest. Not even Luzzatto's most determined enemy could sincerely suggest any such charge against him. One might almost say that he was merely a victim of his own delusions; his predecessors had at least part found the victims of their delusions outside of themselves. Luzzatto, the cultured son of wealthy Italian Jewish parents, was a poet by nature as well as by profession. Early in life, however, he fell under the influence of the Kabbalah and the Zohar, and soon the mysteries of this literature took complete possession of him and he firmly believed himself to be divinely inspired. He even went so far as to create for himself a copy of the works of his own hands and mind he was convinced of his divine mission. A circle of young devotees soon settled round him, and his fame began to spread to the confines of Jewry. The leaders of orthodox Judaism in Germany gave him the description of a madman, and with some difficulty, brought pressure to bear upon the newly arisen prophet to undertake to refrain from teaching, by means of either the spoken or the written word, in the expectation that he would outlive the desired promise, but was unable to observe it for very long, and, when he once more reverted to the forbidden studies, he was excommunicated by the board of rabbis, whose address he ignored, and Luzzatto wandered to Palestine, where he died of plague shortly after his arrival.

LITERATURE.—On the general subject of pseudo-Messiahs relatively little has been written. The principal reference to the subject appears to be in Abrahams, The History of the Jewish Messiah in Liberal Judaism, 1877; M. Gaster, in Jewish Chronicles, Feb. 11 and March 11, 1898; and A. M. Bendt, in Der ersten zweystelligen Jahresheft der Monatschrift, Volkesbiographische Studien, 1908, pp. 9-47. Luzzatto's personal life has been treated in a work by B. B. Fabricius, Luzzatto, Leipzig, 1885, 1896, 1897; M. Gaster, in Jewish Chronicles, Feb. 11 and March 11, 1898; and A. M. Bendt, in Der ersten zweystelligen Jahresheft der Monatschrift, Volkesbiographische Studien, 1908, pp. 9-47. Luzzatto's personal life has been treated in a work by B. B. Fabricius, Luzzatto, Leipzig, 1885, 1896, 1897.
METALS — 1. Metals.

Fire and metalurgy may be regarded as the two major phases of material culture. The results of the modern applications of steam and electricity have been described as "pungent and insignificant when compared with those which followed the discovery of metals by the men of the stone age;" and with the finding of the art of extracting metal from ore "human culture was revolutionised." Possible the first attempts at utilizing metals were made by applying a modification of hammer-work on stone to fragments of surface-ore. Copper and its alloys, especially a native bronze, would naturally be observed first; but the usual order of discovery of copper, bronze, iron—is not absolute; the order varies from case to case. For instance, it is unlikely that the West and Central Africans found any metal earlier than iron, which is so abundant in their country.

One of the greatest importances to humanity of the discovery of metals and the invention of metalurgy, philosophers have inclined to attribute them to some remarkable cause. Lucretius, e.g., imagined a mighty configuration; this, in consuming forests covering metalliciferous ground, would reduce the outcropping ore to a metallic state. But, with the discovery of fire-making, there are many possible implications and variations of discovery may have converged. Gowland suggests that the origin of metalurgy is to be found in the camp-fires of the Neolithic age. When these were made on metaliferous soil, the lamps of metal melted out would at once attract the attention of a stone-working people, and the blows of the stone hammer on the hot and malleable mass would indicate its possibilities. The camp-fire may thus be regarded as the prototype of the most elaborate modern furnaces.

Naturally, a feeling of the importance of metals, and a primitive appreciation of the "marvels of science" in connexion with the working of them, and their chemical properties, rectified upon early man with the results usually found of superstitious meditates on critical things. The body of beliefs about metals and, in a less degree, minerals, is enormous, but reducible to a few simple types which are found everywhere and survive in peasant psychology to this day. Special properties of this or that metal or mineral are taken into account, and cultural reactions of all kinds modify the various beliefs and usages. These may be typically exemplified without unnecessary multiplication.

In common with all skilled crafts in early culture, the miner and the worker in metal are regarded with wonder, and often with its entails superstitious feelings.

Among the Bangala of the Upper Congo no one is allowed to step over a smith's fire or blow it with his mouth; such acts would pollute and end the workmanship. The spirit is supposed to use witchcraft in order to perform his smithing well. Neighbouring peoples simply regard the smith with respect. Some African smiths form sacred gids; the mythical Wesigah Smith of Scandia is a natural deification, as is part at least of the lore of the great kamba analites.


4 Since the first iron used was not meteoric or telluric, in spite of cases among the Eskimos.

5 W. Gowland, op. cit., p. 17.


7 L. Wellman in JRAI xxxv. (1909) 468.

The usual tabus and animistic beliefs are attached to the working of metals, to mining, and to the ore and metal themselves.

The divinities of Malaysia have a remarkable code of tabus and body-purification, both for men and for animals, but they are outnumbered by the Chinese workers, who, however, as will be seen, have a similar faith. Often they are keener, more curious, to connect the operations of mining in such a way that the tin-ore may, as it were, be obtained with its own knowledge. The valued acts observed by the miners, the chief are that no living creature may be killed in the mine; that the cangor may not be put on; that those ships may not be worn, or an umbrella used. Numerous charms are employed by the 'mining wizards' for the purposes of clearing a way for the spirits and to keep the ore from flying itself. The Malay penangkens ('medicine-men'), or mining wizards, used to enjoy an extraordinary reputation, some of them having the power of bringing ore to a place where it was known that no ore existed, . . . to possess the power of etching such ore as existed, and of turning it into mere grains of sand. No one but him was allowed to wear a black coat at the mine. He used a special language (badut pura) and wore a red cap, and he had a wonderful "cone" for tin. Sometimes each separate grain of ore was credited with personality; it was believed that tin could announce its presence by a peculiar noise heard in the stillness of the night. Sometimes the personality of the tin is described as a buffalo, in which shape it presumably appears underground; this being perhaps a sophistication of the lode.

In Sumatra the divinities of the gold mines make a much difference as the spirits of the tin-mines in the Malay Peninsula. There, and the like, came, as it were, the breath by the miners to the scene of their operations, for at the scent of such things the spirits of the mine would cause the gold to vanish. In some cases, for example in the case of tin, a mark of the gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked, probably because the removal of the precious metal is regarded as a theft, which the spirits would punish if they caught the thieves in the act. Certainly the diviners believe that gold has a tendency to avenge itself on men who dig the precious metal.

In Sumatra the tin-ore deposits are under the protection of an amang lati ('great god'), who is propitiated before the iron is worked. He capriciously moves the iron about. His symbol is a piece of wood, a few inches long. ("pleasing the god") is a sanul festival. The first thing to be done is to take the god into a state of calm, and then uttering speeking he is supposed to remain inert, unless offended in any way. He 'particularly affects two plants called Leisang Leal and Lalan, and when he is about to be pleased the Leisang, a specially selected hali, khe to fetch him.' The plants are placed in the house of the tin, and then taken in a brass vessel by an old lady to the river, she washes about, suddenly stumbles, and then emerges with a vessel full of water. The god has appeared. A procession with music is made to the hali-plaza ('god's place'), where his image (the pictures of iron) is placed. By them is placed the hali-stone, which is a service of prayer and praise is celebrated, after the lighting of a sacrifice for the god. The god's servant, a magician, knesses down two old women, termed matibs, who are often inspired by him and babble incomprehensibly. If a man is similarly possessed by the god, he is known as a mine 'sorcerer,' and during the ceremonies of the god he wears a dress of a matib. Dramatic performances and the list of events.

The last example is a perfect one for showing the development of a ritual, from an organized cult to a ceremony and the processes of its acquisition. There is some vagueness, which is worth noting, as to whether the metal itself is personified. As for its being deified, this is hardly to be inferred here or elsewhere.

The god appears to be rather the owner of the site, resembling the Hebrew Baals.

The Malays regarded gold in a similar way. The god 'spirit' is believed to be under the care and in the gift of a deus, or god. It has the form of a golden roc-deer. The thermorphisms alludes to that of its.
An interesting detail with regard to the personality of metals is supplied by Malay superstition. The Malays believe that so long as gold is in the earth it has a soul. When the gold is taken out by man it loses its soul, and the soul flies away. 1 The idea is parallel to those found in agricultural lore; presumably the corn-spirit leaves John Barleycorn when he is ground, if not when he is reaped. The idea is elaborated in Celebes, on the principle that the soul of the metal has been removed and weight assists the usefulness of the implements when made.

Among the Alkores of Celebes iron-working is a prominent industry. The Malays believe that a spirit is connected with iron, and that when an iron implement is dropped it is because the soul has taken flight. 2 A particular development is towards the Scandinavian idea of gnomes. The Chinese have tales of silver men and of 'women in silver clothes,' who when struck and knocked down, disappeared, and silver mines were found on the spot. 4 The same kind of analogy connects various metals with the human figure, according to their colour or other properties. The Greeks of to-day call jannides 'the golden disease,' and heal it on the homoeopathic principle with a decoction from an English sovereign, English gold being the best. 5

One or two examples of the miscellaneous wonders which have gathered round metals may be cited.

Ferrous itself, itself a mythical vegetable gold-dust, guides to hidden treasures. 6 A Malay recipe for turning brass into gold is to kill a wild pig, and sew up in it a quantity of scrap-brass; then pin the longer over it, and burn it; when brass has grown over the remains, 'dig up the gold.' 7 Panama once made a sensation of all metals, because of certain constellations, 8 and Van Helmont connected a ring of magic metal, which cured diseases. 9 An obvious connexion is practically universal between gold and the sun, silver and the moon. Silver is the lunar metal; hence peasants like to have silver in their pockets when they see the moon new, and to turn it for luck, i.e. doubling. 10 Throughout the world magnetic iron and copper have excited wonder.

The relative value of the familiar metals is the same in superstition and ordinary usage. It is interesting to note that the Hindus regarded alloys as impure, and never used them for religious purposes. 11 Here may be inserted the notion of mixture, adulteration, as a component of the idea of impurity. Another popular division of metals is into 'precious' and 'base.' The Chinese consider gold and silver genuine matter. 12 All the analogous estimates found in every age would seem to show that aesthetic ideas supersede economic. Clearly the aesthetic value of gold and silver rather than their importance as currency is to the fore, and either view preponderates over the mechanical importance of iron.

A similar predilection is shown in the genealogy of the metals.

Man is said to have consigned gold and silver away from the union of water and fire. 13 In Chinese philosophy tin is produced by the influence of the feminine principle in nature, being changed between silver and lead. The metal arsenic generates itself in two hundred years and after another two hundred years is converted into tin. 14 When a product of the earth has gained tenor qualities, it is said to have been transformed into man, which proves that the arsenic had not been completely transferred into a metallic state. 15

This notion of transmutation of metals is a curious parallel to modern discoveries of the degeneration of radium into a series of filial metals. The research of the alchemists for the philosopher's stone included a similar hypothesis.

According to the Pahlavi Bundakšin, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, copper, and pewter, are all derived from the various members of the dead Goyiman; 16 and an account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed. 17 The Pahlavi Sūrat in-Sūrat speaks (v. 12) of the duty of 'purifying' melted metal, i.e. practising 'habits of the heart so unmixed and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon it, it does not burn.' But the ordeal slays a stainer. Metal, especially gold and silver, is a 'counterpart of Shatvān himself in the world.' 18 From the divided body of Indra, according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, metals arose, as well as all kinds of substances and living creatures; e.g. from his navel came lead. 19 The five elements in Chinese natural philosophy are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Water produces fire, fire earth, earth produces metal water, and water. 20 The idea of animal souls for metals already referred to has probably no cosmological import.

In the multitudinous superstitious relative to the protective, curative, or dangerous properties of metals or metallic implements, the analogy of their relative value and efficiency—e.g., between gold and steel—seems to predominates. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa lays down that the slaughtring-knife for the horse should be of gold, that for the perry-thangs of copper, and that for the other sacrifices to Prajapati of iron. Gold is symbol of the nobility, copper of heralds, messengers, and the like, iron of the peasantry. 21 The intrinsic value of gold, its brilliance, analogous to fire and the sun, connect it with vitality. Hence its extraordinary popularity as a regal insignia. To the Chinese, in the form of leaf, dust, decoction, or grease. It is placed in the mouth of the dead to assist re-vivification and to delay decomposition. The Chinese also put mercury in collins in order to preserve the body. 22 With no knowledge of embalming they endeavour to insulate, as it were, the coffin against decay. The use of quicksilver may be referred to the analogy of a moving and apparently living metal of worth and organic life. British folklore advises rubbing ringworm with silver. 23

Metals, in virtue of their various properties, are used both as medicines and as amulets, in either case dependent on magical notions. The Burmese believe that the wearing of silver and gold is itself protective, and base metals may be used in default of precious ones. 24 Lamps to diffuse light and to protect the skin to secure invulnerability. There is a common practice of covering amulets with gold-leaf to add to their efficacy. 25 For a person to wear something, as if a part of himself, which has a value of its own, adds to his own value and resisting power. On the same line of reasoning, metals of worth are the more useful in warding off ghostly enemies. In Europe as in Semitic folklore, the most efficacious bullets were those of all sorts of crooked sixpences; 26 but all metals have efficacy in this direction.

The property of resistance is common to most metals; the property of metals to generate heat is characteristic of some. Among the properties of beauty and value, the strength and hardness of iron make it a favourite charm.

5 Ib., 63.
6 G.D., pt. viii., Bolder the Beautiful, ii. 257 f.
7 Sceatt, p. 118.
8 W. S. Black, Folk-Medicine, London, 1885, p. 174.
9 Ib., p. 170.
12 De Groot, iv. 331 f.
13 1826 xlv. (1886) 189.
To keep off evil spirits, mountans in India carry a piece of iron—a key or a knife or any iron object. In Scotland a death a piece of iron was placed in all the provisions in the house to prevent death from entering them, and similar customs obtain in Ceylon and Morocco. 1 When Chinese fisher- men catch a fish, they do not take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him call out "Cold iron," at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held him tight, in order that the fisherman might save him from the "pride" or "sick" or "pig" when fishing; if you hear a man do so, you must shout "Cold iron." 2

It is a mere coincidence that in modern medicine iron is used as a tonic and that in early culture its strength was ascribed by men. The people of Nias wear iron arm-rings to keep off evil spirits or witchcraft; and they place iron by the side of sleeping infants for the same purpose. In Sarawak biting a piece of iron is a similar protection. The Torres believe that iron strengthens one's soul, and hold ceremonies at smithies for this purpose. The tossing of water in which iron has been dipped. 3 In Bermuda iron arm-rings are supposed to strengthen the wearer. 4

Several Malay states have in their regalia a sacred hump of iron, a piece of old scrap-iron with supernatural powers. 5 Large iron nails are used by the Malays to protect new-born infants, hut-out scissors to drive away evil spirits from the dead, and a sword is put in a strange river before a man will drink of it. When fighting abroad in the forest a man will sit on his sword, not only to drive away evil but to "confirm" himself. Streets are marked by iron representatives of iron. 6 Scraps of iron are used in ointments for curing the sick. 7

The supernatural power of a sharp instrument is, of course, to be added in many cases to the idea that iron lessens the "evil eye." Lead appears but rarely in superstition. The Atharvaveda speaks 8 of a charm against demons and sorcerers by means of lead. Here, as in modern times, and even in the latter, the solids and liquids of the material and malleability of the metal, and perhaps its weight, were connected with ideas of image-making, for which it is as convenient a form. The presence of a person who was "dippering" his image or effigy is world-wide. Curses inscribed on leaden tablets were common objects of Greek and Roman superstition; a leaden arrow, in classical belief, destroyed love. 9

The virtues of metal may be enhanced, as is seen in the last-cited cases, by the form and purpose of the manufactured article. The ring has the additional advantage of enclosing and keeping safe; the coin has the further value of currency and of the personality of whose head is stamped on the obverse. British folklore adapted the royal "touch" for King's Evil by using crown-pieces broken and used as such. Sufferers from paralysis or rheumatism collected copper from the charitable at the church-door, and these were commuted into silver rings which were worn to cure insanity. 10

The acoustic properties of metals have also been important in popular religion. 11 The idea that the sound of brass or iron has power to put spirits to flight prevailed also in classical antiquity, and from which it may have been inherited by mediaval Christendom. 12 In the Far East the virtues of the gong as a repeller of evil are well known. Brass is considered by the Chinese the most effective metal for repelling demons; 13 the sound of a brass instrument is the most terrifying. 14

A remarkable set of beliefs and practices has a strong tabu against the use of iron and the substitution of other metals or substances, previously 15 Pw, iii. (1866) 60; W. Gregor, Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland, London, 1831, p. 301; PO A i. 140; W. Lieberknecht, Germanen von Thibury, Hanover, 1856, p. 90 f.; G. C. Thompson, Some Early Wicca, London, 1858, p. xiii. 16 In those cases, and in the Atharva-Veda, to the idea that iron is sacred, to the idea of a similar character. 17 In the Far East it is used as a charm against demons and sorcerers by means of lead. Here, as in modern times, and even in the latter, the solids and liquids of the material and malleability of the metal, and perhaps its weight, were connected with ideas of image-making, for which it is as convenient a form. The presence of a person who was "dippering" his image or effigy is world-wide. Curses inscribed on leaden tablets were common objects of Greek and Roman superstition; a leaden arrow, in classical belief, destroyed love. 8 In the Atharva-Veda, to the idea that iron is sacred, to the idea of a similar character. 9

used o, not. These rules usually apply to critical circumstances and persons.

Iron was not allowed to touch the body of the king of Korea. The Archon of Plato was forbidden to touch iron. Tools of iron might not be introduced into Greek temples, and the Archers offered an expiatory sacrifice when an iron graving-tool was introduced. Roman priests of Apollo restricted the use of the hair of the Flamen Dialis might be cut only with a bronze knife. It appears that the Greeks ascribed purifying properties to iron, and used it to purify the body. When the British occupied the island of Ramallah in the Holy Land. Against this, the Hammer must be done with a stone. Similar tabus were observed in ancient Palestine and Italy. No iron tool was employed in making Hebrew altars or in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. The Roman Punk Subiucius, a sacred bridge, was made and repaired without any use of iron or even bronze. Hindus have believed the use of iron for buildings to be productive of epidemics. 3

Frazier considers that the tabu against iron in ceremonial perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike. In the Chinese tradition iron ploughs were introduced in Poland, some bad harvests followed, and the farmers reverted to the wooden implements. 4 The hypothesis is inconclusive. Iron and steel are used in virtue of their death-dealing and tiughty properties to replace the tabu of supernatural (physical) evil, and weapons made from them are essentially dangerous weapons. Now, ceremonies practised at critical seasons or with reference to mediaval persons or things. In Morocco, the last sheaf of harvest is regarded as an incantation of the barren of the crop. It may not be cut with a sickle of steel or iron, but is plucked with the hand. Compare with this the Moroccan custom of placing steel and salt underneath the stack of wheat in order to keep off the attacks of maize. 6

In the first case, steel is evidently too dangerous a weapon to serve as a substitute for the iron. "Iron," as the Bride of the Fields; in the second, its very dangerousness makes it an ideal defence. It is quite possible that in certain sacred operations—e.g., cremation and cutting the initial phenomenon of rest, indicating decay, may also have been a deterrent from the use of iron. This, or the general notion of the dangerousness of hard metals, may have inspired the Chinese rule that metal buttons may not be used on grave-clothes. They would give trouble to the dead by injuring his body while it is decaying in the grave. 7 On the other hand, the Chinese use gold, jade, and mercury to signify the decay and facilitate the future revival of the dead.


2. Minerals. — The religious associations of minerals in general are fewer and less marked than those of metals, except in the case of salt. The use, however, of stones of various sorts and shapes is a fact of far-reaching physical and psychological significance. The physical properties of a stone may be utilized for religious purposes, and the stone itself utilized for religious purposes. A stone may be considered as a religious object because of its Shape or size, because it is painted or inscribed, or because it is placed in a holy place, or because it is used in a religious rite. In some cases, the stone is used as a weapon, as a boundary stone, or as a grave marker. In other cases, it is used as a talisman, or as an amulet, or as a charm. In still other cases, it is used as a symbol of the deity, or of the gods, or of the stars.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is widespread, and is found in all parts of the world. In some cases, the stones are used as offerings to the gods, or as tokens of devotion to the gods. In other cases, they are used as tokens of love or friendship, or as tokens of fidelity or integrity. In still other cases, they are used as tokens of fealty or obedience, or as tokens of trust or confidence.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of precious stones, such as diamonds, rubies, sapphires, or emeralds. The use of common stones, such as quartz, feldspar, or granite, is also widespread. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of natural stones, such as those found in the earth, or those that are found in the sea. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is also found in the use of artificial stones, such as those that are made from glass, or those that are made from metal.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of stones that are fixed in place, such as those that are set in temples, or those that are set in altars. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is also found in the use of stones that are portable, such as those that are carried by priests, or those that are carried by pilgrims.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of stones that are used alone. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is also found in the use of stones that are used in combination with other objects, such as those that are used in combination with incense, or those that are used in combination with candles.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of stones that are used in religious ceremonies. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is also found in the use of stones that are used in secular ceremonies, such as those that are used in weddings, or those that are used in funerals.

The use of stones in religious ceremonies is not confined to the use of stones that are used in religious or secular ceremonies. The use of stones in religious ceremonies is also found in the use of stones that are used in scientific or medical ceremonies, such as those that are used in the preparation of medicines, or those that are used in the preparation of poisons.
Salt has been much used in sacrifices, indicating the analogy between sacred and ordinary meals. *Mola salis* was offered by the Latins to the *lares*, and salt was sprinkled by Greeks and Latins on the head of the sacrificial animal. On the other hand in India, the Cinnabar, in the 20th century, stated that *in all salt there is some portion of the salt and sulphur of Sodom, which blinds the person whose eyes it touches.* We thus get the two poles usually found between sacred substances, positive and negative, optimum and pessimum.

Salt has been widely used in protective and curative magic, and the association of ideas may be the same as is seen in the word *preserve.*

Loa and Slavonic women after childbirth washed themselves daily with salt and water, salt being a protection against witchcraft.** Moors carry salt in the dark to keep off ghosts,** and in Teutonic countries it is placed near infants to protect them. In *Morocco it is put in the wheat stack to guard it from mice,** and is sprinkled on the hands-mill before grinding the corn.** British folk-custom has the charm of carrying salt with round balls before it, so as not to be haunted.**

Salt is a source for many sicknesses, and procures disencumbrance.** Like blood and iron, it is a favourite medium for the oath; in early Teutonic custom the swearer dipped his finger in salt, and then took the oath.

As with other trades, sacredness has attached to salt-mining.

In Loa salt-miners observe continence and other tabus. In ancient Egypt, the production of salt was a sacred business.** The peoples of Central America worshipped a 'godess,' Huichotlizintli, of salt, who was believed to have invented the process of salting.

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of taboo. Certain professions, and prohibitions in certain states, are forbidden to use salt, as they are forbidden other critical substances.

Mourners may eat no salt among Hindus, Africans, and other peoples. Priest and medicine-men (as among the Egyptians, the Dards, and Central and S. Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives.** In the temple of the Egyptian priesthood, especially emphasised.** When travelling, the Central African might not eat salt. If he did, and his wives were not beholding well, the salt would act as a corrosive poison. During the ceremonies of frost from the Yuchi Indians of California continence and abstinence with regard to salt is ordered, as is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Huichol Indians.** No salt may be used in cooking the flesh of the beast or any food at the Gilyak Bear Festival.** Some Days after taking heads may not eat salt, or touch iron, or have intercourse with women. Egyptian fishermen have the same combined taboo.** In Indian ritual the young student, after being brought to his teacher, and the newly-married pair must abstain from salted food for three days.

The following is a luminous instance of the aetiology of the associations of salt.

Among the Nyambo-speaking tribes of British Central Africa the wife: who has not salted food may eat no salt. After the seclusion she is married. On the wedding-night she puts salt in the eating bowl, and this is the custom of the wife, and relatives for relatives to rub on themselves, though not if the husband is impotent.**

On this and similar customs, viz. that women at their periods may not put salt in food, lest husband and children contract a disease, Frazer says:

6. Westernrock, pp. 27, 31, 47.
7. Robert, p. 133.
8. Grimm, 111. 1294.
we live is iron. The principle behind this is aesthetic.

In Italy Saturn and in Greece Cronus was believed to have been a king who reigned in heaven or on earth during the twilight of the gods, and when men passed through days like gods without toil or sorrow, when life was a long round of festivity, and, as it were, a holiday, that was the season of Cronus. But his son Jupiter was a king of another kind, a king who gives men their work as well as their play, and who, though in some of his old companions, the alemists and informants of ages,

LITERATURE.—To the authorities cited add R. Andrea, Die Metamorphosen der Naturvölker, Leipzig, 1884; O. Schrader, Sagenbuch von und über Indien, Jena, 1897, II. 3-99; K. E. Hofmann, Das Blit bei den Vätern des Alterthums, Berlin, 1859; V. Henn, Das Saiô, do. 1903; R. Garie, Die ind. Mythologie, 1892, A. E. Crawley, II.

METAMORPHOSIS.—Evidences for the belief. Metamorphosis, transformation, or shape-shifting is a power universally believed in at low levels of culture. It survives at higher levels, especially among the masses, though it is also found in myths which are current among the educated or where popular belief tends to take the form of dogma, as when 17th cent. theologians accepted the werewolf superstition as a fact. The evidence for this universal belief is copious, and is found in myths, legends, and sagas, as well as in poetry from all lands; in folk-tales, of which it is one of the commonest themes or the most important incident, as, e.g., in the ‘Transformation Combat’ or the ‘True Brute Combat’ in the Irish cycle, in the ‘Wolf Man’ among savages or the peasantry; in the writings of modern travellers, explorers, and missionaries, as well as in older literature—Egyptian, Babylonian, Hindu, Greek, and Celtic.

2. Varieties of metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is asserted of every order of beings and even of inanimate things. (a) As far as men are concerned, where the belief is current, all men do not equally claim the power of transformation, but any man will readily admit that others have this power. Hence we have beliefs in the existence of distant tribes or groups possessing the power of transformation. Generally those who are credited with this power are medicine-men, shamans, sorcerers, witches, and wights. To multiply instances is unnecessary; suffice it to say that, wherever such a class of people is found, shape-shifting is always one of their magical powers. No European peasant believes that he can change his form, though his savage ancestors did so; with him the belief survives only in the proverb that every witch can do so (see Lycanthropy). Among certain peoples, however, every one is believed to have some connection with an animal form. Thus among the natives of W. Africa the bush-soul, one of the souls which each man possesses, exists in an animal; in Indo-China one of the souls of a man has the power of appearing as a man or as a wild-animal. This aspect of the subject is fully discussed under Lycanthropy.

While metamorphosis into animal form is more general, that into tree, plant, or flower is also found here and there. Besides this, numerous myths and tales from all parts of the world explain the origin of some tree or plant by saying that it sprang from the body—the arm, leg, head, or blood of some human being. Similarly, men are sometimes held to have shape-shifting power by the common opinion that every witch can do so (see Lycanthropy). When a tree springs from a dead human being the identity of the two is obvious, and here the stories may be based on the fact that trees often do grow from the barrows of the dead. They are supposed to be tenanted by the dead man’s spirit or are identified with the man himself. The medicine-man or wizard has also the power of transforming others. He may supply them with a magical means to change their form, but more usually he himself casts a spell upon them and transforms them. This is usually done through incantation—and no incident is commoner in folk-tales than this—but it is sometimes meted out as a punishment. Though transformation for this reason is generally the act of the gods. In such cases transformation may be for a longer or shorter period, but it is often of a permanent character.

Instances are found at all levels of culture. Mythology knew many such punishments for impiety. The incident enters also into Christian tradition, though it is derived from earlier sources. The sorcerer is represented often as the man who is refused food or on whom a trick is played by a peasant or a Jew, and the reward for them is the punishment of transformation to animal form. In many cases groups of magicians are said to be human beings changed to stone for some act of impiety—the idea perhaps originating in the belief that the stones embody ghosts of the dead buried beneath them. Other instances of petrification, in some cases also for a punishment, are found in all mythologies—Australian, American Indian, Greek, Hebrew, etc. The idea of petrification may be connected with the fact that many rocks bear some resemblance to human form. In folk-tales the power of petrifying is usually in the hands of witch or wizard, and a touch with a wand, binding the victim with the witch’s hair, or the repeating of a spell suffices. Cf. Johnson.

(b) The power of transformation on the part of men was reflected back upon the gods in all mythologies, from the lowest to the highest—Bushman, Australian, Polynesian, Peruvian, Celtic, Greek, Hindu, Egyptian, etc.; whether the gods were beings of human form or not, the powers and the actions of the gods were such that they could, animal or human, in order to serve their purposes—to escape danger, to benefit men, to carry on amours, and the like. As in Egypt, men looked forward to the time when they could assume any form in a future life, like the gods. The gods, too, as has been seen, had the power of causing metamorphosis as a punishment to men.

(c) Demons and other beings met with by travellers were also believed to have similar powers. The fina of Arabia, the bhâts of India, the devils of early and mediæval Christianity, the water-horses and other monstrous beings of popular belief, can assume any shape to carry out their evil ends. The idea is that of an attractive girl or youth who lures away a human victim to destruction. Ghosts of the dead may appear as animals, or project themselves into animal form temporarily, but there is a wide-spread belief in their more permanent assumption of animal forms (see ANIMALS, vol. 1, p. 498).

(d) Animals themselves are sometimes believed to be capable of self-transformation. This is true of the fox in Japan and China and of the tiger in Malaysia (see Lycanthropy), and the seal and similar animals are well known in folk-belief to have the power of changing into human shape.

(e) Inanimate objects are also changed into other forms by magical power. The best instance of this occurs in the Transformation Flight group of Mârchen, in which, e.g., a girl escaping with her lover throws down small objects which become a forest, a mountain, or a lake, and impede the progress of the pursuer (see MacCulloch, CL, p. 171 ff.). Examples of this are found not only in European and Asiatic folk-tales, but in Samoan, American Indian, and Basuto stories.

3. Origin of the belief in metamorphosis. An examination of the enormous mass of evidence for the belief in animal metamorphosis suggests that man’s idea of personality, or perhaps rather the ramus in which personality may lurk, is an exceedingly fluid one. There has everywhere been a stage of human thought when no clear distinction was drawn between himself and the rest of nature, between human and animal, between animate and inanimate.
inanimate. In this stage of thought animates and inanimates are equally believed to be alive; men, animals, and things have the same feelings and passions; each speaks in the same manner. Or, when the idea of soul or spirit is attained, all are equally alive by virtue of the possession of such a soul or spirit. Such beliefs in the underlying similar species, have given rise to various myths which are rooted in this primitive stratum of thought, and in turn have served to deepen it. Thus it is sometimes thought that at first 'all animals are men,' as the Algonkins say, and only later took animal form. As the Hareskin Indians think, in the beginning men were animals and animals were men, but afterwards changed their roles; or, according to the Zulus, all things were originally animals, but now men, trees, etc., are degenerate animals with souls which can leave their bodies. Again, men were once animals who became men—a common Polytheistic belief. Where a clan of one totem dislike the animal which is the totem of another distant clan, they may come to regard the men of that clan as possessed of its nature and liable to assume its form. In all such cases, whether totemistic in origin or not, it is easy to see that men and animals might be supposed to revert temporarily to the other forms which ones were theirs.

It is also possible that an analogy between the habits of certain animals and those of human beings, in life or after death, may have aided the belief in metamorphosis. Thus, where ghosts of men are believed to return to the house in which they lived and which is also the home of such animals as snakes or rats, it is easy to imagine that these are forms of the dead man. This is the case in Zululand with the snake. Night-roaming animals like the cat, tiger, or wolf might be identified, as they were, with witches, who also roamed in darkness.

Hallucination might be a potent factor in aiding the belief. Savages have often declared that they have witnessed such a change of shape. The pre-conceived idea suggested the hallucination, and it in turn gave support to the belief. Or persons to whom drugs had been administered might have hallucinations of themselves as animals, as in classical and medieval instances (see Lycaon, § 2). Madness, again, has also had its part to play. Its victims, especially where the belief in metamorphosis prevails, often imitate the cries, motions, and actions of animals, and this could only serve to establish the belief more securely. The werewolf superstition was largely moulded out of such cases (see Lycaon, § 3).

3 T. Turner, Scenes a Hundred Years Ago, London, 1884, pp. 296, 330.

The custom of dressing in an animal skin at sacred dances, or before a hearth, hunt, or of wearing animal skins in war dance, will aid the belief in metamorphosis. The frenzy of the dance and self-transformation to the dancer, while the onlookers or the enemy would imagine that they saw human animals. There is no doubt also that medicine-men have often strengthened the belief by exploiting it—e.g., dressing as an animal, initating its howls and its actions. In practice the belief in the power of metamorphosis of men is generally limited to the medicine-man, sorcerer, etc., who transforms his victimus usually by a spell, talisman, or potion. Self-transformation is caused in many ways, most of them magical. Sometimes, however, it is the result of a divine, supernatural, or demonic gift.

See, for a further discussion and examples, the art. Lycaon; cf. also Transformation.

LITERATURE.—A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, London, one. Thus, knowledge is frequently distinguished from those modes of apprehension which are called sensation, perception, and imagination. It is thus confined to those modes of apprehension which involve definite thought or conception. Again, it is common, especially since the time of Kant, to contrast knowledge with belief. It is now customary to use the term 'cognition' to include all these modes of apprehension. Cognition is a more limited sense that the term is hereby employed. But even cognition is generally distinguished by recent psychologists from other modes of consciousness, which are called thinking, feeling, or affection, and willing, or emotion. There are valid grounds for these distinctions, but it is important to remember that, so far as we are directly aware of these distinguishable aspects of our consciousness, they are, in the widest sense of the word, known or cognized. We apprehend pleasantness and unpleasantness and the fact of striving just as truly as we apprehend sounds or colours, trees or stars, triangles or systems of philosophy. There are, however, some differences in our ways of knowing which it is very necessary to bear in mind. The most fundamental are those that have been expressed by the terms 'empirical apprehension and judgment', 'immediacy and mediate', 'acquaintance and description', 'enjoyment and contemplation', 'experiencing and experienced'. It may be well to take the last of these first. Whenever there is knowledge of any kind, there is some kind of acquaintance or description. See M. Dobrinshoffer, Account of the Abipones, London, 1822, ii. 77; R. M. Dorman, The Origin of Primitive Superstitions, Philadelphia, 1895, p. 249; C. Lévi-Strauss, Les Planètes, New York, 1941, Intro. p. ix.

2 These are the antitheses that are especially emphasized by G. F. Stout, Anthropology, B. Russell, S. Alexander, and O. Lloyd Morgan respectively.
and something that is known. Knowledge does not exist in the same sense, but at some particular centre and that centre is not primarily aware of itself, but of some particular object. Whenever any one reflects upon his knowledge, however, he at once becomes aware of this double aspect and that the general fact can hardly be disputed. Now, when any one reflects further upon his knowledge, and especially when by intercourse with his fellowmen he is able to compare his own knowledge with that of others, he very soon comes to realize that some of the things that he apprehends are more closely connected with his particular way of apprehending them than others are. He finds that some things are cognized by others in substantially the same way in which they are cognized by him. To this class belong especially facts relating to number, to spatial and temporal order, to the forms of objects in space and time, to the general conditions under which such objects occur. Such things come to be regarded as being in a special sense objective, i.e., as being independent of the particular nature of the being by whom they are apprehended. But we may easily come to doubt in this respect. There is not the same amount of agreement about colours as there is about forms; and there is still more difference of opinion with regard to the extent to which beauty and ugliness, agreeableness and disagreeableness, are to be ascribed to particular objects that we apprehend. Thus we are led to distinguish some of the things that we know as not specially belonging to ourselves, but being simply objects that we contemplate; and others as being more peculiarly our own, things that we have or enjoy, things that are not merely experienced, but that are bound up with our attitude as experiencing. The things that appear to be most emphatically in the latter class are such characteristics as pleasantness and unpleasantness, beauty and ugliness, emotional experiences, values; but the division between these and such experiences as those of taste, smell, colour, etc., is not a very sharp one. Hence, instead of placing objects in one or other of these divisions, we may perhaps rather to recognize a subjective and an objective aspect in all modes of apprehension.

Once this important distinction has been duly recognized, the next that claims our attention is that between immediate and mediate apprehension. Some things are known to us in a quite direct way, and cannot be doubted. When any one has an experience of pain, he may be very uncertain with regard to its source and even with regard to the part of his organism to which it is to be referred; but he may also have some difficulty in distinguishing clearly between the pain that he is experiencing and some other fact that is experienced by him; but he cannot really doubt that he has this experience, whatever he may be, and however the object of his experience is to be described or interpreted. Every man is in some degree 'a man of sorrow,' and acquainted with grief, and he cannot have any doubt about the grief which he is acquainted with, though he may be quite unable to analyze or describe it, or to explain how it has arisen. As soon as we begin to analyze, to describe, or to explain, we realize that he realizes not only that something is apprehended, but that he apprehends it. What exactly he is, and what the something is that he apprehends, are matters for which he has no adequate solution, and which he cannot with certainty recognize as any fact which can be clearly defined. Even the naming of an experience may involve some error; for to name it implies that we class it along with some other experiences, and that it is thus in some way a conglomeration of experiences, and in supposing that it is essentially the same as, or similar to, it may be that what I call my grief should be more precisely characterized as simple unpleasantness or as resentment or remorse; and, when I think that I am grieving over my neighbour's misfortunes, I may in reality be considering rather the way in which they affect myself. Knowledge ceases to be immediate as soon as it ceases to be the simple apprehension of something and becomes, implicitly or explicitly, a judgment about something. Here also, however, we have to recognize differences of degree. Though we may conceivably be in error in thinking that grief is the right name for what we are experiencing, yet, if we are really acquainted with grief, we can hardly be mistaken in thinking that what we are experiencing is of the same general kind as what we have experienced before. But we may easily come to doubt whether it is not so immediately known. When Lady Constance says, 'Grief fills the place up of my absent child,' we are not likely to be ignorant of what she means by grief, and we can partly apprehend what the rest of her statement means; but, if we have never had any similar experience, our apprehension has very little immediacy. We may even be inclined to doubt whether it has any real meaning at all. It is a description of something that might be apprehended, but with which we do not happen to be acquainted.

Now, the various theories of knowledge turn largely on the distinction between what is immediate and what is mediate, and between what is subjective and what is objective. One theory of knowledge which, in different forms, has played a very conspicuous part in the history of philosophy is the theory that we have no immediate knowledge of anything but what is essentially subjective. One of the most extreme forms of this theory is found in the doctrines of Descartes, according to which the only thing of which we are immediately certain is the existence of the self as a conscious or thinking being. What he really brings out, however, is rather that everything of which we are immediately conscious certainly exists as something apprehended. What thus certainly exists is a complex, including certain objects that are apprehended and the fact of their apprehension. But Descartes considered that the objects thus apprehended might be properly described as being 'in the mind,' and that the individual mind should be regarded as a persistent thing within which such objects are contained; and he called the objects 'ideas.' He was thus led to think that the individual mind exists both as something known, i.e., as an 'idea,' and as something that persists in a way that is independent of its being immediately known, whereas the other objects that are known only are known only as having what he calls 'objective reality,' i.e., the kind of reality which consists simply in their being immediately known. But he recognized that some of these other objects carry with them the suggestion of a more complete reality than that which belongs to them in the simple fact of their immediate apprehension; and he sought, by various arguments, to give grounds

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1 The lack of words to distinguish properly between the subjective and the objective aspects of cognition has been a great defect in philosophy. Sensation, e.g., is generally supposed to do duty both for sensing and for what is sensed; and it is only very recently that it has been common to distinguish between perception and conception. Even now philosophers do not readily grasp what Geach meant when he said that all the 'objects of the field of subjective activity which are not brought to thought (the apprehension of an objective concept) it is largely the failure to realize this distinction that makes it so difficult for most people to understand aspects of what is called 'ideationalism' as that of Plato or Hegel, in which 'ideas,' or 'thoughts,' mean concepts. The 'Subjective Realism' has greatly helped to make this distinction clearer.

2 The difficult subject of error, its nature and conditions, cannot be here discussed. But see the references given at the end of this article.
to justify the belief in this more complete kind of reality. In doing this, he founded the doctrine which has been referred to as that of ‘representative ideas,’ which had a great influence on subsequent speculation. According to this doctrine, the individual mind may be compared to a picture-gallery, the pictures being ‘ideas.’ One of the pictures is the picture of itself, and that must be supposed to have been always in it. Some others, such as that of God, must also be supposed to have belonged always. Many others must have been painted by itself. Some are даные of no particular significance. But there are some that appear to be portraits; and these may be supposed to be the portraits of other beings outside the mind, and to have been, as it were, handed in by them. This is, no doubt, a somewhat crude way of stating it; but it appears to be substantially what Descartes sought to maintain; and, with some modifications, it reappears in the writings of several other philosophers. Berkeley dealt it a severe blow by contending that, if we see pictures only in a gallery, we have no ground for supposing that they ever exist in any other way than in a gallery; and Hume improved on this by arguing that, if we see only the pictures, the gallery is an unwarranted supposition. The modification he uses is that on a stage in which we see the actors only, and have no reason to suppose that there is a stage. This reduced the whole doctrine almost to an absurdity; and the concept of ‘representative ideas’ was denounced with considerable force by Thomas Reid. What he had to put in its place, however, was not very clear. Kant took a more fruitful line by urging that we cannot without absurdity regard our knowledge as being ever complete, though the impressions be apprehended by us at any time. We have to recognize certain fundamental orders, such as those of space, time, and causation, which carry us beyond our immediate data and initially suggest a coherent system of connexions. In his ‘Refutation of Idealism’ he urges, against Descartes and Berkeley, that the recognition of such a coherent order is more deeply involved in the apprehension of objects distinct from the self than in the apprehension of the subject; and that our knowledge of the persistent reality of the self must, consequently, be regarded as derivative. He contends, however, that the order that we are led to distinguish in the objects which we apprehend is an order that can never be completely systematized, and must, consequently, be treated as ‘phenomenal’ and distinguished from the real order, which may be supposed to belong to ‘things in themselves,’ and which we are led to postulate chiefly on moral grounds. But Kant’s doctrine carried conviction at least with regard to the necessity of recognizing that some kind of reality belongs to the more mediate forms of apprehension as well as to those that are more immediate. When the significance of this is fully realized, it leads to the doctrine that may be characterized as that of ‘epistemological realism,’ i.e. the doctrine that everything that we in any way cognize has a kind of reality which is not simply to be identified with the fact that it is immediately apprehended at a particular moment.

The acceptance of a doctrine of this kind gives a new interest to the study of the objects of cognition. So long as these objects are regarded merely as a flow of presentations, the interest in them tends to be almost purely psychological—i.e. it is directed simply to the way in which they come to be apprehended, by the individual conscious mind. When they are regarded as things possessing permanent characteristics and permanent orders of their own, they become the subject-matter of an independent study, and may almost be said to have given rise to a new science. This is the science that has been called by Meinek Gegenstandstheorie. It is the attempt to distinguish and arrange the different kinds of objects that we apprehend. It is obvious that there is a very great variety of sense-data—sounds, colours, pains, strains, and so forth; and we apprehend three kinds of these: perceivable objects, animals, etc.; we apprehend sounds, plants, etc.; we apprehend sounds, and the difference in their properties. This variety is understood in its most comprehensive sense. We apprehend, e.g., a very great variety of sense-data—objects, colours, sounds, and so forth; we apprehend objects, animals, plants, etc.; we apprehend objects, and the differences in their properties. This variety is understood in its most comprehensive sense. We apprehend, and when it is approached from this point of view, it becomes very much more comprehensive than any of the lists of categories that are commonly set forth; and, in fact, it has a rather different aim from that implied in any of these lists. The problems raised by any such attempt to distinguish and arrange the various types of objects are evidently of a fundamental character, and seem, therefore, to belong properly to the subject-matter of metaphysics. It is not impossible, however, that an attempt to arrange the objects of our acquaintance in a systematic metaphysical construction. This brief indication of the general nature of these problems must suffice here.

2. Reality. Kant’s system of the theory of knowledge and Gegenstandstheorie leads to the recognition that, in one sense at least, there is no meaning in the antithesis between the real and the unreal. As Parmenides and Plato urged, pure non-being is not to be thought or spoken of. But there is still a sense in which the things that we apprehend may be said to be more or less real. Sometimes our apprehension of things is very incomplete; and, indeed, when we gain a fuller apprehension of them, we may be said to know them more truly. Again, the things that we know are in many cases parts of larger wholes; and, so long as we do not apprehend the wholes of which they are parts, we cannot be said to have a full apprehension even of the parts. This is at least the case when they are parts of an organic unity. We could not be said to know many things if we do not recognize it if we do not understand the function which it fulfills in the life of the organism. Our apprehension of the part, in such a case, is not the apprehension of what is unreal; but it may be said to be less real when it is thus apprehended than it is when its relations to the whole are understood. And, if the universe is an organic whole, this distinction will apply to the apprehension of all the objects in it. Hence there may still be a sense in which it is legitimate to speak of a correspondence between appearance and reality, or of different degrees of reality, though both these expressions are open to some objection. Now, in apprehending and arranging the various objects of our cognition, we are at least trying to regard them as forming a complete cosmos, such that every object has a definite place in the total order; and constructive metaphysics, as distinguished from Gegenstandstheorie, tries to find the way in which the objects of our experience can be so regarded. Here we are met at the outset by various forms of scepticism; such as the doctrine of Hume, no doubt, is effectively removed by a more thorough doctrine of knowledge, such as that of Kant. But even Kant ends with the view that our knowledge is a consciousness of appearances, and we can never hope to apprehend things as they are in themselves; and such an agnosticism is defended, in different ways, by a considerable number of
philosophical writers. If it is strictly pressed, it means that we have to content with the theory of knowledge, supplemented by Gegenstands-theorie. The early Pragmatists, e.g. Kant, Hume, are in this way unusually broad and hard to define exactly. This is because, on the one hand, he had not fully reached the point of view of Gegenstands-theorie, not having completely freed himself from the metaphysical dogma; and, on the other hand, he recognized that, though we cannot know anything about things as forming a real cosmos, we are justified in entertaining certain beliefs with regard to such reality, chiefly on moral grounds. This view of belief, as contrasted with knowledge, has been developed by the Pragmatists, who maintain that the ultimate ground of belief is not knowledge, but rather practical need. In general, the Pragmatists hold, further, that there is no real need to think of the world as a complete cosmos; but this is not an essential part of the Pragmatists' point of view. Bergson, again, while agreeing with them in the principal features of the intellectual beliefs, are based on practical needs, thinks that it is possible to reach a more perfect knowledge by means of intuition—a view which to some extent connects him with such earlier philosophers as Plato and Socrates. In these ways of thinking, and perhaps some others as well, tend to discredit the attempt to form a constructive doctrine of the objects of knowledge as constituting a cosmos. Yet the attempt continues to be made; and Kant at least recognized that, however futile it may be, it is hardly possible for the human intelligence to refrain from trying it, when the scientific interest has been fully developed. All that can be done here, however, is to indicate some of the chief ways in which this attempt has been made.

The earliest attempt at a constructive theory of the cosmos, and certainly one of the most interesting and remarkable, is that which is set forth in the Upaniṣads. The difficulties of the subject, especially at so early a stage of human thought, prevent it from being dealt with in a perfectly lucid way; and it relies, in consequence, partly on poetical metaphor and partly on vague paradox; but the doctrine that the cosmos is to be conceived as an unchanging spiritual unity, manifesting itself, especially in the forms of slow development, appears to be definitely indicated; and this view, showing itself most clearly in the conception of a long series of successive embodiments, gained a firm hold on Eastern thought. It is a view to which Western thought also has returned from time to time; but in general Western thought starts rather from the multiplicity of existing things, and makes only very tentative efforts to apprehend the central unity. Among the Greeks the earliest attempts to frame a theory of the unity of the cosmos took the form of a somewhat crude hylozoism, such as that of Thales. Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced conceptions more akin to those of the East; but, if so, they became gradually modified among his followers through the influence of the more materialistic ways of thinking that were current around them, and eventually through the growing interest in mathematico-conceptions. In the end their speculative doctrine became largely in a barren formalism and a rather fantastic play with numerical analogies. The early representatives of the Elatic school were perhaps more faithful to the conception of the unity of the cosmos; but in the poems of Parmenides it is difficult to distinguish what is to be taken literally from what is only metaphorical. He sometimes seems to deny altogether the reality of multiplicity and change; but perhaps he meant only that the cosmos as a whole has to be thought of as one and unchanging, though change and multiplicity are contained within it. In any case, a view of this kind would have been very difficult to set forth clearly with such technical language as he had at his disposal; and it is probable that his views were not well understood by his followers. Anaxagoras recognized very definitely the essential unity of the cosmos and connected it with mind or reason; but he does not draw any clear distinction between mind and matter, and, in attempting to contrast the order that he finds in the pre-existing disordered, he makes use of an antithesis which is as difficult to justify as that between the real and the unreal.1 It is with the philosophy of Plato that we first come upon a really coherent attempt to set forth a conception of the cosmos; and, in many respects, it may be doubted whether that attempt has ever been surpassed. His main conception is that of the Good as the principle of order; and he combines this with the recognition of a number of subordinate principles, all regarded as universal types in accordance with which the particular objects of our experience are formed. This view was made possible by the Aristotelian conception of a hierarchy of forms leading up to the perfect intelligence; but, on the whole, Aristotle's main interest lay rather in the establishment of special sciences on the basis of this conception of fundamental forms. Plotinus, at a considerably later time, working largely under the influence of Oriental sources, but helped by the Platonic doctrines, succeeded more fully than any one else in ancient times in arriving at a conception of a cosmic system unfolding itself by a process from unity to multiplicity and returning into unity again; but his views are difficult to disentangle, and to appeal to a mystical intuition rather than to a clearly reasoned doctrine.

In more modern times the system of Spinoza is the first attempt at a thorough constructive theory of the cosmos. In his emphasis on the unity of the whole he recalls Parmenides. The fact that Parmenides described it as finite, while Spinoza insisted on its infinity, is perhaps a somewhat superficial difference; for they probably understood the term 'infinity' in different senses. More significant is Spinoza's antithesis, derived from the Cartesian philosophy, between the unity of the spatial world and that of the world of thought, and his attempt to represent these two forms of unity as essentially identical. This results in a quasi-mathematical conception of the universe, and makes it appear as what James calls a block universe.2 He aimed at removing this defect by his conception of monads, which has served as the basis for subsequent theories of spiritualistic Pluralism. Yet he combines the conception of the cosmos as complete and independent of the monads with the recognition that they are parts of a world-order, the nature of which is definitely 3 The meaninglessness of any conception of a world-order, such as Spinoza's conception, appears to start, is well brought out in Bergson's Creative Evolution, Eng. tr., London, 1911.

1 Kant's view of its finitude is mainly based on the difficulties which he brings out in his 'antinomies.' The solution of these is one of the main problems of constructive metaphysics; but the attempt to set forth a larger and difficult to be discussed because Hegel's dialectic is the most elaborate attempt to deal with such difficulties. Attempts have also been made by H. Bergson, K. Russell, and others.

2 The philosophical conception of the continuity of spiritual being was obviously to be distinguished from the older forms of the doctrine of reincarnation; but this is a subject that can only be touched on here.

3 The mention of modern philosophy is for the sake of immediate historical connection only; but the reader of modern philosophy will find the subject best brought out by J. Margaret, Some Doxsts of Religion, London, 1890, and B. Bosanquet, The Value and Destiny of the Individual.
determined, and which is selected as the best from an infinite number of possible world-orders. How possibility is to be distinguished from actuality is one of the most difficult problems that are raised by his philosophy 1 but, on the whole, it must be confessed that his philosophy in general, notwithstanding its great ingenuity, is much more remarkable for the number of problems that it suggests than for the conviction for character of the solutions that are proposed. His attempt was followed by a great deal of critical work, especially that done by Hume and Kant; and the constructions that followed on this critical work are deserving of more careful attention.

The most important is that of Hegel, and it is also one of the most difficult to interpret. What can be said with confidence is that, by means of a more definite interpretation of the Platonic dialectic, he made a very thoroughgoing attempt to arrange all the fundamental concepts involved in thinking about the world in a definite order from the simplest to the most complex. By this means he sought to show that a certain conception of spiritual unity is the most comprehensive of all conceptions, and the only one by means of which a definite and coherent doctrine can be obtained. He then proceeds to interpret the non-human world ('nature') and the world of human life ('spirit') as an order of growth through which the spirit or unity of the whole is gradually unfolded. It is generally recognized that a considerable part of the working out of his dialectic carries conviction, but that there are several places in which the movement is difficult to follow. The treatment of the non-human life is generally recognized as being highly instructive, while the interpretation of 'nature' is much more open to criticism. No subsequent writer, however, has succeeded in making a substantial improvement on the general view of the cosmos that Hegel has presented.

Most of those who have made attempts at definitely constructive work are chiefly distinguished from Hegel by the more tentative character of their doctrine. They seem to provide, at most, only the disjecta membra of a more complete system. Some of them may also be criticized on a subjective conception of knowledge, in a few cases approaching even to the point of view of Berkeley. But into the details of their work we cannot here enter.

It may seem disappointing, after so many centuries of more or less continuous philosophic endeavour, that it should not be possible to refer more definitely to results that are generally accepted as conclusive. But it is hardly surprising that the interpretation of the whole should present more difficulty than that of some special parts. It is probably necessary that we should have a fairly thorough appreciation of the kinds of order that are contained in the parts before we can have any definite conception of the order that is involved in the whole. By the help of mathematics we are getting a more and more thorough insight into the relations that are involved in the orders of number and space. The Platonic conceptions of God have been made more definite by modern discussions of orders of valuation. Physical science is helping us to interpret the causal order with more and more definiteness. Such dialectical discussions are those of Bradley, and such attempts to determine the various kinds of objects as those that are made by Meinong, may be expected to throw fresh light on the most fundamental concepts, and thus supply new instruments for the reinterpretation of the whole. But probably our interpretation must always remain, to some extent, tentative.

3. Bearings of metaphysics on other subjects.—It would be a great mistake to suppose that the value of metaphysical speculation is to be measured exclusively by its contributory role in the coherent doctrine of the cosmos. Any one who thinks seriously about the ultimate problems of knowledge and reality is almost bound to make some attempt to think about the universe as a whole; but the discussion of these problems may be treated as an end in itself, and the value of such discussion is to be found largely in the light that it throws on other subjects that are commonly and conveniently regarded as distinct. The debt of the special sciences to metaphysical discussion could not easily be over-estimated. Almost all the special sciences, especially those that are concerned with human affairs, were first established on a firm foundation by Aristotle, who used in their establishment his fundamental conceptions of form and matter, potentiality and actuality, that he presents in general categories and causes. The atomic theory was mainly due to Leucippus and Democritus, working on the foundations that had been laid by the Eleatics. Mathematical physics, and astronomy owed much of its growth to the Ptolemaic systems, to the metaphysical analyses of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Kant. Some of the most important ideas of modern biology were anticipated by the early hypotheses. The foundations of almost every department of knowledge and action can be traced to metaphysical analysis. This tends to be forgotten owing to the fact that, once the general principles have been established, they are incorporated in the body of the special sciences and arts and habits of life, and the work of clearing up the fundamental principles is largely ignored; just as, in our more ordinary life, we are sometimes apt to forget the labours of those by whom the means of living are provided. Hence it may be worth while to make some reference here to the fundamental conceptions that are to be involved in several of the most important subjects.

(a) Psychology.—The fundamental aim of psychology appears to be that of studying the growth of the mind and the laws of its development. More or less continuous philosophic effort, strange to say this in view of some recent attempts to produce a 'psychology without cognition,' which does not appear to differ very markedly from other forms of psychology. But in general the results of any subject, like those of a plant, may often with advantage be kept out of view. We may have 'psychology without a soul,' because we can take the soul for granted; and it is certainly not the business of psychology to consider the soul except as cognizing or cognized. We may even have 'psychology without cognition,' just because it is entirely concerned with that, and consequently need not single out one of the special things with which it has to deal. So we may study wealth without welfare, though apart from welfare wealth would have no meaning. Naturally, in studying psychology, it is the means of apprehension, rather than the fact of apprehension, that chiefly call for attention. But, whether we are considering sense-data or objects of perception or feeling or desire or action, or states of special order, that is, general questions of the primary question for psychology is, What is it that we apprehend? That there are very many modes of apprehension seems clear, but they are all forms of cognition. The recognition of this ought to guard us against any attempt to divide
up our conscious life into separate faculties, though it leaves us free to recognize many distinctions and makes it necessary with physiology the conception of infinity. On this point reference may be made to the art. INFINITY.

(b) Logic.—The fundamental conception of logic appears to be that of implication. It sets itself to consider the conditions under which one bit of knowledge may be taken to imply another. In order to discover this, it is necessary to determine the precise significance of the knowledge from which we start. Hence the importance of definition and of what are termed the ‘laws of thought,’ the aim of which is to ensure fixity of meaning. Originally, if A fluctuated in meaning, its implications could not be determined. Formal logic is concerned simply with the attempt to tie down meanings and to discover what they imply. In many cases, the notion of logic in the chief instrument for the discovery of implications. Hume did much to clear up the general significance of causation by doing away with the obscure conception of efficiency and substituting that of a definite order of sequence. Kant urged that the sequence is essentially logical rather than temporal, and that the general principle of implication—if A, then B—has to be accepted as expressing a necessary order among phenomena. More recent discussions have given still more definiteness to the conception.1 The dialectic of Hegel is another way in which implications can be developed. According to this, every conception implies its opposite. The value of these methods cannot be discussed here; but it seems clear that the general significance of implication is one of those ultimate problems that concern metaphysics.

(c) Mathematics.—The mathematical sciences are closely connected with formal logic. As soon as the general characters of the orders of number and space have appeared, and the nature of their implications requires no extrinsic considerations. The relations contained in these orders are, however, more complex than the relations of a subject and a predicate, or of an individual to a class. But there are many orders from which implications can be directly drawn—e.g., the order of time and that of value. Hence it seems possible to regard mathematics as one of several ways in which the general principle of direct or formal implication can be developed. It may be well to notice one caution that is suggested by metaphysical reflection with regard to the application of mathematics. The conclusions reached by the study of the two orders of number and space are so precise and convincing, and some of them can be so readily applied to spatial and temporal objects, that there is a considerable temptation to regard all of them as being directly applicable to such objects. Such an assumption does not appear to be legitimate. It may be doubted, e.g., whether some of the speculations with regard to possible dimensions of space, in excess of three, have any direct application to existing objects. A similar caution is necessary with regard to the conception of infinity. Hence psychology is best studied genetically; but it is important to guard against the misconception that, in studying the order of growth in our cognition, we are either examining objects or anticipating for them special modes or giving an account of the genesis of the objects that are cognized. The order of the growth of cognition is one thing; other things have order. There are perhaps the chief ways in which the consideration of the fundamental problem of psychology may help to guard us against misconceptions in its study.

(d) The natural sciences.—The natural sciences have nearly entered a new era in the way of metaphysical construction. This is due chiefly to the apparent lack of definite order in what are sometimes called the ‘brute facts’ of the natural world. Newton has not been able to apply the classical dance. For Plato also, and for many others, it has tended to appear as a falling off from the unity and intelligibility that are postulated by the conception of a complete cosmos. The objects of nature seem to differ in kind and no continuity in the ordering of kinds is readily discoverable. This applies to the objects of sense as well as to the objects of perception. There seems to be a gap fixed between colours, sounds, smells, pains, etc., as well as between mechanical systems, chemical combinations, and organic bodies. Hence it has been sought to bridge these gaps by teleological conceptions—i.e., by the view that differences of kind are to be interpreted by reference to the conception of value, as in some way required for the constitution of the ‘best’ objects. It appears, however, that the notion of value is not sufficiently definite to apply in any direct way in the scientific study of natural objects. Apart from this, the chief forms of order that are available are those of time and space, extensive and intensive magnitude, causation, and the general law of continuity in the quantity of what is called energy (a conception that is perhaps still in need of more precise determination). No doubt the doctrine of evolution supplies, to some extent, another principle of order; but it is erroneous to suppose that the earlier stages in this order can be defined, in the way of applying the later. Epigenesis, or, as Bergson has called it, ‘creative evolution,’ has to be, in some form, recognized—i.e., the doctrine that what comes later is distinct in kind from what comes earlier. It does not follow from this, however, that there is not a definite and intelligible order. But there are still fundamental problems in the study of nature for which metaphysics can as yet offer no very trustworthy method of working out. We have at least the suggestion that a solution might be found in the conception of value. Evolution, in particular, is very naturally thought of as a progress, though a somewhat discontinuous one, towards what is intrinsically better.

(e) Aesthetics.—In aesthetic at least the conception of value becomes prominent; and its legitimacy within this sphere, where it is applied very largely to objects that can be perceived or imagined, is hardly open to dispute. It is true that sometimes what is described as beautiful may have little claim to be regarded as more than pleasant, and even pleasant only to certain individuals. In this case the valuation is highly subjective, and may hardly deserve to be described as a definite valuation at all. But in the higher forms of art at least an effort is being made to produce something that has intrinsic value; and in some cases it is difficult to resist the conviction that something that is intrinsically valuable—something that may properly be described as ‘a joy for ever’—has actually been secured. But the science of aesthetics is still largely in the making.

1 Cf., e.g., what is said by Aristotle in Met. xii. 10, where the lack of order in nature is likened to the life of a slave to whom, on account of his servitude, a certain religious conception of the Fall appears to be closely connected with this. See H. E. Chamberlain, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, London, 1909, ii, 54.
(f) Ethics.—It is in ethics rather than in aesthetics that the conception of intrinsic value comes definitely into prominence. Ethical writers may differ in their views of what is intrinsically good and bad; whether it is the good will or pleasure or some form of perfection or completeness of self-conscious life—but almost all recognize that in the moral life and the moral act a third thing is involved, a thing that is intrinsically good, and in the end, what is intrinsically best. Yet it is difficult to make the conception of such an ultimate good pervasive; it is a thread of consciousness which is involved in the validity. It must be confessed that we seem to begin with valuations that have little conscious ground. Our primitive likings appear to be based on organic needs; and it is only gradually that we are led to regard them as means to ends that have a truer and more lasting value. We begin with organic impulses, and advance through the pleasant to the beautiful and good. Hence the moral life is still, on the whole, as it was in the time of Socrates, a struggle towards a good that is very imperfectly apprehended, and sometimes even not very consciously pursued. It tends to be guided by custom, convention, primitive law, and generally recognized opinions rather than by any clear apprehension of a good that can be either defined or attained. Yet, in the ethical science, such a conception, and the inverse of it, are sometimes developed to a discussion of a kind that may properly be called metaphysical. The discussion of its attainability seems even to involve a general theory of the cosmos.

Apart from the fundamental conception of intrinsic value, the most important problem that concerns ethics is that of freedom. This is closely connected with the conception of value and also with that of causation. It is difficult whether any definite meaning can be given to moral freedom except that which may be expressed by saying that choice has a real place in the chain of causes; and choice can be interpreted only as a mode of valuation. It is essentially preferential, i.e. the regarding of one thing as essentially more valuable than another. Thus the problems of value and causation are those that chiefly connect ethics with metaphysics.

Ethical valuations have important bearings on economics and politics; but these cannot be considered here. Nor can we attempt to appraise the whole of what is described by Nietzsche as the 'transvaluation of all values' (Ümouerung aller Werte).

(g) Religion.—A chief element in the higher forms of religion consists in a certain intensification of the moral consciousness by its more definite concentration on the conception of intrinsic value—as in such sayings as 'What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' (Mk 8:36). This intensification is generally combined with the conviction that the object of ultimate valuation is real and attainable. A conviction of this kind is sometimes based on a definite metaphysical doctrine. At other times it is based rather on some form of intuition or of revelation, or on the authority of some great teacher, or stated by the force of moral principle itself.

The founders of religions and their most influential prophets have generally connected their teaching with some doctrines of a more or less explicit metaphysical character. Buddhism, which is perhaps the most purely ethical form of religion that has ever had an extensive influence, seems to be rather intimately connected with those Indian forms of philosophy that have their origin in the Upaniṣads. It conceives of what has ultimate value as the realization of the higher self, to be achieved by the control of the lower, and especially by the suppression of the lower forms of desire—a process which is supposed to be, in general, attainable only through a cycle of rebirths.

The doctrine of the Platonic and the Pythagorean, largely religious, had a somewhat similar character; and the influence of Plato, so far as it can be described as religious, tends, on the whole, in the same direction, to realize some thing that is intrinsically good, and in the end, what is intrinsically definite. Christianity was perhaps in its origin less definitely metaphysical; but it has been to a large extent interpreted, in the course of its historical development, by means of Platonic and more or less kindred conceptions, and in some of its more recent phases is hardly distinguishable from the more esoteric forms of Buddhism. The relations have been thus expressed by Holmes:

Plato reasoned about God. Buddha kept silence about him. Christ made him the theme of his poetry. ... As a speculative thinker he does not compete with Buddha. But as a source of spiritual life, 'there is no rival.' (Creed of Buddha, p. 200.)

The gospel of love is the most inspiring, because it implies, when its meaning is fully developed, that everything has value—a more thorough optimism than anything that is involved in the Platonic Good or the Buddhist Nirvana (whatever the exact interpretation of that may be). It is sometimes urged that metaphysical and religious views of the moral ideal, by representing the attainment of the moral ideal as involved in the nature of things, have a certain tendency to weaken the moral motive, by making it appear that individual effort is unnecessary. No doubt some metaphysical systems have claimed to define the good and evil; and the same may be said of some forms of religion. But, on the whole, none of the deeper forms either of metaphysical construction or of religious insight has represented the ideal as attainable in any other way than through the individual choice of what is best.

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is so vast that only a selection can be made. A. E. Taylor, Elements of Metaphysics, London, 1903, gives a good general survey. F. H. Bradley, Appearance and Reality, do. 1908, supplies the most remarkable and recent attempts at metaphysico-construction. L. J. Walker, Theories of Knowledge, do. 1910, should be consulted. On the special subject of error, the essay by G. F. Stout in Personal Idealism, do. 1905, is very valuable; and it should be supplemented by reference to B. A. W. Russell, Philosophical Essays, do. 1910, and F. H. Bradley, Essays on Truth and Reality, Oxford, 1914. A. Meinong's views about Gegenstandstheorie may be found in his Abhandlungen zur Gegenstandstheorie und Psychologische, Leipzig, 1904, and his Gesammelte Abhandlungen, do. 1913. His important book Über Annahmen, do. 1910, throws much light on these matters. On the various attempts at metaphysical construction the histories of philosophy must be referred. Of more recent date, on the History of Ethical Theories and Works of the Greek Philosophers, Glasgow, 1914, and R. Adamson, The Development of Modern Philosophy, Edinburgh, 1913, should be specially consulted. On the various kinds of the metaphysics of evolution, S. Schur, Les grâdas filosofes, Paris, 1913, and A. J. B. Chester, Essays in Logic and the Philosophy of Religion, London, 1912, contain much interesting, though perhaps some of his statements are too conjectural and lack evidence. A. Drews, Platon, Jena, 1913, is a valuable book on a philosopher who is too little known. G. F. Stout, Analytical Psychology, London, 1900, indicates the most fundamental problems in that subject. On formal logic J. N. Keynes, Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic, do. 1908, and F. C. S. Schiller, Formal Logic, do. 1912, may be consulted. On the foundations of mathematics, B. Croce, What is a Science? translates his famous book by the title of What is a Science? translated into English, London, 1919, gives perhaps the most searching examination of the Hegelian method. B. A. W. Russell, Principles of Mathematics, Cambridge, 1903, should certainly be consulted. The Principia Mathematica, London, 1913, by the same writer, together with A. N. Whitehead, may be referred to as showing the way in which the fundamental foundations of mathematics have been worked out. J. Ward, Naturalism and Agnosticism, do. 1913, discusses the foundations of mathematics. J. H. V. E. Ostwald, Vorlesungen über NaturpH. Leipzig, 1905,
may also be especially referred to. B. Cross, *Aesthetica as Science of Supplementary Sense Perception* and *The Terms of Ethical* (Eng. tr., Oxford, 1909), is particularly the most instructive of recent works on the subject. His treatment of the theory of ethics is the most defensible of the art. Evans (by J. H. Muirhead). The conceptions of value and freedom are well discussed by C. E. Moore, in his *Ethics*, Oxford, 1903. The philosophical significance of the conception of value is brought out with great wealth of illustration by Brough, *The Term* (ibid.), 1912, and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual* (Gifford Lectures, 1912), 1913. A. Meimong, *Psychologisch-ethische Universaltat*, Berlin, 1896; and C. Ehrenfel's, *System der Wettbewerbslehre*, Leipzig, 1897-98, are also important. Descartes's ideas of empiricism and rationalism are shown the metaphysical foundations of religion. Perhaps E. Caird, *The World and the Individual*, London and New York, 1900-01, is of especial interest, and J. Ward, *The Range of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911, are the most noteworthy, in addition to those already mentioned. H. Hollding's emphasis on 'the conservation of values' as the fundamental aspect of religion in his *Philosophy of Religion*, London, 1906, has also a very special interest; and so has the characteristic of 'the free man's worship' in B. Russell's *Philosophical Essays*. The general views expressed in this art. are further developed in the art. Erasistracy and Empi- rism, in the writer's articles in Mind, new ser., xxii. (1913), 'A Sketch of a Philosophy of Order', and xxiii. (1914), 'The Meaning of Reality', and *A Manual of Ethics*, London, 1915, esp. bk. ii. ch. vi. Reference may also be made to art. Existence and Epoch and Truth.

J. S. Mackenzie.

**METEMPSYCHOSIS.**—See *Transmigration*.

**METEORS, METEORIC STONES.**—See Prodigies and Portents.

**METHOD** (Logical).—Besides the ideals proper to the concept, the judgment, and inference, there are certain secondary ideals for thought in general. The logical ideals are no way comparable with that in which, according to the etics of Butler, the 'adaptations of human nature to virtue' supplement the 'eternal fitnesses of being and thought and being' (Clair). The secondary ideals should be stated with definite reference to the order and process of thinking, whereas the primary ideals are descriptions of truth in general.

A wide licence has been taken by logical writers in articulating method, methodology, and applied logic; and it is here proposed tentatively to name as secondary ideals systematization, reform, and development. The term 'systematization' must be such as to approach reality in the subtility of its constituents and the complexity of their interconnexion; to reconstitute concepts, judgments, and inferences, in correspondence with it; and to realize the mutual support that these give to each other, as dealing with the same cosmic.

Method emerged from an outward analytic and dialectic of Aristotelian origin, and won a place in modern logical theory, chiefly through the use of the topic made by Descartes in introducing his reformation of philosophy, and through the canonic of empirical science introduced by Bacon; and Kant's subsequent definition of it was in fair accordance with the Cartesian tradition:

> Just as the doctrine of elements in logic has for its aim the conception of the diversity of knowledge, so is the object . . . so, general methodology, as the second part of logic, ought to treat, in contrast with it, the form of science in general, or the way to evolve science from a diversity of knowledge' (Logik, § 90).

An even more explicit reference to the course of our thinking is desirable, because only in some relation to ordered sequence can the ideals of concept, judgment, and inference become a personal discipline, and give not a mere consciousness of 'validity' or of judgment of our natural 'sense of method' (cf. J. Brough, *The Study of Mental Science*, London, 1903, p. 5ff.). The sense of method is an estimate of the extent to which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their part.

1. Systematization. The progressive impulse of thinking is to make a double approach to reality, by analysis and by synthesis. The impulse has been recognized in various logical contexts; in Aristotle's distinction between reality or essence and problems of fact or of existence; in Descartes's rule of method to divide the difficulties of an investigation, and his rule to conduct our thoughts in the order of simple to complex; in Newton's requirement that natural philosophy should proceed from compounds to ingredients, from motions to forces, and, in general, from effects to causes, before explaining phenomena by causes as principles. The impulse follows, as it were, an indefinably receding horizon. There is neither simplicity nor complexity that is final, whether in the world of possible perceptions or in the extensions which scientific imagination may make into the imperceptible.

> *Scientists have tried to find it* (the 'simple fact') *in the two extremes, in the incredibly great and in the infinitely small*. *The astronomer in distances so great as to reduce a star to a point, the physicist in the atom, the biologist in the cell* (H. Feinseck, *Science and Method*, Eng. tr., London, 1914, p. 19).

Even simplicities so laboured as these are provisional, if only because the structure of systematic science based on them is provisional.

> *In the . . . advance of science an uninterrupted, but progressive series of mental constructions . . . gives us an approximate idea of the inter connexion of the homogeneous material of the actual world* (H. Lobe, *Mcgnaudn*, Eng. tr., London, 1885, bk. ii. ch. iv. § 4 (l. 26)).

The perception of the 'issues' of thinking will lead to the actualization of the primary ideals of concept, judgment, and inference, but does not in itself commit our whole nature, as they do, to expectation, submission, and reaction. Its most immediate end is reform within the informational content.

2. Reform.—Analysis and synthesis provide for structural revision and reconstitution of such informational contents as have previously been available for actualizing the primary ideals.

> *Only inasmuch as we are set free from the accidental associations of ideas formed through single perceptions, by a happy variety of observations and a steady attention to their distinctions and resemblances do we gradually become cognizant of the more general and essential connections,* and our conception of things ever more and more adequately *shows the necessary pre-suppositions of the understanding* ('to hold good in the heterogeneous materials of the actual world' (H. Lobe, *Mcgnaudn*, Eng. tr., London, 1885, bk. ii. ch. iv. § 4 (l. 26)).

The perceptions of the 'issues' are 'already permeated with the results of sifting critical energy of mind,' but the spirit of reform, more expressly than that of systematization, claims to pass by any warnings from ancient realism as to the sanctity of universals and equally by those of our modern pure logic as to identities, necessities, and systematic coherencies. Its claim is among the inevitable paradoxes of permanence and change.

(a) Individualisation.—Even the unity of the individual, of 'that which is neither said of any subject nor contained in any subject' (Aristotle), 'the "I" without anything added' (Oecum), 'the point in the tissue of reality where it accepts the predicate' (Bosanquet), may be newly isolated and identified. This unity is more directly imposed in perception and is more firmly sustained by social reference and consent than the conceptual, yet there still continues scientific controversy on the more optional identities, such as independent organs or organisms in botanical or zoological classification; and even as to whether units are possible at all within the flow of psychic life, or whether a distinction of persons should be made when consciousness has become pathologically discontinuous.

(b) Classification.—The special store of concepts embodied in the language of a people or in technical
terminology may be seen in course of reform, as needs and circumstances without methodological analysis_meth.
METHODISM.—1. HISTORY AND POLITY.—In this article we shall confine ourselves to a description of the leading features of the Methodism which is connected with the name of John Wesley. The Methodism within the Church of England which resulted in the rise of the British Methodism is not within our province (see EVANGELICALISM).

1. The rise of Methodism.—According to Wesley, the first rise of Methodism was in Oxford, in November 1729; the second, in Savannah, Georgia, in April 1733; and the third, in London, on 1st May 1738. We pass over the Methodism that found expression in the 'Holy Club' at Oxford, and in the 'Society' formed by Wesley in Savannah, and strike the path which leads to the origin of Methodism as an existing organization. The date, 1st May 1738, is significant. Wesley had returned to England, having learned many bitter lessons in Georgia. By his contact with the Moravians he had been enlightened and disheartened concerning his religious experience. He had learned that, although he had 'followed after the law of righteousness,' he had not attained to it. His disappointment at discovering that he had been pursuing a wrong path was intense. The Moravians explained his failure by showing him that he had not sought righteousness 'by faith, but as it were by works.' This left the unanswerable question, What is the faith that leads to salvation? Waiting in London for a solution of the problem that baffled him, he assisted in forming one of the Religious Societies so numerous at the time. His instinct for ‘fellowship’ was one of the dominant forces of his life, and explains much that happened in his career. The Empress's Society which he joined met in the house of James Hutton. It owed much of its character to the advice of Peter Bohler, a Moravian to whom Wesley was unspeakably indebted for spiritual guidance. The Society was founded on 1st May 1738. Rules were drawn up for its management, and, as was the case in Savannah, the members of the Society who were intent on cultivating a deeper religious life were divided into smaller companies called 'bands.' The Society grew, and its meeting-place was changed to a room in Fetter Lane. At first the Society, like the other Religious Societies, was in connexion with the Church of England; but ultimately it was dominated by Moravian influences, and this connexion was broken.

2. Wesley's spiritual crisis.—Methodism, as it now exists, can be understood only by realizing the facts concerning the progress of Wesley's religious experience. By much conversation, by close study of the NT, by prayer 'without ceasing,' he advanced from an intellectual understanding of the meaning of 'saving faith' to the understanding that comes through experience. While he was in the stage of an ever-brightening intellectual apprehension, he preached the doctrine of 'salvation by faith' in many of the London churches. He taught it as it stands in the Hymnals; but it was resisted by clergymen and their congregations, and the churches were closed against him. In this way a policy of exclusion from the churches was commenced, which, after a time, profoundly affected Wesley's relation to the Church of England.

During this preliminary stage, Wesley was oppressed with a 'burden' which was to him 'intolerable' — the burden of unpardonable sin. That load was lifted on 24th May 1738, in a 'room' in Aldersgate Street, the meeting-place of one of the Religious Societies.

'If I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance given me, then I took that load and laid it at my own, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death'(Journal, l. 470).

In that decisive hour he entered into an experience, new so far as he was concerned, but an old experience notable among Christians, especially among many Churchmen and Dissenters. It is an extraordinary fact, however, that it had become unintelligible to the mass of English Christians. Wesley's 'conversion' filled him with the utmost joy of the evangelist. He would gladly have borne his testimony in the churches, but he was compelled to wait until a wider sphere opened before him.

3. Beginning of field-preaching.—In April 1739 Wesley found his opportunity, and his evangelistic work. George Whitefield, a member of the Oxford 'Holy Club,' had entered into the experience of 'conscious salvation' before Wesley, and had made a deep impression in Bristol by the preaching of the 'new doctrines.' Being excluded from the churches, he went into the open air, and addressed great crowds of people in Bristol and at Kingwood. Having to leave England for America, he wrote to Wesley asking him to take his place; Wesley consented, and on 2nd April 1739 he commenced his famous campaign of 'field-preaching.' In addition to preaching in Bristol and to the Kingwood colliees, he got into close touch with the Religious Societies in the city. His genius for administrative reform found scope in them. He divided them into 'bands.' The Societies in Bristol and at Kingwood were so increased that it became necessary to build a 'room' for their accommodation. A site was secured near the Horsefair, and the 'room' was opened on 3rd June 1739. Afterwards Wesley went to London to assist in composing disputes which had arisen in the Fetter Lane Society. He again met Whitefield, who, being detained in England, had spent his time in London, where they met in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and elsewhere. Wesley joined him in his field-preaching. On 11th November 1739 he held a service amid the ruins of the King's Foundery of cannon, a building near Moorfields, which had been shattered by an explosion. Wesley acquired the site and built a 'room' upon it, which became famous in Methodist history. Some who indulge in regrets concerning the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England point to the building of these 'Rooms' as 'the parting of the ways'; Methodists maintain that it was the closing of the local churches that had represented the new movement within the established Church. By that time Wesley was still a member of the Fetter Lane Religious Society, Wesley formed a Society of a different type at the Foundery. It was started, probably, in the latter end of the year 1739, and is looked upon as the Mother Society of Methodism. In July 1740 Wesley was practically excluded from the Fetter Lane Society. Those who left with him joined the Society at the Foundery. By that time the Societies, under the special direction of John and Charles Wesley, existed in London, Bristol, and Kingwood. In 1742 Newcastle-upon-Tyne was visited by Charles Wesley, who formed a Society there on the new pattern. These Societies are called by John Wesley, in the 'Rules' which he drew up for them and published in 1743, 'The United Societies,' and they were the nucleus of the Methodist Church. In the 'Rules' a Society is described as 'a company of men, having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.' In these new organizations the 'band' system was a prominent feature; but, in addition, the Societies were divided into 'rooms,' each containing about 12 persons who were placed under the care of a 'leader,' not only for their
own spiritual edification, but also that Wesley might be assisted in his pastoral supervision. At first the leaders visited the members at their houses; but, that method proving inconvenient, the members were expected to meet their leader at some fixed place, week by week. The 'Rules' mentioned above are still, with slight alterations, the 'rules' preached with. His 'particulars rules,' passed in after years, being contained in the disciplinary 'codes' of the different Methodist churches. In the classes contributions, usually a penny a week, were made for the poor. At a later date these contributions were given for the support of the ministry, a special poor-fund being raised from other sources. Stewards were appointed to manage matters of finance, and the leaders met the ministers and stewards of each Society once a week to pay in the moneys that they had received, and to give information concerning any member who was sick or might need special pastoral attention. Out of these arrangements the Leaders' Meeting arose, which became an integral part of the Methodist organization. The oversight of his Societies weighed heavily on Wesley's mind. He was satisfied with the order of his business; he was not content to gather together a miscellaneous crowd of people of whom he knew nothing. He supplemented the work of the leaders by visiting the members himself in their homes, and met them out of the classes for conversation on their religious experience. If satisfied, he gave them tickets in recognition of the fact that they were members of the Methodist Society.

7. Institution of the Lay-Clergy. — Those who have studied the constitution of the Religious Societies will note the allinies and divergences between them and the United Societies. One line of divergence was opened by divergences which Wesley deeply regretted. The Religious Societies were in close connexion with the Church of England, and many of their members were frequently ministers at the churches. Wesley would have gladly preserved this connexion and practice; but such a course was made impracticable by the conduct of the clergy. In some places they arranged among themselves to repel the Methodists from the Lord's Table. In Bristol, on 27th July 1740, Charles Wesley and a company of Kingswood Methodists were sent away from the sacrament in Temple Church. Charles Wesley, accordingly, sent resolutions to the Methodists in the school at Kingswood which had been built for the training of the colliers' children. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne a similar crisis arose. It is significant that in Newcastle the difficulty was aggravated by the fact that three of the dissenting ministers of the town agreed to exclude from the communion all who would not refrain from hearing the Methodists. The effect of these exclusions, and of Charles Wesley's action, was speedily seen. The Methodists were diverted into a path which gradually but decisively diverged from the Church of England.

6. Enlisting of lay-preachers. — Another line of divergence from the practices of the Religious Societies must also be noted. John Wesley's conversion made him an evangelist. He longed to proclaim the gospel not only to select companies but to the world. His heart responded to the counsel of Lady Huntingdon: 'Attempt nothing less than all mankind' ('Journal', ii. 48, 53). He received this advice and he followed it, if a man in his circumstances? His work taxed all his strength. Charles Wesley helped him, especially in the opening years of his mission, and a friendly clergyman gave him occasional assistance, but his task was a double task of the pastoral care of his Societies and the evangelization of the country was too great for a single man. But the way opened. He had great skill in discovering and using the lay-preachers. He was particularly fond of the men that worked with him, and he found himself at the head of an order of lay-preachers who shared with him the hardships and the successes of his work. In 1738 and 1739 laymen had been called upon to preach in local churches. Each brother preacher is usually considered to date from 1740. The importance of this step cannot be exaggerated. The lay-preachers were divided into 'itinerants,' 'half-itinerants,' and 'local preachers.' They first abandoned their business and gave themselves entirely to the wandering life of the evangelist, under Wesley's personal supervision. For that work, at the beginning, they got no pay; later on a small sum was given them; but many years elapsed before they were rescued from the pinch of poverty. Assisted by them, Wesley went out 'to reform the nation, particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land' ('Minutes of Conference', i. 446). Wesley's work as an evangelist, an educationalist, a philanthropist, a social reformer, and a pioneer in the nether world, was a national providence and the salvation of the nation must be passed over here. Some idea of the toils of himself, his preachers, and those who were associated with them in his Societies may be gathered from the fact that, when he died, in 1791, 36,028 preachers were engaged in the Methodist Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, in other parts of the British Dominions, and in the United States of America.

The Conference in Wesley's day was more than...
a consultative assembly. It took complete over-
sight of preachers and people. It kept an eye on
the moral character and doctrinal beliefs of the
preachers, and stationed them in their Circuits.
We shall accentuate only one part of its functions.
In 1765 Wesley ordered for the settlement of
chapels then called 'Preaching Houses,' published
first in 1763, a clause appears which con-
stitutes Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament
and his other treatises as the standard by
which trustees were to judge the orthodoxy of
the preachers appointed by the Conference.
We may also add that the rights of trustees were
strengthened by the clause in Wesley's Dead Poll
which provided that, with the exception of clergy
of the Church of England, the Conference might
not appoint a preacher to the same chapel for more
than three years successively.

8. Provision for the sacraments.—One other
point remains to be considered at this stage.
The question of the administration of the sacraments
to the Societies had to be settled. The bulk of
the Methodists would not go to the parish
churches for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,
and provision for its administration in their own
chapels was urgently desired. In November 1778
Wesley issued a letter specifying the London.
In that chapel the sacraments were admin-
istered as they had been in some of the other
Methodist chapels in London and the country.
Wesley was pressed to extend similar privileges
to the rest of his Societies. He said, however,
that, if he yielded, he would have to qualify and
appoint some of his lay-preachers to administer
the sacraments; and, in his opinion, such appoint-
ment necessitated ordination. Time and circum-
stances led him to a solution of the problem. In
1799 be had sent two of his lay-preachers to New
York to direct the work which had been begun
there by certain Methodist local preachers. The
work in America proved very successful, but the
War of Independence gave it a new complexion.
The Anglican clergy were scattered, and many of
the Methodists had been without the sacraments
for years. The Americans would have solved the
difficulty by ordaining a sufficient number of their
lay-preachers, but Francis Asbury, who had been
sent out as a preacher from England by Wesley,
did not ordain them. Nor did Wesley insist that
the conference should be consulted. Wesley had satisfied
himself that he, as a presbyter, had the power to
ordain other presbyters; but he hesitated to do so.
He thought the Church of England was not so
theologically advanced, and, after much thought, he appointed Dr. Thomas
Coke, a clergyman who acted with him, and Francis
Asbury as 'superintendents' in N. America, and
two other preachers as 'elders.' With the ex-
ception of Asbury, who was in America, these
preachers were set apart by Wesley, assisted by
other presbyters of the Church of England, by the
imposition of hands. In this way the American
difficulty was met, and the Methodist Episcopal
Churches, which now number their membership
by millions, entered on their remarkable career.
Wesley afterwards ordained preachers for Scot-
tand and for Foreign Mission stations. At last
he took a still more decisive step in this direc-
tion. In 1788 he ordained Alexander Mather
'deacon,' 'elder,' and 'superintendent,' and in 1789
he ordained Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin
'preachers,' empowering them to administer the
sacraments in England. He exhorted them to
maintain as close an association as possible with
the Established Church; but, when that associa-
tion was no longer practicable, they were by
order of the Conference to confer on other preachers the 'orders'
which they had received (see Proc. Wesleyan Hist.

9. Influence of Charles Wesley.—John Wesley
is justly considered as the founder of the Methodist
Church, and we have, in the main, dwelt on his
actions in describing the origin and development
of the United Societies. It would be unjus-
tifiable, however, to omit noticing the services
of his brother, Charles Wesley. During the
early days of the 'Revival' he was a daring and
successful evangelist, facing the violence of mobs
and rivaling his brother in the activities of the
wandering preacher's life. Later he settled down
in Bristol, and then in London, and his itinerant
work was restricted. But his influence as a hymn-
writer was strong, and it is still felt not only
in Methodism but throughout the Protestant
Churches. He died on 29th March 1788.

10. Events following Wesley's death.—John
Wesley died on 2nd March 1791. His death pro-
duced a dangerous crisis. Many thought that
the time had come when the Methodist Societies would
fall in pieces. Their stability had been secured,
in great part, by his firm and reasonable auto-
cracy. Was that autocracy to be exercised by a
successor? The answer was in the negative.
Then how was the supervision to be maintained
which he had exercised over preachers and people
who were forming the basis of the local church,
and the relations of the Conference? The Conference gave
the answer by dividing the kingdom into Districts,
each containing a small number of Societies, the
preachers in which, being formed into committees,
were answerable to the Conference for the main-
tenance of Methodist discipline. The functions
of these Committees were enlarged from time to
time, and chairmen, appointed by the Conference,
were placed over them. This arrangement has
been greatly developed in modern times. The
Committees have grown into District Synods,
which exercise great influence in the administration
of Methodism.

After Wesley's death the demand for the sacra-
ments became urgent. The party most favourable
to the Church of England was first in the field
and issued manifestos against the ordination by
the preachers. These provoked replies, and a
controversy on the subject was continued until
1785, when an arrangement was made between
the Conference and the representatives of the
Church. It was agreed that the Conference should
ordain the clergy in the 'Plan of Pacification,' led to the administra-
tion of the sacraments in all Methodist chapels.
As to ordination, it was decided that the reception
of a preacher was the right of the Conference.'The
Conference' should carry with it the right of ad-
ministration without ordination by imposition of
hands. In the case of Foreign Missionaries an
exception was made, and they were ordained as
the time of Wesley. In 1836 the Conference
determined that all its ministers should be ordained
by the imposition of hands.

11. The Plan of Pacification.—Another subject of
cardinal importance pressed for settlement. The
question had to be answered, Who shall possess
the predominant ruling power of Methodism? The
country, at the time of Wesley's death, was agi-
tated by the discussions which had accompanied
the American War of Independence and the French
Revolution. The doctrine of 'the sovereignty of
the people' fascinated many minds, and led to a
strong wish on the part of some to interpret
Methodism a democratic form of government. But
the most serious contest was between the claims of
the Conference and of the trustees of chapels. That
contest was settled, for the time being, by the
Plan of Pacification, and certain regulations
that were passed at the Leeds Conference of 1797.
In these documents we find the fundamental prin-
ciples which still govern the Mother Church of
Methodism. The pastoral power of the preachers was safeguarded by a limited giving to the Leaders' Meeting additional rights, as representing the Societies, while matters of finance were placed more completely under the control of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings in which laymen predominated. Thus, in 1795 and 1796, it was instituted that remarkable 'balance of power' which is a peculiarity of the system of Methodism. The settlement was almost universally approved. Only a minority of the whole 100,000, about 5000, persons who were desirous of a democratic form of government united themselves into a Society under the leadership of William Thom and Alexander Kilham, and became the Methodist New Connexion.

12. Connexional system of Wesleyan Methodism.—Speaking of Methodism in the present time, we may say that the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the mother church of the Methodists, has pursued its course along the lines laid down by John Wesley. The Connexional system is intact. The Circuits consist of the several Societies within their boundaries, the Districts are composed of the Circuits in their areas, and 'the Connexion' is the aggregate of all the Societies, Circuits, and Districts in those countries in which Methodism is established in association with the Conference. The Conference consists of the Denomination as a whole by the unifying power of the Conference. Every attempt to introduce the principle of 'Circuit independence' has been successfully resisted. It is impossible here to describe minutely the organization of the Wesleyan Methodism. It is the result not only of the work of Wesley, but of the continuance of his work, done in his spirit, for more than a hundred years since his death. We may briefly note some of the acts of the Conference since the Deed Poll was signed in 1784. The specific naming of the 100 preachers who composed the Conference produced excitement and ill-feeling, especially among preachers who were not nominated in the Deed. In 1791 the Conference, in accordance with Wesley's request conveyed in a letter, resolved that all preachers who were 'in full connection' should enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoyed. That resolution almost completely allayed the ill-feeling that had been excited.

13. The action and the constitution of the Conference.—The action of the Conference in 1786, however, is of still greater interest. Although no alteration can be made in the composition of the Conference created by Wesley's Deed Poll, save by process of civil law, it has been found possible to associate laymen, as well as ministers, with the 'Hundred.' The Conference, which assembles annually towards the end of July, now meets in two Sessions. Its representative Session is held first, and consists of 300 ministers and 300 laymen. The resolutions they pass are made valid by the confirming vote of the 'Legal Conference.' Some of the lay-representatives are chosen by the ministers and laymen present at the preceding Conference; but the greater number are elected by the separate vote of the laymen in the representative Sessions of the District Synods held in May. Those Sessions have been much enlarged, not only by the inclusion of many laymen who are members of District sub-Committees, but also by the addition of the representatives of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, which, in their turn, have been greatly enlarged through alterations made in the composition of the Leaders' Meetings. The most striking of the alterations in the Leaders' Meetings was the addition of 100 persons elected by the Society Meeting in each place to represent the members of the Society. The votes for the laymen and the duly qualified women chosen to attend the Conference represent a wide constituency, and a permanent element in the Representative Session of the Conference consisting, for instance, of members of the Hundred, there is also a permanent lay element. It is composed of the lay-treasurers of certain funds, along with 48 laymen elected by the votes of ministers and laymen present at the Conference. One-third of this number retire annually, and are not eligible for immediate re-election. In addition to it there will be nearly 60 members of the Hundred will be present, a quorum of 40 being necessary for the transaction of business, according to the Deed Poll. To these are added several ministerial officials, such as chairmen of Districts who are not members of the Hundred, 8 representatives of foreign missionaries, and others. The rest of the 300 ministers are chosen by the votes of the ministers in the Pastoral Session of each Synod in Great Britain, the number of ministerial and lay-representatives being governed by the principle of proportion of members of Society in the several Districts. The Representative Session of the Conference deals with all questions in which the expenditure of money is involved, and reviews the work done by the committees of ministers and laymen that have managed the affairs of the Connexion during the year. New legislation may also be proposed on subjects within the province of the Session, but such new legislation is not confirmed until it has been submitted to the Representative Sessions of the Districts for consideration and report.

At the close of the Representative Session the Pastoral Session is held. This consists of the 'Legal Hundred,' the ministers who are members of the Representative Session that year, and other ministers who have received the permission of their Synods to attend. When the scheme of lay-representation was adopted, it was agreed that all questions of doctrine, discipline, and the stationing of ministers should be reserved to the Pastoral Session, as also the management of the Book Room, the great publishing department of Methodism. The Pastoral Session exercises strict discipline over the ministers of the Connexion, and also considers all appeals in cases of discipline affecting members. The Circuit Quarterly Meetings have a right to memorialize the Conference, in both its sessions, on Connexional subjects, and to propose alterations in Methodist rules and regulations. When 'provisional legislation' is passed by the Conference in its Pastoral Session, that legislation has to be submitted for the consideration of the ministers of the Districts when assembled in the Pastoral Session of the Synods.

14. Home and Foreign Missions.—The work of Methodism has always been deemed of greater importance than its machinery. The wide-spread character of that work may be judged from the Minutes of Conference annually published. The work of the Home and the Foreign Missionary departments is worthy of special consideration. In recent years the evangelistic campaign has been quickened by the erection of large Mission Halls in many of the principal towns of England. The example of renewed evangelistic enterprise in Wesleyan Methodism has made a deep impression on the Churches of Great Britain and other countries. The Foreign Missionary work of Methodism dates from 1799. The work gradually increased. In 1785 appointments in the United States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Antigua appear in the Minutes of Session. In 1799 the Conference, Coke was the leading spirit of Methodist Foreign Missionary enterprise until his death in 1813. In that year the work became
more completely organized, and the present Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed.

In estimating the importance of the work done by that Society, it must be remembered that its operations are carried on in a field that is only a fragment of the area once occupied. Independent and affiliated Conferences formed in the United States, Canada, France, S. Africa, and Australia have taken over almost all the work which was begun by the British Conference in the several countries mentioned.

### I. CHURCHES OF THE EASTERN SECTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCHES</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members and probationers</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School officers</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wesleyan Methodist</td>
<td>3,005</td>
<td>24,530</td>
<td>664,958</td>
<td>15,542</td>
<td>9,459</td>
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<td>5. Wesleyan Reform Union</td>
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<td>179</td>
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<td>27,703</td>
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<td>7. French Methodists</td>
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<td>117,148</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>783</td>
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<td>27,932</td>
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<td>8. S. African Methodists</td>
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<td>4,797</td>
<td>156,000</td>
<td>6,504</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>23,085</td>
<td>215,170</td>
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<td>9. Australasian Methodists</td>
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<td>4,703</td>
<td>155,800</td>
<td>6,504</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>23,085</td>
<td>215,170</td>
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<td><strong>Total for Eastern Section, 1910</strong></td>
<td>7,104</td>
<td>60,048</td>
<td>1,358,880</td>
<td>32,959</td>
<td>21,546</td>
<td>275,576</td>
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### II. CHURCHES OF THE WESTERN SECTION.

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<th>CHURCHES</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members and probationers</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School officers</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1. Methodist Episcopal (South)</td>
<td>20,755</td>
<td>14,718</td>
<td>3,498,066</td>
<td>39,056</td>
<td>35,000</td>
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<td>3,078</td>
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<td>34,997</td>
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<td>4. African Methodist Episcopal</td>
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<td>5,600</td>
<td>5,605</td>
<td>39,310</td>
<td>210,000</td>
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<td>5. African Methodist Episcopal (Gion)</td>
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<td>6. Methodist Protestant</td>
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<td>2,123</td>
<td>37,632</td>
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<td>7. Coloured Methodist Episcopal</td>
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<td>8,077</td>
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<td>8. Free Methodist</td>
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<td>671</td>
<td>691</td>
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<td>10. Priscilla Methodist</td>
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<td>11. Union American Methodist Episcopal</td>
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<td>3,273</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>1,146</td>
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<td>15. New Congregational Methodist</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3,432</td>
<td>22,311</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Zen Union Apostolic (Coloured)</td>
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<td>279</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Independent Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reformed Methodist</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>1,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. British Methodist Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for Western Section, 1910</strong></td>
<td>45,614</td>
<td>30,073</td>
<td>7,408,736</td>
<td>64,584</td>
<td>63,149</td>
<td>275,576</td>
<td>2,211,074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—The returns for local preachers and for Sunday Schools are in some instances incomplete.

#### III. SUMMARY OF EASTERN AND WESTERN SECTIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members and probationers</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School officers</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Section</td>
<td>31,944</td>
<td>30,046</td>
<td>1,358,880</td>
<td>32,058</td>
<td>21,546</td>
<td>275,576</td>
<td>2,211,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Section</td>
<td>45,614</td>
<td>30,073</td>
<td>7,408,736</td>
<td>64,584</td>
<td>63,149</td>
<td>275,576</td>
<td>2,211,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>77,558</td>
<td>60,119</td>
<td>8,757,616</td>
<td>96,642</td>
<td>84,695</td>
<td>550,152</td>
<td>4,422,145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Statistics of world Methodism.—It is only at the decennial meetings of the Ecumenical Conference, when representatives of the Methodist Churches in both hemispheres meet, that an idea of the wide spread of influence of Methodism can be gained. Those Conferences were instituted in 1881, the latest being held in Toronto in 1911. The carefully compiled statistics presented to that Conference speak for themselves.

It was estimated that the members and adherents of the Methodist Churches, in 1910, numbered, in the Eastern Section, 6,704,471, and, in the Western Section, 25,934,076, making a total of 32,729,547.

The statistical tables show that there are many separate Methodist Churches in the world. It must, however, be understood that the divisions that have occurred have not been caused by doctrinal differences; in almost all cases they have arisen from varying opinions concerning ecclesiastical constitution and administration. In the Western Section the ‘colour question’ has had an influence on the number of churches.

There is one Church, bearing the Methodist name, which is not represented in the Ecumenical Conference—the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. Its history and organization should be studied in Williams’s valuable book (Welsh Calvinistic Methodism). The Church is closely connected in origin with Whitefield’s work in Wales. The doctrinal difference, indicated in its title, suggests a reason for its unique position among Methodist Churches.

16. Methodist Episcopcal Churches.—The success
of Methodism in the United States of America has been remarkable. We have mentioned some facts concerning its origin in 1769, and the action of Wesley in ordaining Coke as a Superintendent, and two other preachers as presbyters, in 1784. When Coke arrived in America, he ordained Francis Asbury as a Superintendent. Asbury's work and influence have left a deep mark on Methodism in the United States. Like Wesley, he was a man of high spiritual tone. He rivalled Wesley in evangelistic enterprise, and gathered around him men who possessed the courage and devotion of the pioneer preacher. The War of Independence had made the whole country the sphere of the most enterprising Evangelism. In settled towns, in clusters of huts, in lonely backwoods, the Methodist preacher became a familiar figure, as he preached and formed and visited his little Societies. The growth of the churches in the immense areas in which the pioneers worked necessitated the helpful supervision not only of the Superintendents but also of 'Presiding Elders,' who rode hither and thither, constantly giving inspiration and guidance to the scattered evangelists and churches. For a considerable time the work was carried on in close connection with the British Conference, and on lines similar to those followed in England. A Conference was held in the States in 1773, at which time there were 6 Circuitits, 10 preachers, and 160 members. From these small beginnings American Methodism has advanced to its present position.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) occupy the chief positions among the Methodist Churches of the United States. Three separate bodies, they were separated in 1844, in consequence of discussions which involved the question of slavery. We may refer to some of the constitutional arrangements of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The members of the Church are divided into local Societies, one or more of which constitute a 'pastoral charge.' A quarterly conference is organized in each 'pastoral charge.' The travelling preachers throughout the States are members of their several Annual Conferences, the sessions of which they are obliged to attend. In addition to the ministerial Annual Conferences, a General Conference is held every four years composed of delegates from all the Annual Conferences in the States. It consists of pastors and lay-delegates, the admission of the latter into the General Conference dating from 1872. The ministers are elected by the conferences, each of which is entitled to one delegate at least. The General Conference fixes the ratio of representation and the manner of election. Every four years a Lay Electoral Conference is constituted within the bounds of each Annual Conference for the purpose of voting on constitutional changes to be submitted to the General Conference, which is the supreme legislative assembly. The Lay Electoral Conference is composed of lay-members, one from each pastoral charge, chosen by the lay-members of each charge over twenty-one years of age, in such manner as the General Conference has determined. Each Lay Electoral Conference is entitled to elect as many lay-delegates to the General Conference as there are ministerial delegates from the Annual Conference. In the General Conference the 'General Superintendents,' as the bishops are called in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, preside in such order as they determine; but, if no General Superintendents are present, the General Conference is presided over by any of its other members to preside pro tempore. The presence of two-thirds of the whole number of delegates constitutes a quorum for the transaction of business. The General Conference elects by ballot as many General Superintendents as it may deem necessary from among the 'Travelling Elders,' as the former Presiding Elders are now called. The Conference has full power to make rules and regulations for the Church, under the limitations and restrictions laid down in the Discipline. The principal restrictions are that it cannot revoke, alter, or change the Articles of Religion, which were prepared by John Wesley, and which are still approved by the Methodists. In addition, it cannot change or alter any part or rule of government so as to do away with episcopacy or destroy the plan of General Superintendency. It is also unable to revoke or change the 'General Rules' of the Church. These 'Rules' are, with slight variations, the 'Rules of the Society of the People called Methodists,' as drawn up by John Wesley in 1743. As to the procedure of the General Conference, the Discipline shows that, in voting, the ministers and laymen vote together; but it is provided that a separate vote 'by orders' may be taken on any question which has taken place in the order of delegates present and voting. In all cases of separate voting the concurrence of the two orders is required for the adoption of the proposed measure or any amendment to the constitution, a vote of two-thirds of the General Conference is required. Such, in bare outline, is a sketch of some of the outstanding features of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as established by a study of the book of Doctrines and Discipline (1912). In J. H. Rigg's Comparative View of Church Organizations there is a chapter on American Episcopal Methodism which contains important information enabling the student to compare the constitution of the Mother Church of Great Britain with that of the Methodist Churches in the United States. For many years the wishes of fraternal delegates, representing the Conferences of Great Britain and Ireland and America, have served to strengthen the bond of union between the Methodists of the two continents. An American Methodist holds a conspicuous position among the Churches devoted to the work of Foreign Missions.

17. Early secessions.—We have mentioned the first important Methodist secession in England, taking place out of the Annual Conference which is now part of the United Methodist Church, it is not necessary to describe its original constitution. In 1810 a small Society, numbering 10 members, was formed by Hugh Bourne in Darwen, and in 1823 he founded a similar Society in Staffordshire, and became the germ of the Primitive Methodist Church. In 1815 a Society, consisting of 22 persons, was formed by William O'Bryan in Devonshire out of which arose the Bible Christian Church. The reasons for the institution of these two Societies were similar. In the former case Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, two earnest evangelists, were disregarded by the restrictions of the Connexion and formed a Church of their own. They sought and found a sphere in which they could have a larger freedom. They made no attempt to agitate the Church from which they were separated. They gathered their members out of the neglected classes, and displayed in their work much of the spirit of ancient Methodism. The same may be said of William O'Bryan, the founder of the Bible Christian Church. The constitution bears, in several points, a strong re-
seemance to that of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, but there is a marked difference in the composition of the Conference. H. B. Kendall, in *Principles of Primitive Methodist Church Principles and Polity* (London, 1913), says: 'The Primitive Methodist Polity provides that members shall be formed into Districts, Circuits, and Districts, that Societies shall have their Leaders' Meetings, and Circuits their Committee and Quarterly Meetings' (p. 63).

Next, it is to be composed of other persons not exceeding 4, whose appointment is to be made by a by-law of the Conference. These may be ministers or laymen, official or unofficial members. Lastly, the Conference is also composed of delegates, who have been elected thereto by their District Meetings, one-third of whom must be travelling preachers and two-thirds laymen, and no layman is to be appointed who is not a local preacher, or a class leader, or a Circuit stewards. After long consideration and much discussion it was decided by the Conference of 1876 that the number of the Conference and highest court should be determined by the number of members in the district, 3000 being made the unit for one minister and two laymen (p. 61 f.). It has been held that the Methodist polity is a 'modified Presbyterianism,' one evidence of the fact being that the Churches are jointly governed by ministers and lay-officials, and that all ministers are in theory equal, the Superintendent differing from his colleagues only in function and responsibility (p. 62). Up to the present the Primitive Methodists have not shown any strong desire for corporate union with other Methodist Churches, their Foreign Missionary work is confined to Africa.

19. United Methodist Church.—In 1827, 1835, and 1849 there were secessions from the Wesleyan Methodist Church resulting from various controversies concerning questions of government and administration. The first was occasioned by the introduction of an organ into one of the chapels in Leeds. In its course constitutional questions were raised touching the power of the Conference, which re-emerged at a later stage. In 1835 the creation of the Theological Institution for the training of candidates for the ministry roused strong opposition. The controversy was quickly silenced and nearly forgotten, and the controversy turned into an attack on the constitution of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The agitation was elaborately organized and vigorously conducted in all parts of the country, and brought about the secession of several thousands of members, who formed themselves into the Wesleyan Association. The Association held its first Annual Assembly in Manchester in 1836. The Leeds reformers of 1827 joined the new Church.

The largest of all the secessions from the Wesleyan Methodist Church took place in 1849. Its cause was the Conference's decision to hold the Conference in dealing with certain anonymous publications in which the personal character of ministers holding high official responsibility was attacked. The controversy soon involved the question of the constitution and, especially, of the power of the Conference. It is difficult to state the number of persons lost to the Wesleyan Methodist Church through this agitation. The decision of the Conference was paralysed for several years. When the strife subsided, it was found that the number of members in the Wesleyan Methodist Church was nearly 100,000 less than when the agitation began. The 'Reformers' of 1849–52 formed themselves into a distinct community, which, by union with the Methodist Association, became the United Methodist Free Churches.

In 1907 an Act was passed by Parliament authorizing the union of the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christians, and the United Methodist Free Churches, under the name of 'The United Methodist Church.' The constitution of the Church shows the usual indications of compromise; but it retains the strong marks of original Methodism. The Conference, which is composed of members and laymen, is held once a year. It includes the President and Secretary, the President-designate, 12 ministers and 12 laymen, who form, in a sense, a permanent nucleus, the Connexional officers, the representatives of District Meetings, and such representatives of Connexional Funds and Institutions as the last preceding Conference has determined. The whole number of the Conference, exclusive of the Guardian Representatives and Connexional officers, is about 500. The Conference appoints a General Connexional Committee which exercises a general oversight over the affairs of the United Methodist Church during the interval between Conferences. The authority of the Church Meeting, the Leaders' Meeting, and the Circuit Quarterly Meeting is, of course, to a considerable extent, independent. The United Methodist Church has certain rights which it can exercise in cases calling for its interference. The constitution of the United Methodist Church may be studied in the *General Rules*, approved by the Conference in September 1907, a new edition of which was published in 1911. Foreign Missionary work is being done by this Church in China, Africa, Central America, and the W. Indies.

20. Smaller Methodist Churches.—The Wesleyan Reform Union consists of those Churches and Circuits which held aloof from the amalgamation producing the United Methodist Free Churches. In 1839 a constitution was formed which is fully described in a pamphlet published by the Wesleyan Reform Union Conference, the latest edition being issued in 1896.

In 1896 several small Churches formed a union which held its first Annual Meeting in Manchester. The distinctive characteristics of the churches so united are an unpaid ministry, conjoined with the free church-life of the Quakers and the doctrines of the Independents. The second methods of organization and membership which resulted from this union are known as the Independent Methodists (Wigan), 1910, p. 3. In 1898 this union assumed the name of the Independent Methodist Church. Its churches are situated chiefly in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the northern counties, with some outlying churches in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and a few besides in Bristol and the south-west. The Independent Methodists excel in Sunday School work. Although sharply divided by constitutional distinctions, the Methodists of England have so much in common, especially in their practical work, that they are being drawn nearer together. The Ecumenical and other Conferences have done much to promote the spirit of fraternity among them. In Canada and other countries the Methodist Churches have united, and Methodist reunion in England is often sympathetically discussed.

Literature.—I. Pollett, W. T. —Minutes of the Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists, published annually, 1744–1914; Reports of Preparative, Quarterly, and District Conferences, 1851, 1891, 1901, 1911; Rules of the Society, etc., with Statements of Discipline. London, 1913; Minutes of Conference, 1913: C. Wansbrough, *Handbook and Index to the Minutes of the Conference*, London, 1890; *The Last Annual Conference of the Methodist Society, 1891*; *The Book of Public Prayers and Services for the Use of the People called Methodists*, do. 1903; *Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist
II. DOCTRINE.—Let us look into the soul animating the body which has been described. Methodism was the offshoot of the Evangelical Revival that took place in England during the 18th cent.; its doctrine was molded under the religious conditions of that age.

1. Methodism and deism.—A rationalistic deism then largely prevailed amongst educated men—a system of thought which feit itself God off from behind the laws of nature and bounded human knowledge by the limits of sense-perception and logical reason. The Deity was treated as an absentee from His world; man and all his generations became godless in practice as in thought. The Revival swept down these artificial barriers. God was realized in living contact with His children. The sense of sin and the abhorrence of sin, and consequently the idea of personal guilt, came to be regarded as inherent in human nature. Accordingly, the 'life of God in the souls of men' was Wesley's definition of religion; 'the work of God' was the habitual Methodist designation for the Revival; 'a new birth' and 'a new and instantaneous act of human nature was discerned. Hence the emphasis laid in the teaching of the Wesleys on 'the witness of the Spirit' (Ro 8). The doctrine of assurance—the personal certainty of the forgiveness of sins and of restored sonship toward God—was the outstanding feature of original Methodism. To most Churchmen of the time professions of this kind appeared a strange 'enthusiasm.' (see G. Lavington, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered, London, 1833) that a man might know his sins forgiven was deemed a dangerous presumption. Along with the Fatherhood of God, the Deity of the atoning Saviour and of the witnessing and sanctifying Spirit came to be freely recognized; an arrest was made of the Socinianism which had been the middle of the 18th cent., was rife amongst both Anglicans and Dissenters.

2. Methodism and Calvinism.—The Methodist forces were soon divided on the question of predestination. Predestinarianism, like deism, magnifies the transcendence of God at the expense of His immanence, reducing finite will to an illusion and making man, even in his acceptance of divine grace, the passive creature instead of the consenting child of God. The Puritan theology, in its prevailing strain, was intensely Calvinistic; and to it Whitefield, with the Welsh Methodist leaders and the Evangelical clergy generally, adhered while the Wesleys espoused Arminian views upon election and grace, in this respect inheriting the High Anglican tradition, but the spring of their universalism lay in its sphere of mercy to mankind rests within their own hands and interpreted in the broad light of the NT; they sang:

'The boundless grace that found out me'

Psalms 118:19, 1871: F. W. Robertson, RibbonIMPORTANT:

They could not preach that God 'willeth all men to be saved' under the reservation that He has dooned some of His mere pleasure, to perdition; as Christ's ambassadors, they cried, without any misgiving, 'Ye all may come, whoever wilt! The
Wesleyan teaching lifted a cloud from the character of God, it brought salvation to thousands who had deemed themselves predestined reprobates. Wesley vehemently contended against another tenet of Calvinism, maintained by contemporary Evangelicals, that the doctrine of sin in the redeemed. The current orthodoxy limited the salvation of Christ in the degree of its attainability as well as in the persons by whom it is actually attained. In justification, in the conviction that the man who is ‘in Christ’ may become even on earth a thoroughly ‘new creature,’ that it is possible to be actually ‘cleansed from all sin’ through ‘the blood of Jesus’ (1 Jn 1)—‘fired’ (as he was spoken from the last commandment of sin’); on the strength of God’s promises and the warrant of experience, he taught his people to seek and expect the power to keep continually the Two Commandments of Jesus and so to become altogether holy and happy. To this effect he used to quote the Communion Prayer, ‘that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name,’ insisting that this is to ask from God no boon beyond His giving. From the moment of conversion the Methodist was set at war with ‘inbred sin,’ inspired by the prospect of its extinction. The Class Meeting, with its final annual examination, was a school of holiness. The ‘glorious hope of perfect love’ proved an abiding spring of spiritual ardour and a powerful spur to moral endeavour. Sometimes the extravagancies and self-delusions of unbalanced minds discredited the doctrine of Perfect Love; to such abuse all earnest religious teaching is liable. But the sight of the goal of faith given to Methodism quickened and sustained the race for multitudes. The end of the Wesleyan Revival is due to the spiritual breadth and sanity of its programme. In this sense Wesley defined the object of Methodism as being ‘to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the world.’ The thought of Charles Wesley are the best exposition of Methodism in the fundamental respects which we have stated; they served as its keenest weapon in the arduous conflict which it waged with Calvinism. Along with the hymns, the doctrine which inspired them has seasoned the whole Methodist Church.

3. Methodism and Moravianism.—Methodism owes a peculiar debt to the Moravian Brethren; their Church was one of the first to undertake the imitation of the New Testament. Moravians and Wesleyans were, in some respects, united in the cause of Säkularisation. But there came here also a parting of the ways. Leading members of the Unitas Fratrum in England, and others of Wesley’s early associates, were infected with the mystical tendency to despise the external duties of religion. Regarding the Inner light and the Holy Spirit’s witness as the sum of Christianity, men of this persuasion treated fellowship and Church order as superfluities; some of them verged in theory, if not in practice, upon Antinomianism. Among the latter the maxim was current, which Wesley denounces as an enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that ‘we are not to do good unless our hearts are free to it’—in other words, that we should leave disagreeable duties undone (this was a temporary, but widely operative, aberration in Moravianism). In this outbreak Wesley took the pen of the Revival; he raised a barrier against it in the ‘Rules of Society’ (dated 1st May 1743), which bear strongly upon private and social duty, and by the mutual oversight secured through the Class Meeting. Thus the experimental in religion was what Paul stood for, and Wesley agreed, ‘inward holiness found in outward holiness its complement and safeguard. Methodism recognized that, while salvation is ‘through faith’ alone, a true faith ‘works by love’; it enforced the teaching of St. James side by side with that of St. Paul, and found the two entirely consistent. Their home-training and Anglican schooling stood the Wesleyans in good stead at this crisis.

4. Methodism and the Church of England.—John and Charles Wesley were sons and ministers of the Church of England, and taught (as they supposed) her true doctrine. John Wesley quoted the Articles and Homilies in vindication of his most oppugned tenets. For the guidance of his people he revised the Thirty-nine Articles, reducing their number by omission and abbreviation to 25 (so printed in the Wesleyan Methodist Service Book); the changes are in many instances significant. There disappear, with others, artt. viii. (‘Of the Three Creeds’), xiii. (‘Of Works before Justification’), xv. (‘Of Christ alone without Sin’), xvii. (‘Of Indulgence and Election’), xx., and xxii. (‘Of the Authority of the Church’), and (‘Of the Authority of General Councils’), xxxiii. (‘Of Ministering in the Congregation’), and xxxiv. (‘Of Excommunicating Persons’). The title of each, xvi. becomes ‘Sin after Justification’ instead of ‘Sin after Baptism,’ and ‘Ministers’ is substituted for ‘Priests’ in xxxiii.; ‘Traditions’ is paraphrased by ‘Rites and Ceremonies’ in xxxiv.; the substance of the art. being preserved, without not infrequent vagueness in detail. ‘The Civil Magistrates’ (xxxvii.) Wesley turns into ‘the Rulers of the British Dominions,’ adding ‘his Parliament’ to ‘the King’s Majesty,’ merging ‘Ecclesiastical and Civil’ in ‘all Estates,’ and concluding with the first paragraph of the art.; he ignores the Royal Supremacy over the Church. The art. on ‘the Sacraments’ and ‘the Lord’s Supper’ are reproduced almost verbatim; but the ‘Baptism of young Children’ is retained. Art. ix., ‘Of Original or Birth-Sin,’ is also cut down materially; the Wesleyan teaching on Sækulisation appeared to conflict with the assurance that ‘this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated.’ The reference to ‘flesh’ and ‘bones’ is dropped from the art. ‘Of the Resurrection of Christ.’ The general effect of the book is to replace the formalism of the Church with the Evangelical character of the formulary, to set aside the principle of State-establishment, and to eliminate Calvinism.

5. Doctrinal standards.—Neither the Articles of Religion nor any other Anglican document or dogmatic creed was laid down by Wesley as the ground of Christian fellowship. The revised Articles of Religion were, however, from the first incorporated, with certain necessary local adaptations, in the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America (see Doctrine and Discipline, etc., of this Church, pp. 21–26). There is only one condition previously required, ‘the Rules state, ‘in those who desire to enter these [the Methodist] Societies, viz., a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.’ This ‘narrow gate’ leads into the true way; the earnest seeker of salvation at the foot of Christ and the gospel as the sick man his remedy; a deep repentance affords the best guarantee for orthodoxy. To his preachers, however, Wesley prescribed his Notes on the NT and the first four volumes of Sermons (ed. 1787–88, containing 45 Discourses) for the basis of a common understanding. These standards are introduced into the Model Creed regulating the trusts upon which Wesleyan Methodist church-funds are secured and the ordination vows of the ministers. Every Local Preacher also declares his assent to ‘the general doctrine’ contained in the above writings as being
MEXICANS (Ancient)

‘in accordance with the holy Scriptures.’ While they present, from conversion or dogmatic selection, the Ateotls and Serenities of the J.A. Mexico, they retain its first sense of the full evangelical creed in solution; they are a working standard framed for a preaching ministry, and have proved a sufficient regulative canon for a Church that retains its first sense and to some extent is concerned above all things to preserve the life-conveying spirit of these authoritative documents.

A Conference Resolution of 1897 forbade the tenure of offices. The Societies to any person who will not adopt these opinions contrary to the total depravity of human nature, the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, the influence and witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian Holiness, as believed by the Methodist.

6. Four salient points. —The characteristic features of Methodist teaching may be summed up as follows.

(1) Universal redemption. —Wesley and his preachers professed in the name of Jesus Christ ‘a free, full, and present salvation ’ to every sinner —a salvation based on the Sacre of the Cross, bestowed on condition of ‘repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,’ and certifi- 

(2) Entire sanctification. —Methodism holds the gospel to be as large in its extension as in its inten-

(3) The fellowship of believers. —Methodism stands for Christian brotherhood. It honours the ministry and cherishes the two sacraments; but, in its view, the proof of Church-membership lies essentially not in observance of sacraments, nor in obedience to priests, nor in subscription to creeds, but in the fulfilling on the part of Christ’s brethren of His law of love by their seeking one another’s company and bearing one another’s burdens.

(4) Ordered Christian service. —This is the love of God which keeps His commandments: the Wes- 

LITERATURE. —John Wesley, Works, 14 vols., London, 1829-40. (Letters important for doctrine are Sermons, Doctrine of Original Sin, Preaching the Gospel, and Ecclesiastics, Pt. I., and the United Methodist Church; the undistinguished names are Wesleyan Methodist.


The Spanish, the Aztecs, the Toltecs, and the Mixtec, were the peoples who lived in Mexico before the Spanish Conquest. The Maya, who lived in the Yucatan Peninsula, were a people of great culture, and left behind many impressive architectural works. The Aztecs were a powerful empire that controlled much of central Mexico, including Mexico City. The Mixtec were a people of the south, who built the city of Monte Alban.

The Maya were a people who built many of the great cities of Mesoamerica, including Palenque and Tulum. They were skilled astronomers and had a complex system of writing.

The Aztecs were a people who built the city of Tenochtitlan, which became Mexico City. They were skilled farmers and had a complex system of agriculture.

The Mixtec were a people who built the city of Monte Alban. They were skilled farmers and had a complex system of agriculture.

The Maya were a people who built many of the great cities of Mesoamerica, including Palenque and Tulum. They were skilled astronomers and had a complex system of writing.


GEORGE G. FINDLAY.
by the name of Yaqui, which seems to be but another name of the Toltecs, who were commonly designated by the Mexican name Tonatiuh, meaning 'the sun, or the face of Yaqui, those who went to the rising sun.' For all these tribes, undoubtedly, a long succession of ages of cultural development must be taken into account, since their civilization, at the time of the Conquest, might have been in many respects, that of the ancient nations of the other side of the globe. Their religion had reached a correspondingly advanced stage of development, and, as such, was elaborate, while their pantheon was unusually rich.

1. Religious ideas. — As with all the other nations of the world, the religious faith and the metaphysical ideas of the Mexicans had in part developed from attempts to grasp the connexion between the things of this world according to the principle of causality; in part they were the outcome of religious practices, and the crystallization of magic ceremonies, intended to produce certain effects by way of imitation. The great problems that presented themselves to the human mind because of the movement of the sun, the changes in the agricultural seasons, and the varying weather of the two great stars—the morning star—have been treated by the Mexicans in a great number of mythical tales and mythical personifications.

The sun, as the widely worshipped Mexican god, of whom the largest number of names and myths were reported, Quetzalcoatl, the 'feathered snake,' the creator of men, the wind-god of the later priestly school, was, in fact, nothing else than the mythological personification of the moon, who in her decrease travels to the east, i.e., draws every day nearer to the sun, and finally dies away in the rays of the rising sun. It was believed that, when dying, this god, or his heart, was transformed into the morning star. The counterpart of this deity, Tzetzalipoca, the young warrior, who was regarded as the watching eye, the god who sees and punishes all kinds of sin, and the sorcerer who roams about in the night, is, in reality, the new, morning moon who makes her appearance in the evening sky, and will travel on in the night, as the star of the night. On the other hand, deities like Centeotl, the 'maize-god,' have developed from certain religious practices—e.g., the placing of maize-stalks or young maize-ears in the houses, in order to get rich crops. Kipe Totec, the 'flourishing sun,' the face of a sacrificed man, who has probably originated from well-known ceremonies celebrated in the beginning of the year in the time of sowing, in order to bring about the rebirth of vegetation. The two classes of deified beings met in the great idea that the celestial powers, the sun, the moon, and the god of thunder and lightning, were at the same time the promoters of the growth and ripening of the fruit, and in the conviction that the new-born god (the rising sun) and the increasing agency (the waxing moon) were the causes of all birth and growth and of all that maintains and keeps up human life, and that they were the sources of human life itself.

The spirits of the dead are to be added to these two classes—the ancestors, the founders of the tribe who had died in ancient times, and who had lived when the sun had not yet made its appearance in the sky. These deified ancestors were believed to awaken and to live in the night and, consequently, were identified with the stars. Xintecatl, the god of fire, who had likewise existed in the 'time of darkness and night,' before the birth of the sun, and was, accordingly, named Uentecatl, the 'old god,' became in some way the prototype of the early ancestral gods.

2. Origin of the world. —The Mexicans believed that heaven, earth, and the sun had not been created at once, but that four ages of a somewhat imperfect creation were pre-coenomic to the present world. The first of these pre-coenomic creations was named Ocolotonatiuh, 'jaguar-sun.' This was the sun of darkness, or sun of the earth, for the jaguar was considered to be the animal that swallowed the sun at the time of the creation of the world, as the earth was the realm of darkness, the jaguar was identified with the earth. This first period came to an end by darkness, when the jaguars were eating men. The second period was called Ecotonatiuh, 'wind-sun.' This period came to an end by great revolving storms, and men were transformed into apes. The third period had the name Quinatlonatiuh, 'rain-sun,' meaning 'fire-rain.' In this period fire rained from the sky, volcanic ashes and lapilli were strewn over the earth, and reddish lava-cliffs arose. Men were transformed into birds. The fourth period was called Atonatiuh, 'water-sun.' In this period a great deluge took place, men were transformed into fishes, and the sky fell down upon the earth. The fallen sky was raised by the joint action of the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tzetzalipoca, and the earth was then in the condition of the 'great star.'—As with the present world, this period was also to be brought to an end by earthquakes. One year after this creation, in the year one acatl, 'two reed,' the god Mixcoatl, 'cloud-snake,' the god of the North—or Tzetzalipoca in the form of Mixcoatl—drew fire out of the wooden sticks, kindled fire by means of the fire-drill. Then men were created, and war was begun, in order that there might be human hearts at hand for nourishing the sun. The first who was killed in war, i.e., was captured in war and offered on the sacrificial stone, was Xochiquetzal, the goddess of the moon, for it is the moon who rules every month in conjunction with the sun, and by her death gives life and strength to the rising sun.

Men being created, and war being commenced, there was opportunity for the creation of the sun. At the end of the first half of the first Mexican cycle of 52 years, in the year thirteen reed, the sun was created.

The gods assembled in Tonatiuh, the ancient city of the sun, and took counsel, asking each other who should take the charge of lighting the fire. The god of the eagle, the god of Teotihuacan, the moon-god. Again the gods asked which other deity would take charge of lighting the fire. When all were satisfied, the gods requested Nanaman, the 'bisonian,' the instinctive god, to undertake it, and he consented. The gods kindled a great fire in the footstep, the 'divine stove,' and Tzetzalipoca tried first to throw himself into the fire, but he was afraid and drew back. Then Nichtli, that his eye might be refreshed, danced at once into the fire, and after him Tzetzalipoca did the same. This took place at midnight. Then the gods conjectured in what direction the sun was to rise. It was in the east, where the sun rose at day-break, followed by the moon. The chronicles relate that originally the moon possessed the same splendor as the sun, but the gods struck her in the face with a rabbit, so that her splendor was darkened, and now the figure of the rabbit is seen on the face of the moon. After having risen, the sun and the moon stood still for four days and four nights, whereupon the gods resolved to sacrifice themselves in order to give life to the sun. After the gods had killed themselves, the sun commenced to move, and ever since has made his regular courses, alternating with the moon.

3. Origin of men. —When heaven and earth were created, the gods took counsel and asked where to get beings to dwell on the earth. Then Xolotl, the dog who jumps down from the sky—the god who caused the setting sun to go down—went to the kingdom of the dead to fetch a bone of the dead. When he had given his message to Metlatlcantecatl, the king of the dead, he took back the bone which was lying at the bottom of the well. He gave the bone to the king of the dead, who gave it to the hunter, who gave it to the hunter, who gave it to the hunter, etc., until Xolotl met the hunter. The king of the dead gave the bone to him, but ordered his vessel to follow him and to dig a pit in his way. There the god stumbled and fell, the bone behind him, fell to the ground, and was broken in pieces. The god was much grieved, but he picked up the bone, put it in the mouth of a crocodile, and brought them to Tamoanchan, a region situated far to the west.
MEXICANS (Ancient)

There the goddess Ciscaocatl or Quetzaliztl ground down the fragments on the grinding-stone, and put the pulverized material into the chalchihuitlicue, the lord held out of a precious stone, and set with gems. On this pulverized material Quetzalcoatl sprinkled blood drawn by piercing his penis with a knife. In this way men were generated, and food was found for them in the same region of the west. It was the maize, whose place the red ant showed to the god.

4. Heaven, earth and under-world, and the abode of the dead.—The Mexicans were of opinion that from the earth (tlaltlicpac) upwards there were thirteen regions or heavenly spheres (tlalocati), and from the earth downwards there were nine regions or under-worlds (mictlan). The second, third, and fourth of the heavenly spheres were the regions where the moon and the clouds, the stars and the sun moved, while the uppermost or thirteenth region was the abode of Quetzalcoatl, Omecluatli, or Tonacatecutli, Tonacaucnati, the gods of generation. The second of the under-world regions was the Chiennahapan, the ‘nine streams,’ the water that encircled the realm of the dead and was in a way identified with the ocean of the western region. The third under-world region was the tepoztl iomanasquia, the gateway by which the dead entered the under-world region. The undermost region was the abode of Mielantlantecuhtli and Mictlanecuhtli, the lords of the dead. To this under-world region there went, however, only the men and the women who had died in their homes from natural causes, and the women who had borne children. Men who were drowned, struck by lightning, or carried away by malignant fever or contagious diseases were believed to be taken by Tlaloc, the rain-god. Their corpses were not burned, but buried, blue colour—the colour of water and rain—having been put on their foreheads. They went to Tlalocan, the home of the rain-god, situated on a plateau mountain in the eastern region, a paradise of vegetation, in order to serve them there. Men killed in war or sacrificed on the sacrificial stone and women who had died in childbed belonged to a third region, and went to heaven, to the house of the sun. The warriors went to the east, to receive the rising sun and to accompany him up to the zenith. The women had their dwelling in the west, in the region of the setting sun. In the morning they climbed up to the zenith, where, at noon, they received the sun from the hands of the warriors, and accompanied him on his downward course. At sunset they delivered the sun to the dwellers in the west world. In the night the sun, illuminating the whole world, and the dead awake and live.

5. Principal deities.—A detailed study of Mexican mythology and the character of the Mexican gods leads to the conclusion that the forefathers of the Mexicans worshipped the sun, the moon, the morning star, the heath-fire, the maize-god, and the other deities of vegetation, the god who pours down the beneficial rain, and a host of ninimia and spirits who were believed to dwell in particular places, as mountains, caves, water-holes, etc. In the course of time those cosmic potencies assumed various different shapes in the mythopoetic imagination of the people, coalescing in part with a deified ancestor, or being merged in certain regional festivals, thus giving rise to certain well-defined deities in the differences, while the regions, tribes, towns, and villages were acknowledged as the altepoyolotli, the ‘heart (or living principle) of the town.’

The Tlaltecuhtli, the war-god, the particular protector of the citizens of Mexico (Tenechitlan), must originally have been the rising sun, or the morning star. His mother conceived him from a feather-bell coming down from the sky. Her other children, the Centzon Uitzaba, the ‘four hundred Southern’ (the stars), and their elder sister Coyolxauhqui (the moon), seeing their mother pregnant, wished to kill her, but just at this moment Itzilopochtli was born. Armed with shield and spear, holding his mother in his hand, he killed his elder sister Coyolxauhqui, and drove the ‘four hundred Southern’ from the ‘Snake-mountain’ (the sky). The other war-god Camaxtli, or Mixeactli, the god of the Tlaecatl, the ‘feathered serpent,’ was probably a mythic conception of the morning star. Tlaloc was the rain- and thunder-god and the god of the mountains. He had his residence on the top of a mountain in the east, where he owned four chambers and four barretes, from which his servants, dwarf-gods, bailed out the water and poured it down on the earth. Stone images of this deity are to be found all over the country. Tezcatlipoca was the god of the Tezcoecs and of the tribes dwelling on the slopes of the volcano. He was the sorcerer who roamed about in the night, the god who sees and punishes sin, and the patron of the tezcohcuhtli, the club-house of the young warriors; and certainly developed from the conception of the new, waxing moon. Xiuhtecuhtli, the ‘lord of the turquoise,’ or Ixcoacuhtli, the god with the turquoise colur, was the tutelary deity of the citizens of Tlatelolco and their brethren on the western mountain slope, the Tepeanas of Tamaulco and Coyoyuzcan. Tonantin, the sun, and Metztli, or Teciecacuhtli, the moon, being in another part of the heavens, were not in the region of the gods. The gods of the north, of the region north of the valley of Mexico, and two great pyramids dedicated to them are still to be seen in that place. The moon alone was the principal deity of the inhabitants of Totonacan and the province of Mixtitan, on the borders of the Huaxteca. Quetzalcoatl, the ‘feathered snake,’ the creator of human life, the wind-god, was another conception of the wind-god. He was the great god of the merchants of Cholula and all the Mexican commercial colonists, down to the provinces of Guatemala and San Salvador. Xipe Totec, ‘our lord, the flayed,’ the god of the sewing-time, the god of vegetation, was generally worshipped in the whole country; but it seems that the Nahatl tribes on the borders of the State of Oaxaca, the inhabitants of Tehuacan, Coacatan, and Tecuitlan del Camino were particularly addicted to his cult. He is also called god of the goldsmiths, because the goldsmiths, located in the town-quarter, or clan Yopico, regarded him as their town-god. He is a god of rain and of the sky, and his image on the green maize, the god of food, had his worshippers all along the Atlantic slope. He was believed to be incorporated in the Quetzalecoautli, the wild fowl that chants in the morning. He had a brother called Macuilxochitl, ‘Five flowers,’ or Anioteotl, ‘the god of voluptuousness,’ who was the deity of pleasure, of music, dancing, gaming, and debauchery. One toochtli, ‘two rabbits,’ the palque-god, the Mexican Bacchus, was the town-god of Tepoztlán, in the State of Morelos.

Female deities were Coastliene, the mother of Utzilozohiti, worshipped in Mexico City; Ciscaocatl, the female warrior, the goddess of Colhuacan; Itzpepalticatl and Quetzaliztl, the earth-goddess and the fire-goddess of the towns and as their town-gods, the ‘mother of the gods,’ or Toi, ‘our grandmother,’ also called Tlazoiloteotl, ‘the goddess of ordeals,’ or Tlacluani, ‘miito-ester’ (i.e. sinner); she was generally worshipped as a harvest-goddess; Xochiquetzi, the goddess of flowers and of love, had her worshippers throughout the country, and a magnificent pyramid dedicated to her is still to be seen in Xochimilco, south of Cuernavaca. All these goddesses were once moon-goddesses, but developed into goddesses of...
fertility and generation, into earth-goddesses and patroneses of women's art. Chichihuitlicue, the 'goddess whose garments are precious stones,' was the impersonation of running water, brooks, and lakes; Uxtochtliat of the salt water, and accordingly the patroness of the salt-makers. Centeotl, the maize-god, was represented either as a female or as a male deity, and as particularly related to the gods of generation, the authors of life.

6. Religious practices.—The Mexicans were penetrated by feelings of absolute obedience on their gods. They regarded them as the givers of all things and as those who inflicted punishments upon them, and they were convinced that most of their punishments were brought down on them by their sins. In order to obtain the favour of their gods or to appease their wrath, they used to address them with prayers, to present offerings to them, to humble themselves in their presence, and to torture themselves in their honour. In the work compiled by Bernardo de Sahagun, the original of which was written in Aztec, he has preserved many prayers directed to several gods, distributed through his book, and has composed a wonderfully refined and poetic language, while another chapter of the same work contains twenty ancient and very curious songs, which they used to sing in the course of the harvest festival ceremonies (text, Ger. tr., and commentary in E. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikan. Sprach- und Altertumskunde, Berlin, 1902-03, ii. 859-1107).

The offerings which the Mexicans were accustomed to bring to their gods consisted of food and garments, flowers and green twigs (acoyollotl) to adorn their altars, copal, rubber, and different kinds of aromatic herbs to burn, and piles of wood to heap up and kindle on the top of their temple-pyramids. They humiliated themselves in the presence of their gods by eating earth (tlaltlayacatzli), i.e. by touching the earth with the finger and putting it to the mouth. When they requested something from their gods, and before every festival dedicated to them, they fasted, eating only once in the day, avoided red pepper sauce and every kind of spices, abstained from sexual intercourse, and did not wash their heads. When the request which they had made to be a very earnest one, they tortured themselves by piercing their tongues, or by passing sticks or threads through the hole made in the tongue, and offering the blood issuing from their wounds, collecting it on agave leaves. If they had committed a sin such as intercourse with the wife of another man, and wished to atone for it, they went to the priests of the goddess Tlaloc, and made confession, and the priests, after having heard the confession, imposed some penance—e.g., to go naked in the night to some shrines of the 'women-goddesses' (cuitlatetel), there to deposit garments made of the common bark-paper. By performing this penance they were believed not only to have got rid of the sin committed, but also of the punishment for it enjoined by the law. A Mexican religious practice that excited the curiosity and even the amazement of the Christian priests was the so-called 'eating of the god' (tezozunamiento). At a certain festival a number of devotees assembled, and, after having made an image of the god from the paste obtained by grinding certain seeds, the high priest sacrificed the image and cut it into pieces. The assembly then seized these pieces, and those who had partaken were obliged to pay for a year all expenses for the cult of the god in question.

Finally, the Mexicans felt compelled to bring living beings as an offering to their gods. They sacrificed to the fire-god by casting into the fire all kinds of animals that could be found in the fields, and they also offered human prisoners in the same way. The warriors who had captured their enemies, cut them, their limbs tied together, and hanging on a pole, like captured game, for the fire-god was the god of war and of the chase. The Mexicans killed quails by decapitating them, and offered to the sun and other deities such as Uitzilopochtli, for the quail was the spotted bird, the image of the starry sky. They fastened prisoners with extended arms and legs to a wooden frame, and shot them with arrows. This was a sacrifice for the earth-goddess, and was intended to fertilize the earth. There is no doubt that it was originally meant as an imitation of the sexual act. They decapitated a woman as an image of the 'mother of the gods'—the moon-goddess, the harvest-god—and flayed her, for the old moon, the waiting moon, is cut into pieces, and her splendor is stripped off. Yet she would revive, and therefore the flayed skin of the victim was donned by a man who, in the following ceremonies of the feast, represented the goddess.

The Mexican practice of putting up a temple to represent the offering of human hearts, torn out of the bodies of living men. They used for that purpose a sacrificial stone of a rounded pyramidal shape. The victim was thrown between the different anniversaries of festivals (text, Ger. tr., and commentary in E. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikan. Sprach- und Altertumskunde, Berlin, 1902-03, ii. 859-1107).

7. Annual festivities.—The Mexicans divided the year into eighteen sections of twenty days each and five remaining days. On each of these twenty sections they had a feast with many elaborate ceremonies, dedicated successively to various special deities, all having the aim of appeasing and appeasing and appeasing the deities of the yearly plantings and the exigencies of the different sections of the year with regard to the culture of the soil, sowing, and harvesting, and with the changing aspects that in the different years those important affairs presented to the anxious eye of the labourer. They commenced with the ceremonies early in the year—in the time of our February. At that time, in the houses and on sacred spots—mountains, caves, water-holes, and localities considered as the abodes of the rain-gods—they set up poles to which papers painted with the emblems of the numina of these localities were attached; and they carried children, who were bought from their parents, to the same localities and sacrificed them to the rain-gods, in order that these divinities might grant rain in sufficient quantity for the crops of the new year.

In the second twentieth they celebrated a great feast to Xipe Tote, the god of vegetation, a form of the ancient moon-god. This was just before sowing, and it seemed to those ancient philosophers to be necessary to fertilize the earth, that she might not receive the germinating pieces, for those who had partaken were obliged to pay for a year all expenses for the cult of the god in question.

They took a prisoner of war, the most gallant whom they had at hand, and with him performed a ceremony that was in a way a testing. He was fastened by a rope to the central hole of a
stone of the cylindrical shape, these so-called temascalotli (spinning wheel of stone). There he had to light with four other men until the wood was burned, after which they bound him, with extended arms and legs (metamortalique), to a wooden frame, with which they tied him. In the end he could neither wind the arrows, so that the arrowhead might drop on the earth and fertilize it. This was the original form of the ceremony, as it is seen in the pictures, and as it was performed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest.

In Mexico City, however, when the prisoner was exhausted and nearly dead, the husband himself, as before, was invested in the regular way, by cutting the breast and tearing out the heart; and many prisoners were sacrificed in the same way after him. The bodies of the dead were burned, and the ashes were collected by certain men who represented the god in the following ceremonies, to ascend with the prisoner to the earth-hood on a new cloud. From this custom the second annual feast was called Toxcatl, 'sweeping,' "sweeping the earth." This feast concluded with a great ceremonial dance, where priests disguised as maize-ears, maize-stalks, and other vegetables, or as beings connected with the fire, dispensed the abundance of food which the new year was expected to bring.

In the third and fourth twentieths, called Tecoxtli, 'awakening,' the temples and shrines were adorned with green stalks, and the gods destined for sowing were brought to the temple of the maize-goddess to be consecrated. The fifth feast, called Toxcatl, fell at the time when the sun, shifting to the north, came to the zenith. This was regarded as the real feast of the new year, and the present writer has shown, in his explanation of the Humboldt Codices, that the days of the month which the Mexicans designated to the different years correspond to the days with which the feast Toxcatl began. In this feast a living image of the god Tezcatlipoca, i.e., a prisoner who had died in the disarray of the troops, was represented, all the year round, was sacrificed, and immediately replaced by another prisoner, who, invested with the paraphernalia of the god, had to represent him in the new year. The sixth twentieth, the time when the rainy season set in, was celebrated by a general and severe fasting of all the priests of all the temples, including the little boys in the priestly schools. The fifth and sixth twentieths were called Tlacozohuanitl and Xocotl uctli, 'when the Xocotl comes down (or is born),' or Miccahuilhuil, the 'feast of the dead.' At these festivals living prisoners were thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the god of the fire, and the image of Xocotl or Otontecuili, the 'god of the Otomi,' the 'soul of the dead warrior,' having the shape of a bird, a butterfly, or of a dummy packet, was placed on the top of a high pole, and brought down by the male youth,rying with each other in climbing to the top.

The eleventh twentieth, called Ochpanitzli, 'sweeping the roads,' was the harvest feast, and at the same time a great exaltation ceremony, by which evil was taken out of the town.

A woman representing Tetec Inman, the 'mother of the gods,' having been degraded at midnight and shaved, a priest put on the skin and represented the goddess in the following ceremonies. From a portion of the skin of the thigh, a mask was made and worn by the son of the 'mother of the gods,' Centecotl-Tlalocaltontli, the maize-goddess, the 'curved obsidian knife,' who is described as the god of evil and punishment, and is, in fact, only another form of the morning star, the son of the moon-goddess. The principal ceremony consisted in a ceremonial impersonation of the goddess by Uitzilopochtli, and, on the way to meet the god, Tetec Inman was accompanied and preceded by four other men called Quetzalcoatl (~men of the province of the Huasteca). Ceremonial dances followed, and at the end the gods were represented by large masks, and called Teteo. At the end of the feast warriors, riding with each other, took the mask out of the town, and buried it somewhere in the territory of their enemies. The goddess herself, i.e., the priest wearing the skin of the victim, was likewise driven out of the town, and the skin was hung up, beyond the bounds of the state, as a fortunate gift to Teteo Inman, being her sanctuary.

In the twelfth twentieth, called Teotleco, the Mexicans celebrated the return of their gods, i.e., of the fire-gods, who were reputed to have gone out of the country during the rainy season. The feast may also be called the 'birthday of Uitzilopochtli.' It was celebrated by an annual feast, in which living prisoners were thrown into the flames. The thirteenth feast, called Tepetlihuitl, the 'feast of the mountains,' was another harvest feast, when the pulque-gods—the gods of fecundity—were honoured by sacrifices, and offerings were brought to the rain-gods, i.e., to the gods of the mountains. The fourteenth feast, called Quechollli, was dedicated to Mixcoatl, the god of hunting and war, and was celebrated by a great ceremonial hunting. Arrows and other weapons were made.

The fifteenth feast, called Pamquetzaliztli, 'raising the banners,' was the great feast of the god Uitzilopochtli, when the pulque-gods—the gods of fecundity—were honoured by sacrifices, and offerings were brought to the rain-gods, i.e., to the gods of the mountains. The sixteenth feast, Teteo Tziunlli, was dedicated to Teteo, the mind of the bird, and the victory which he obtained over his brethren, the Centzon Uitztli (the stars), were dramatically represented by a combat between the warriors designated to the gods, and the prisoners selected for sacrifice. The fire-snake, the weapon with which Uitzilopochtli had killed his sister Coyolxauhqui, came down from the upper platform of the temple, and consumed the offerings placed on the great cylindrical stone at the foot of the staircase leading up to the platform. The seventeenth feast, Atemoztli, was dedicated to the rain-gods. The seventeenth, Tlaloc, was the feast of the god of the dead, at which the cuititztli, the 'women-goddesses,' i.e., the deified women, the spirits of the women who died in child-bed, and their patroness Itamatecultli, the old goddess, the goddess of fire, were worshipped, and an important religious ceremony was performed by the priests. The fourteenth and last feast was called Izcalli, 'increasing,' and was dedicated to Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, who was honoured by offerings of all kinds of animals thrown into the fire. The god was represented in this feast by two different figures—at one time as a god of vegetation, clothed in green quetzal-feathers and wearing a mask of turquoises and green stones, and at another time as the god of the burning fire, clothed in feathers of the red macaw and wearing a mask of red and black stones. The five last days of the year, called nemontemi, were devoted nightly. No feast was celebrated on them, nor any business of importance taken in hand.

Other ceremonies were performed to the deities who were believed to rule certain days, according to the name of the day in question, those names being composed of one of the numbers one to thirteen and of one of the twenty-day-signs. As these names, in the different years, were not assigned to a fixed date—the initial days of the years bearing different names—the feasts of the rulers of the days were denominated 'movable feasts.'

8. Priests.—For the performance of all these ceremonies, filling out, in the true sense of the word, nearly the whole year, and for the regular service of the different gods, many priests were employed, each of these priests being divided into different classes, such as the temamaques, 'incense-burners,' the tenequies, 'guardians of the idols,' the quauquemiltli, 'old priests,' and the otmeteocli, 'polque priests,' who were at the head of the other priests and singers. At the head of all these priests there were in Mexico City two high priests, called Quetzalcoatl Tetzec tlamaququi and Quetzalcoatl Tlahoc tlamaququi, a. e. the priests representing the two great gods, Uitzilopochtli and the rain-god
MEXICANS (Modern) — An intimate knowledge of the religion of the ancient peoples of Mexico is necessary in order to understand the religious life of the present native population of the country. On first acquaintance with the people an impression is given that the Roman Catholic religion is everywhere present, yet many of the pre-Columbian religious ideas remain. Too much cannot be said of the energies and the fervour of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their attempts to Christianize the natives. The originality of their methods and their enthusiasm for the work resulted in a marked success. They learned the native languages, and collected much data upon the customs and religion of the people, and to these early accounts we owe practically all our knowledge of the pre-Columbian life.

As proof of the ability of the people to read in pictures, and this was turned to account in their teaching of the Roman Catholic Catechism. Figures were drawn on large pieces of cloth representing most ingeniously, in a series of pictures, the various teachings of the Church. These pictures were also made in books, some of which, according to N. Leon (Am. Anth., new ser., ii. [1900] 726), are still used among the Mazahuas of Michoacan. A more ambitious attempt was made by the priests to teach the natives the Latin words of the Lord's Prayer and other Articles of the Church. A native monosyllabic word was selected, the sound of which was similar to a syllable of the Latin word, and this word was represented by a picture. The first syllable, po, of pater, was shown by a picture of a flag, which in Nahua was ponti, and the second syllable, ter, was represented by a drawing of a stone, telt, in Nahautl. In this way, picture by picture, the native word was known, and each word recalled a similar word or syllable in the Latin.

Don Jose Torquemada tells us (Monarquia Indiana, Madrid, 1728, xv) that the Christian priests illustrated the vices and virtues and the instability of life by pictures representing a great expanse of water with floating islands, and a cross with the word Christ at the top, attended by devils receiving glasses of wine from devils. According to J. de Acosta's statement (The Natural and Moral Hist. of the Indies, ed. C. R. Markham, London, 1880), in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, God was pictured with three carved heads, and St. Peter and St. Paul were drawn as two carved heads with keys and sword. As Sauer remarks: "It is easy to suppose that this sort of picture must have been absolutely incomprehensible to an Indian, but there is little doubt that the effect of these pictures was extremely favourable to the spread of Christianity." (Globen, XXX, 130).

The Spanish padres were not content with these mnemonic and symbolic methods of teaching the Christian religion, but soon learned the languages of the country, translated the Catechism into the various dialects, and preached in the native tongues. Priests taught the Indians how to record their languages phonetically by the use of the Spanish characters, and from the early days of the Conquest there was a constantly increasing amount of printed and written material in the languages of the different peoples of Spanish America.

With a knowledge of the native languages, together with the names and attributes of the various gods, the Spanish priests had a wonderful asset in their teaching, and they used it to good effect. Their explanation of the native pantheon was an earnest attempt to incorporate it, as much as possible, into their own religion, and, accordingly, we find many of the ancient myths turned into a new setting, with the saints now figuring as the actors in the ancient tales. It is difficult to determine how much of this transformation was due to the initiative of the priests of the new faith, and how much may be attributed to the Indians' own attempts to reconcile their old religion with the new. Knowing the tendency of primitive man to explain everything in terms of his own mental fabric, we may suppose that many of the strange metamorphoses which came about were the natural result of implanting ideas upon an older foundation, but a result not recognized or authorized by the Church. In many cases the gods of the ancient religion were incorporated into the new, as when the three most important gods were sometimes turned into the Trinity, while the lesser deity of the Church was given a place that one already had a counterpart in the Mexican religion; among the Mayas he was Kisin, the earthquake.

The present population of Mexico may be divided, for the purposes of this article, into four classes as regards their religion; (1) those of Spanish descent who are true Roman Catholics; (2) those of mixed descent who are nominally Roman Catholics, but still retain some of the ancient pre-Columbian religious ideas; (3) those of mixed blood who are fundamentally pagans from the Christian point of view, with religious rites coloured by Roman Catholic teaching; and (4) those who show no trace of the Roman Catholic teaching, and still continue to practise the ancient religion. It is, of course, impossible to draw a hard and fast line between any two of these classes; the two middle divisions are differentiated only by the degree in which the Christian or the native religion predominates.

Class 1.—In the large cities and towns there is a numerous population of Spanish-speaking people who have little or no Indian blood, and these carry out the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church as practised in Spain. The festivals of the Church are celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. An infinitude of valuable objects of the early Franciscans is seen in the Nacimientos,
the Pastorales, and the Mystery Plays performed at Corpus Christi and at other times. Soon after the Conquest the sacred dramas, so popular in Spain at that time, were introduced into Mexico, and were regarded as an important means of propa-
ganda.

Class 2.—The casual observer seldom sees any of the native element among the peoples who have been described in this division, but he considers the population good Roman Catholics. In fact, it is only after close intimacy extended over a considerable period of time, together with a knowledge of the nature of the native practices, that one gradually finds that the underlying principles of the religious ideas are based on the native ideas rather than upon the Christian faith. The veneer of Roman Catholicism is removed, and the native religion stands out clearly. The greater part of the population of Mexico are of mixed blood, with a strong pre-
ponderance of the Indian over the Spanish strain. This type of native is present even in the large cities and towns, where a great proportion of the people fall into Class 2, whose religion is Roman Catholic, with an undercurrent of the old ideas. The gente de Mexico City, e.g., are of this class.

Holy Week is perhaps the most religious time of the year. In addition to the Passion Plays which have already been mentioned, there is a constant round of festivals, many of which are strongly flavored by the native elements. The season of prayers and fasting appeals to the natives, some of whom wear the crown of thorns and flagellate themselves. From Holy Thursday until the Gloria of Saturday the bells of the churches are struck, and the priest and Kale take their place. Each child and adult has a ratle, and the streets are full of vendors, each selling some sort of noisv toys. On the Sabado de Gloria new fire is kindled, and the burning of the belief figures is a Judas is a common sight in every Mexican town; figures of Judas, representing him as a man or woman, a negro, a soldier or a knave, a devil or a gentleman, are burned in every village plaza. Many of these figures contain jars filled with vari-
ous objects, and, when the container is broken, the contents fall into the struggling crowd. Fire-
crackers and rockets often form the hands and feet of these Judas figures. It is a time of much merriment. In Mexico City on Viernes de Dolores, the eve of Palm Sunday, there is a long procession of devotees dressed in the costumes of old time, and small shrines, and altars are displayed everywhere, the native love of flowers and their varied use of them as decoration being seen at this time at its best. These religious festivals play a very im-
portant part in the life of the people.

The custom of erecting wooden crosses along the roads and trails is very common in Mexico. The traveller, in passing one of these crosses for the first time, usually deposits a stone or a flower before it. It is on the magical side of the religion that we find the greatest number of survivals at the present time. Symbolic and conspicuous objects abound among all strata of the population. Some of these ideas are, of course, derived from the Spanish element, but the greater number are purely native. Hypostatic suggestion is the important feature in all the ceremonies which deal with healing the sick. The air is full of evil spirits, which linger round the entrances of the villages, and precautions must be taken before the native can enter.

Class 3.—This class is represented in the small pueblos in the country districts, where the head-
man of the village performs the offices of the Church, except at infrequent intervals when the priest of the district makes his visit to celebrate Mass and to perform marriages and baptisms.

The native religious ideas are much in evidence, for the visits of a priest of the Church are often too infrequent to make much headway against the presence of the strong native religious element. This cannot be stamped out among the people, and it remains a sturdy growth unless persistent and energetic efforts are made to counteract its influence by Christian teaching. It is among people of this class that the beliefs of the pre-Columbian and Christian ideas may best be studied.

The native elements come to the front especially in connexion with agriculture and the burial of the dead. Incense is burned and offerings are made to the gods of fertility at the time of sowing; other gifts are presented to the gods of rain; in some cases offerings are given to the wind-gods when the burning of the maize-field is under-
taken; and abstinence from sexual intercourse before the planting is another of the survivals. Among the Otomi an idol is buried in the maize-
field, another is kept in the domestic house, and a third in the granary. The hunter may burn incense for a successful hunt, the traveller for a prosperous journey. Every house has its auto, or wood spirit, and the first fruits of the harvest are usually placed before this shrine; in time of sickness and death many offerings are made and incense is burned. It is the nature of the gifts and the spirit in which they are made which is more important than the act itself, that show the pre-Christian ideas.

In many of the prayers the native element is seen. Sapper tells (Das nord. Mittel-Amerik., p. 241) that in a speech of Kei take there is the word Sapp, mother, than art my father, 'a form common in the Popol Vuh (q.v.). The Indian origin of many of the prayers is seen in the poetical form, the parallelisms and the repetition of single words and phrases. Selor tells of a stone idol discovered in a cave in the State of Puebla before which offerings of flowers, eggs, and wax candles were found. In another case the visitor, padre saw, to his indignation, a stone idol occup-
ying the place of honour beside the crucifix, on the altar of the village church. In a cave in Oaxaca a pottery incense pan and two turkey feathers were discovered; the feathers having undoubtedly been used in connexion with the sacrifices of human blood, so common a part of the religious ritual of the ancient Mexicans. These definite examples of ancient survivals will show that old magical and religious ideas have been upon the people, who are nominally good Roman Catholics.

Class 4.—The number of individuals who have been placed in this division is comparatively small, and, as might be expected, they are found only in the most unsettled and inaccessible portions of the country. They show practically no influence from the outside world in their customs, their languages, or their religion. Spanish is seldom understood, and the native languages show little change from those portions which were recorded by the early Spanish conquerors. It is among these people that one can obtain magic among the aborigines. The polytheistic ideas are still main-
tained, and many of the gods now worshipped may be identified with the ancient deities of the people —Sakainkia of the Mexicans, e.g., is recognized as the old rain-god, Tlaloc. It is seldom that the ancient gods of the sun, the moon, the morning star, and other planets can be noted in the present cult, but, although among the Seri of Lower California the sun and moon find a place among the gods, and among the Tarahumaras there is a 'father-sun' and 'mother-moon. Among the present-day Mayas the sun and moon are servants of the gods.
Worship by means of prayer, divination, and sacrifice takes many different forms. Human sacrifice has been abolished, although there are a few instances where it has been reported within the last century. Blood sacrifice is not uncommon among people of this class, the ear and other parts of the body being cut with a stone knife, and the blood allowed to drop upon the idols. Offering of food and drink forms the main portion of the religious practices of the population, although burning of copal or other incense to the gods is also very common. Compulsory intoxication—by the use of drugs from the plant hallucinogenic—carried out by means of the psyché of the Mexicans, the hikuli of the Huichols, the tozumo of the Tarahumara, and the batche of the Lacandon. Divination is practised in many forms, and among many peoples there is a class of soothsayers who look into the future by means of the movements of sacrificed animals, the smoke of the incense, the crystal, the image on the surface of a basin of water, and many other ways. The prayers of the Cora, collected and translated by Preuss (Die Nympf-Expedit), furnish an excellent criterion of the native point of view towards the gods and religious practices. The godkins are often held for magical purposes. Among the Tarahumara, e.g., the dance is a prayer, a petition for prosperity for the harvest, or for health and freedom from ill-fortune.

The idea of renovation, the renewal of the incense-bearers and the cleansing of the houses and of the places of worship at certain times of the year, is an ancient practice. Among the Lacandones, at the main ceremony of the year, when the firstfruits are offered, the entire collection of incense-bearers is renewed. The old ones are ‘dead,’ and new ones are made to take their place. Priests no longer form a distinct class by themselves in Mexico, but the head-man of the village or the head of the family now performs the priestly functions, and among some of the tribes the class of shamans still remains. It is claimed that one-fourth of the Huichols (g.e.) of Northern Mexico are shamans; the name of the tribe signifies ‘the doctors or healers.’ It is they who have the power to look into the future and who understand and interpret the will of the gods. Religious temples, so common a feature of the pre-Columbian culture, no longer play a part in the religious life, though the Lacandones still make pilgrimages to the ruined temples. Among the Huichols, the gods reside in the fire, carrying with them incense-bearers and other offerings. The religious practices are usually carried on either in the domestic habitations or in a house set apart for the purpose, this house being called topina, ‘the house of all,’ among the Huichols. Women are usually excluded from these religious places, except at the termination of the worship, when general feasting takes place, and the offerings, previously made to the gods, are consumed by the worshippers. Perhaps the best example of a people who have had no contact with Spanish ideas are the Lacandones, who live in the State of Chiapas on a tributary of the Grijalva River, which forms a portion of the boundary between Mexico and Guatemala. The early efforts of the Spanish to Christianize these people met with failure, and they have remained undisturbed for three hundred years. The customs, and especially the religion, of this people are important as an aid in understanding much of the life of the early Maya tribes, and many of the ceremonies are comparable to those represented in the pre-Columbian MSS.

A geographical survey of the principal religions of the native Mexico shows an interesting change from north to south. From the religious point of view, the ideas of the tribes of Sonora and Chihuahua are directly associated with those of the natives of the south-western portion of the United States. The religion of the Pueblo peoples and of the Navahos and Apaches shows striking similarity to the religious ideas of the Huichols, the Cora, and other peoples of Northern Mexico. The rain and the importance of rain are the prime factors in the rituals of all these peoples. In the symbolism of the Huichols centres in the phenomena of nature. In Central and Southern Mexico the religious ideas of the present native population show a great number of survivals of the ancient religion of the formerly highly cultured peoples belonging to the Nahua, the Maya, and Kindred civilizations.


MICHAELMAS.—1. The origin of the festival and the Michael churches in Italy.—The Burseippe in Englysh-Mis M. R. Cole, ‘The Burseippe in Englysh,' in the Westminster Misal of Robert Whytoft of Wyynkyn de Worde in 1526, records the Roman and Sarum tradition of the origin of the festival:

‘The xxix day of September. In the morning of garnage the reserued memory of saynt Mykeshall the archangelle where a chalice of ymn is consecrate that is bose of holyguyng yet notwithstanding it is adoured with many gret veners' (Henry Bradshaw Society, ii. [1911] 153).

The rubric in the Leonian Sacramentary throws still further light on the origin of the festival. It stands alone in assigning it to 30th Sept. and not 29th Sept., but it adds a note of locality which differs from that of the later Roman tradition: 'Prid. Kal. Oct. N Basiliae Angeli in Salaria (C. L. Feltoe, Sacramentarium Leonitam, Cambridge, 1896, p. 106). Feltoe refers to a 9th cen. MS (Add. 2959) and a MS of St. C. Dedic. basil. S. angeli Michaelis in Salaria (ib. p. 203), Martin Rule, in his 'Analytical Study of the Leonian Sacramentary' (JThSt ix. [1903] 215 ff., x. [1896] 54 ff.), traces the materials of this Verons MS: 'In the third and last book of 12th cent. during the pontificates of Leo i. (440-461), Hilarius (461-468), and Simplicius (468-483). This carries the evidence of the rubric to the 5th century.

The festival is, therefore, in its origin the dedication festival of a church. The evidence is not confined to the liturgical books of the Roman rite. The early Mozarabic rite is represented in a MS of the 11th cent., at Paris (Bibl. Nat. nov. acqu. lat. 2171). In a short treatise, Actumatius Festi- vietatum, the festival is announced thus: 'Adveniente diae ii. festivitas erit dedicatio sancti Michaelis in Castel Romano' (p. 29). And in the Martirium Legumin, a calendar in the same MS under Sept. 29, is: 'iii. (Kal. Oct.) dedicatio sancti Michaelis angeli regni' (G. Morin, 'LibriComicus, Anecdota Moriboliana', i.[1883] 362, 402). A coin of the same Spanish monastery of Silos in Old Castile (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 30851) has two inscriptions: 'in die sancti Michaelis Angeli', where reference is made to the 'sacred'. The first hymn has the line: 'ut glorietur in deo cern consorts socios'; and the second: 'Urioel Gabriei Rafael sacrii' (Mozarabic Hymnal, H. Brunshaw Soc. xxx. [1905] 554). The latest hymn has the line: 'et Michaelis et Michaelis in monte Gurgo' (Beroldus, ed. M. Magistrati, Milan, 1894, pp. 11, 17).

1. The Castello S. Angelo at Rome.—Quentin has sifted the further evidence of the Martyrologies. The castello is that of the Martyrology of Bede: 'iii. Kl. Oct. Dedicatio ecclesie sancti angelii Michaelis'. This is modified by the Mâcon MS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti angelii' by the Cologne MS: 'Romane, dedicatio basilicae sancti Mikhailis archangelii'; and by the Bologna MS with the insertion of the words 'miliario sexto' between 'Romane' and 'dedicatio'. The earliest evidence supports that of the Leonian Sacramentary, and points to the dedication of a church at the sixth-mile-stone on the Via Salaria. The MS of Toul and Remiremont read: 'In Monte Gurgo, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangelii.' This is the source of the entry in the Martyrology of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, e. 870: but he adds:

'summae post. Romae, venerabilis stiicm Bonifatius pontificis ecclesie sancti Michaelis nomine constructae sedis, in sommitate ecclesie sanctae misae pro diebus saeculis perpetuum. Unde et ibidem locis, in sommitate siti continuos ecclesie, inter tabernae stabat vocatur' (Quartin, Les Martyrologies historiques, p. 50, 90).

The entry in the Martyrology of Ado is the most ancient testimony to the consecration of the tomb of Hadrian to St. Michael. A century later Lippi from the Apulian monks witnesses to this church on the top of the Castel S. Angelo: 'Mutilio vero ipse sancta altitudinis est, ut ecclesia que ad cocceos sussexerit eum pro deum sanctificat orbis, hic de eo sancto sanctificatur et diadema ad eum. Boni, et de sanctum sanctissimi de sancto sanctissimi' (ib. p. 86).

Baronius also identified the Church of St. Michael inter nubes with the Castel of S. Angelo, assigning its dedication to Boniface iii. (606) or Boniface iv. (697-714), in memory of the staying of the plague under Gregory the Great (C. Baronius, Martyrologium Romanum, Venice, 1602, p. 544).

ii. The church on the Via Salaria.—The dedication festival of Sept. 29 would seem to have three steps in historical progress. The earliest has reference to the church on the Via Salaria, the second to the Apulian church at Monte Gurgo, and the third to the church on the Castel S. Angelo. The sixth mile-stone on the Via Salaria is north of the site of Fidenae, somewhere between Castel Guglie and Castello Marchiano. The fact that Sette Fagni, which lies on the hill-side north of the little stream of the Allia, cannot be far from the old Basilica of St. Michael. The evidence from the Michael shrine near Spoleto, which was known for its healing springs, may explain the origin of the dedication.

iii. The church on Monte Gurgo.—Monte Gurgo juts out from the north end of Apulia into the Adriatic. The Michael shrine is on the Monte S. Angelo, about ten miles from Manfredonia, the ancient Sipontum. The dedication is assigned to the last years of the 5th century. Baronius refers it to MS 2171 (p. 25). And in the Martirium Legumin, a calendar in the same MS under Sept. 29, is: 'iii. (Kal. Oct.) dedicatio sancti Michaelis angeli regni' (G. Morin, 'Libri Comicus, Anecdota Moriboliana', i.[1883] 362, 402). A coin of the same Spanish monastery of Silos in Old Castile (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 30851) has two inscriptions: 'in die sancti Michaelis Arcangeli', where reference is made to the 'sacred'. The first hymn has the line: 'ut glorietur in deo cern consorts socios'; and the second: 'Urioel Gabriei Rafaeli sacrii' (Mozarabic Hymnal, H. Brunshaw Soc. xxx. [1905] 254). The latest hymn has the line: 'et Michaelis et Michaelis in monte Gurgo' (Beroldus, ed. M. Magistrati, Milan, 1894, pp. 11, 17).


iv. The Michael sanctuary in Umbria.—The Antonino Itinerary thus notes two stations on the way from Rome to Milan by the Via Flaminia: 'civitas spolioli... mil. vii; mutatio Sacriarum... mil. viii'. This 'mutatio' is placed at Le Vene, near Spoleto (P. Antonino, ed. R. A. Gilson, M. Pinder, Berlin, 1848, pp. 288, 378). Wesseling rejects the theory of P. Claver that this referred to a sanctuary of Jupiter Clitumnus, and accepts that of L. Holstein that there was a Christian sanctuary on this site when the Itinerary was written (P. Wesseling, Vet. Rom. Itinera, Amsterdam, 1735, p. 613). H. Leclercq states definitely that the sanctuary cannot have been dedicated to the 'God of Angels' before the epoch of Theodosius, or at the latest before the beginning of the 5th century. The inscriptions of the Tempio di Clitumnus belong to this date. The inscription over the central door reads: 'SUSE DEUS ANGELORUM QUI FECIT RESURRECTIONEM.' Leclercq says:

'Q. sedelice, dont la premiere destination n'est paschrete, et que l'antique ...' (DAlch., art. 'Ages', p. 214).

And again, after examining the theory of H. Grisar that these buildings (i.e. the Tempio di Clitumnus and the Church of S. Salvatore at Spoleto) are works of a school of the 12th cent., he concludes:

'Nous pensons donc, jusqu'a nouvelle demonstration que contrairement a l'opinion de L. Holstein, le tempio di Clitumnus a ete une destination primitivement palatiale, il fut vrai de ces sanctuaires que les clercs, ou autres qui dans la rive du Clitumnus pour avoir fait devenir son nato de Sacriaria un site d'epoque situe entre Spoleto et Terri' (ib. p. 210).
The consecration of the healing water of the Citiummass to the God of Angels suggests a similar origin for the basilica on the Via Salaria, and may perhaps lie behind the dedication on Monte Gargano. The legend that the angelic agency, associated with healing springs, is recognized in St. Michael, states that there is evidence of the prevalence of the cult of angels in Umbria from the first half of the 5th century. The Church of S. Salvatore outside of Rome is dedicated to St. Michael. This church originally dedicated to St. Michael in 429. There is another in the parish of Mandorletto near Perugia, of the same epoch, called in the inscription: 'hac sacramento angelorum' (ib., p. 2148).

2. The Michael churches in the East.—I. St. Michael of Khonai.—The Church of St. Michael the Archistrategos was the centre of the angel cult of Asia. When the hill-station of Khonai took the place of Colossae in the 7th cent., the Church of Colossae became known as the Church of St. Michael of Khonai. The legend tells that St. Michael saved the people of the Lausiac valley from inundation by clearing the gorse outside Colossae. The miracle of Khonai in its present form is of the 9th cent., but it represents the foundation of St. Michael's Church of Khonai. W. M. Ramsay has no doubt of the identity of the Church of St. Michael of Khonai with the Church of Colossae. The mid of the Turks in 1189 swept almost completely away the Lausiac valley. Khonai on the hill-side escaped them, but the threshing-floors along the valley were destroyed, and the great church was burnt (Nicetas Choniates, Annales de Isacco Angulo, bk. iv. ch. 2 [Hist. Byzant., Venice, 1729, xil. 210]). The legend also explains the origin of a spring of sweet water on the north of the city (Ramsay, Cities and Bishops of Phrygia, i. 214 ff.). St. Michael of Khonai in the later Christian legend takes the place of the Zeus of Colossae of pagan tradition. The power associated with Zeus was in the Christian period attributed to St. Michael. Ramsay sums up the importance of the legend in its bearing on early Christian history: The worship of angels was strong in Phrygia. Paul warned the Colossians against it in the first century (Col. ii. 15). The Council held at Laodicea on the Lausiac valley, about A.D. 263, stigmatized it as an idolatrous (Conc. Laod. Cah., 53). The church at Laodicea, about 439-540 A.D., mentions that this disease long continued to infest Phrygia, and sought a new resting-place. But that which was once counted idolatry, was afterwards reckoned as piety (Church in the Roman Empire, London, 1882, p. 477).

ii. Asia.—Michael the Archangel was honoured there as the patron of the Church by his name preserved in Mihayil near Phrymmenos, in Michaelitch on the Sangarios, and in other city names (Ramsay, Phrygia, i. 31 f.). He is connected with the introduction of Christianity into Isaura, and is associated with the cities of Akronisos-Nicopolis and Gordium-Endokia. Sozomen speaks of the cures wrought at the Michaelion, a shrine built by Constantine on the north shore of the Bosphorus (HE ii. 3). Its ancient name was Hestia, and was traditionally associated with a temple built by the Argonauts (Cedremus, Hist. Comp. [Hist. Byzant. vii. 93]; Ramsay, Church in Eon. Emp., p. 47, n.). It has been transferred to Constantinople, and is now represented by Armouni.

Procopius describes the rebuilding of this basilica by Constantine, and the building of another under the dedication of St. Michael at Prochteschos on the Asiatic shore (Procopius, de Edificiis, i. 8). It built another on the Asiatic coast at Mokadion (ib. i. 9). Procopius also mentions the Michael churches in Phrygia (ib. iii. 111) and at the healing springs of Pythia in Bithynia, with a house of rest for the sick (ib. iv. 3), while at Perga in Pamphylia stood a pachecoin of St. Michael (ib. v. 9).

iii. Constantinople.—There are important references to the Michael churches of Constantinople and the neighbourhood in the Imperium Orientale of Anicius Banduri (Hist. Byzant., xxii. and xiv.), and the Michael churches of Chios (C. D. du Cange, Hist. Byzant. xxii.). The latter gives a list of fifteen churches (Const. Christ. iv. 3) in the city and five monasteries in the suburbs (ib. iv. 13). The chief festival of St. Michael in the city is that of a small church on Nov. 8, iv. Alexandria.—The Annals of Eutychins of Alexandria (790) have a legend connected with a Michael church in Alexandria. It was on the site of a temple of Saturn, in which there had been an image of brass named Michael. The image was broken up, and the pagan festival was transferred to St. Michael (R. Singer, DCA, p. 1179).

3. The Michael churches in the West.—In Italy and the East, headland, hill-top, and spring sanctuaries now dedicated to St. Michael were formerly sacred sites of earlier religions. The associations rest frequently on folk-lore; the testimony is that of legend and tradition or place-name. The same associations are to be expected in the West. In some cases the legend may be traced; in others it may linger in folk-lore, and can be looked for only in local tradition, and in the association of Colossae with St. Michael and a site associated with a headland, hill-top, or spring, on a road or track of early origin, it is reasonable to look for a pre-Christian sanctuary.

1. Headland and coast churches.—On the French coast are St. Michael near the mouth of the Loire, St. Michael on the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, St. Michael en Greve, and St. Michael at the mouth of the Saône, St. Michael near the Cap de Frehel, and, best-known of all, Mont St. Michel. The legend associated with Mont St. Michel suggests the tradition of an ancient sanctuary of Celtic heathenism. The giant slain by Arthur on the site is said to have come from Spain, the Hades of Celtic mythology (Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, p. 901.). He is said to have ravished Elain, who is equated with a goddess of Welsh mythology (ib. p. 161). Thus, by the overthrow of a giant by the champion of Christendom, the Celtic sanctuary becomes the sanctuary of St. Michael.

Among the coast and headland churches in England are St. Michael's Mount, the church of Lyme Regis, and that of Bere near Seaton, all of ancient origin. There are also St. Michael near the mouth of the Camel opposite Padstow, St. Michael, Mawnan, in Cornwall; St. Michael on the Penkridge, and St. Michael-Caes-hayes. On the west coast there is a Michael church at Workington in Cumberland; on the east coast, Garton in the East Riding, Sidestrand and Ormesby St. Michael, in Norfolk; on the south coast, Newhaven in Sussex and East Toymouth, Devon. With a few exceptions the majority are in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, where the old lore lingered longest.

2. Hill-top churches.—These are to be found throughout the West, sometimes as hermitage chapels, sometimes as town and village churches. St. Michael is the central church of Limoges, the Augustinorum monasteries of the Metzgate in Limoges. St. Michael is also the central church of Castelanadour on the old road between Carcassonne and Toulouse. These sites are frequently the high-places consecrated to early religious rites. The church of Penkridge in Staffordshire is dedicated to St. Michael. Penkridge is the Celtic site of the ancient city of Penimor, 'a place-name which bears evidence of a true Celtic origin and the centre of ancient Britain' (Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, p. 2021.). It is the Brythonic equivalent of the Irish Cenn Cuarach, 'the Chief of the Mound,' who bowed before the staff of St. Patrick.
Penkridge was formerly the sanctuary of the Celtic Zeus.

A Michael church may often witness some pre-historic centre of religious worship.

The story of a bull is associated with the foundation legend of the Church of St. Michael in Monte Gargano. The legend rests on a 'libellus' which was kept in the church. Garganis, a rich citizen of Spistium, missed his bull from the herd;

Quemvis discesque multitudinis per devia
queque requieres, inventis tandeo in vertice montis fortuna
culuroam admittere sollicitum non labor aliusque;

The sanctuary of the bull-shrine is here vindicated. The terror is averted by the dedication of the site to St. Michael.

The life of St. Francis of Assisi alludes to the forty days' fast in honour of St. Michael. It was kept 'ad heremum Alverneus.' It was on the occasion of one of these fasts that the birds gathered round his cell. They are called his 'sacred angels' ('Monsangeli') (Fam. i. 512).

The vision of the stigmata is assigned to this sanctuary.

'En timo itaque antiquum spiritum referet caele... per
adsequentem eum exequam sanctam: Diem omnem Alverneus
Dum ignit luxsa solium movere quadragesimam hibern ad
inoceantem'. This vision of St. Michael was noted by
Michaelsis lectoane cum sensit:... coepti
commissionis cumulatione duos sentir.' (ib. i. 524).

vi. The spring churches.—The dedication of wells and springs to St. Michael may be noted in the Michael churches of Askerwell, and the head of the Askar Valley in Dorset, at Barwell in Leicestershire, and at Houghton-le-Spring in Durham. In Portugal near Leiria on the Monte de São Miguel a warm and a cold spring issue close together from the Olhos de São Pedro.

There is a remarkable example of a Michael church in association with a spring at Llanllyhein near Llanidloes Major in Montgomeryshire. The church is in a dell, and just outside the N.W. corner of its churchyard is a spring. The spring-head is ornamented with the bust of a woman, and the water used to issue from the breasts. It is now (April 1913) nearly filled up with mud.

Llanllyhein churches in Wales.—It has been noted by W. L. Bevan (Disc. Hist. of St. David's, London, 1888, p. 36, ap. Willis Bund, The Celtic Church of Wales, p. 336) that the Michael churches of the diocese of St. David's, to the number of forty-five, with one exception, are in the country districts. It has been suggested by Willis Bund (p. 336) that they mark a second stage in the spread of Christianity in Wales; our conjecture is that this group marks the spread of Christianity.

'The term selected was one that would elevate the victory of the cross over the Pagans.' (ib. p. 336).

The Michael churches of Anglesey bear out this suggestion. There are four of them, and they are all in the near neighbourhood of sites of great antiquity, associated with the legend and myth of Wales: Llanllyhein-ty'n Sylwog, on the coast north-west of Beaumaris, is within the pre-historic site of Bwrdd Arthur. Llanllyhein Tr'Erleid derives its name from the ancient Carneddan Tr'Erleid. It lies to the east of Llanerchymedd. Llan-
llyhein-ty'n-Nhowyn, south-east of Valley, is near the site of Cerr-Ellen. Llanllyhein Esgolig is parochially connected with the old site of Plas Berw. This association of the Michael churches of Anglesey with the site of a pre-historic race of the Celtic tribes in churches in Italy and the East, can hardly be accidental. It would seem to support the evidence that the Michael churches occupy the situlae and seats of Celtishethandyn:

v. The Michael churchyards.—The churchyard of St. Michael's at Lichfield is referred to in the MS Historia Ecclesiae Lichfeldensis in the Catholic Library at Lichfield. It was a venerated site even in the time of St. Augustine.

'Corporibus oceorum sepelluntur insolina magnitudinis
post eremum in se ipso, accipitur. Sin sunt sedes
orum sancta aliqua.

They speak of certain national burial-places in the early ages of the Church:

In primordii sanctae Ecclesiae Anglicae cemeterii erant
rara, paucis et siclius et spatioic; in cemeterium Avellenae
sacram in quo Rex Arthurius sepultus est; cemeterium
Dorchester; Cenobium; Bever Heres: Lindisfarne: atque
acerdotes et celerum Divo Michael ac turris Lichfeldensis
et Augusti

A note 'de Cornovis' in the same MS speaks of a similar burial-place in the neighbourhood of Hexham:

'Est manibus securitatem, semore rarum et vulgo circumdata,
non longe ab ecclesia, labores et sepulchrum.

vi. The Angel Victor in Ireland.—The Genair
Patraco, the hymn of St. Fiac in honour of St.
Patrick, has two references to St. Michael under the name of Victor.

In v. 4 it is his command that Patrick went across the seas:

'Abert Victor frigil

He sent him south to Victor: It was he (Victor) that stopped him' (ib. xiii. 102, xiv. 34).

The gloss on v. 4 reads:

'Victor, l. angel communis Scotiae gentis sein: quia Michael
angulus Ebriceae gentis, ita Victor Scotorum' (ib. xiii. 16).

The translation of the Irish gloss on v. 46 reads:

'It is to be noted, his Excellency, that he is the common angel of the Gaels as well as the Irish: and he is Michael judge of the Irish.' (ib. xiii. 102, xiv. 134).

The hymn seems based on notes written by Maelruain Mac Maelcened in the 7th cent. and preserved in the Book of Armagh. The hymn itself belongs to the 8th century (ib. xiv. 176). The name Victor may be traceable to the inatio of the Mozarabic Missal for Michaelmas:

'Ecce unus Christi: in qua manet semper
subitum in inferno: et ipse victor exuit victori placavit: quia victor

It is a point of affinity between the liturgical uses of Ireland and Spain.

But the name Michael is not sunk in the title Victor. J. H. Bernard, in his note on the Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchan in honour of St. Michael, says:

'St. Michael was very popular in Ireland. In the Second Vision of Adamnan we read in section 19: 'The three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the kingdom Peter the Apostle, John the Baptist, and St. Michael, the Archangel.' There are a large number of fragmentary Irish poems in praise of St. Michael in the manuscript collection of the Royal Irish Academy. There were churches dedicated to him in many localities; the place-name Temple-Michael still exists in 6 or 7 counties (ib. Hibern. Soc. xiv. 135).

The Michaelmas goose.—There is an old saying: 'If you eat goose on Michaelmas-day you will never want money all the year round' (Hone, Every-Day Book, i. 1339). In Herefordshire in 1470, 'one goose fit for the lord's dinner on the feast of St. Michael the archangel' was due as
part of service or rent for land (ib.). G. Gascoigne, in his poems published in 1575, alludes to a similar custom:

'At Christmass a capon,
At Michaelmas a goose,
And somewhat else at New-year this,
To make their lease file longer.'

Such customs lie deep in the folklore and religious ideas of a people. Geese have sacred associations, as attested to by the phrases 'liberum sacris Junoni' (Livy, v. 47). The goose-pond, or 'fuenta de las oca,' is still preserved in the cathedral court of the cathedral of Barcelona. The temple is built on the site of a Roman temple—a temple ascribed to Hercules. Some columns in an adjoining street still witness to the antiquity of the site. There were sacred geese in the Greek temples (ELE i. 518). Geese were taken to the ancient Britons ('leperon et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant' (Ces. de Bell. Gall. v. 12). They also have a place in the story of St. Werburga ('in Wedane mansione, quod est lustria Hamptoniana... infinita auncarum silvestrium... multitudine' (Nova Legenda Anglie, ed. C. Horatmann, Oxford, 1901, ii. 423)). The witness of East and West, the folk-lore and legend of Britain, alike point to the sacred Michaelmas goose. The established Michaelmas custom rests, together with the sites of so many of our Michael churches, on a foundation of primitive religion, and it is probable that they are less sacred to us today than to our forefathers. The goose-ponds are rooted in the liturgical traditions of Celtic heathendom.

5. The liturgical meaning of the festival: St. Michael and All Angels.—The festival of Michaelmas is especially in honour of St. Michael, but the words of the officium or introit to the mass in all Western uses are: 'Benedicite Dominum omnes angelis.' The festival thus includes All Angels. The English liturgy entitles the festival 'St. Michael and All Angels.' The Colbertine Breviary of c. 1675 (H. Bradshaw Soc. xliii. [1912] p. xxxvi) agrees in this title: 'S. Michaelis et omnium Angelorum.' The Dedication of the Great Hall of the Bishops of Diocletian in 1544 under the title S. Maria degli Angeli shows the same intention.

The Collect: 'Dens, qui miro ordine—'the services of Angels and men in a wonderful order and manner—is common to all the uses. Its subject is the ministry of angels. The Gospel, offertory, and postcommunion are also common to all. The Gospel—'Quis putas magae digne, qui ad guardiam of the angels, the Offertory—'Stetit Angelus'—to the incense of prayer, the Postcommunion—'Beatit Angelichi tuui Michaelis'—to the intercession of St. Michael. The Epistle common to the Roman and Sarum and most of the Western uses—'Significavit Deus quae operis fieri cito'—commemorates the Angel of the Apocalypse (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. (1897) 1935).

The Epistle in the English Prayer-Book, 'There was war in heaven,' represents a different strain of liturgical tradition, and celebrates the victory of St. Michael over the dragon, 'that old serpent, the old serpent, the devil, and Satan, which is called the dragon of the whole world.' The Westminster Missal of c. 1575 has this Epistle as a First Lection, followed by the usual Epistle, 'Significavit Deum.' It is a rare instance of two prophetic lections before the gospel, which of itself shows the influence of Gallusian use. This inference is strengthened by its use as the First Lection in the Mozarabic Missale Mixture (ed. Lesley, p. 339). It also appears as a Matins lesson in the Breviary of Milan, 1840, Para Aestiva, ii. Prop. de Tempore, p. 403). Wickham Legge traces it in the Missals of Durham, Abingdon, and Sherborne among old English uses; and in that of Rouen of 1499 and the Cistercian Missal of 1627 (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. 1595).

The English Epistle is inspired by the thought of the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and belongs to the same cycle of ideas as the Angel Victor in Ireland.


THOMAS BARNES.
also exposed himself to Maccius by his exaggeration of his master's teaching on similitudes in funeral rites (Maccius, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5). Maccius did no more than encourage extravagance on utilitarian grounds, as being of no profit to men or of no benefit to the state, nor was he guilty of any heresy for a decent interlocutor (Maccius, bk. v. ch. 25).

Among other points worthy of notice are these.

In bk. iii., on the value of uniformity, Maccius holds that men originally were hopelessly at strife and odds, each having his own view of right, and that order is based on submissive acceptance of the judgment of the supreme ruler, whose judgment, however, must conform to heaven if heaven-sent punishments are to be avoided. Hence the piety of the ancient kings. Maccius is firmly convinced of the existence of spiritual beings, the instruments of heaven's commandments, and so far affirms the necessity of religious belief for social stability (bk. viii.). Of two chapters criticizing the Confrican school one survives, though Chinese editors are inclined to deny this reference in Maccius, while whole Maccius deserves Legge's praise of him as 'an original thinker,' who exercised a bolder judgment on things than Confucius or any of his followers.


J. J. Maclagan.

MIDRASHIC LITERATURE.—The term midrash (from the root daraah, 'to seek,' 'inquire') signifies 'research,' 'inquiry,' 'study.' Applied by the Chaldeans to historical writings of didactic import, 1 as the Midrash of the Prophet Eel (2 Ch 15:7) and the Midrash of the book of Kings (2 Ch 21:17), it assumed later, with the advent of the sofroom, or scribes, upon the stage of Jewish history, the connotation of free exposition or exegesis of Scripture, eventually becoming a general term for pure theoretic study as opposed to a practical pursuit of knowledge. 2 From the latter usage the Jewish academy received its name lichtin mi-rashim, 'house of study.' In a narrower sense, midrash is employed to mean any specific exposition of a Scriptural passage differing essentially from the pesharim, the literal meaning (the plural form in such case being midrashim, and in such cases often transferred to a collection of such free expositions, known collectively as midrashim, Midrash works. 3

The intellectual activity of the Rabbis with regard to this expository work of the Bible was developed along two distinct lines, the Halakhah and the Haggadah, and a brief remarks on the basic differences between these two currents of Rabbinic thought, flowing in parallel streams, are of paramount importance. Reduced to their bare etymology, the terms signify: halakhah, 'way of setting,' 'habit,' 'rule of conduct'; hagadah (also known in its Aramaic form 'agdah' or 'agada'), 'the telling,' 'the relating.' Hence the Rabbinistic conformity of the halakhah to itself the legalistic aspect of the Scriptures; the Haggadah to their moralizing and edifying aspect. From the Rabbinic standpoint, the Bible is a microcosm, in which is reflected every person and event of the great universe. One teacher comments: 'Turn it, and again turn it; for the all is therein' (Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, p. 36). It requires only the light of a great thinker to extract from its compact pages all this esoteric wisdom; like a hammer which strikes the inherent sparks from the rock, it is possible to unravel all the secrets which the master of exegesis revealed in the cold letter of the text (Sanh. 34a).

The Halakhah takes up this work of rekindling the mystical spark of knowledge in the legal field; in all other fields of human activity that task is undertaken by the Haggadah. The Haggadah relies, for its powers, mainly on the intellectual and logical faculties of man; the Haggadah on the imaginative and emotional faculties. The Halakhah strives to preserve the letter of the law by insisting on the observance of all the details in the ritual; the Haggadah, by a well-defined analysis of the relation of man to his environment, seeks to preserve its spirit. 4

Midrashic study, therefore, assumes a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is concerned with the evolution of legalism—the Halakhah; on the other, it centres about the process of divination, or the universe—the Haggadah. The origin of Midrashic study is shrouded in the gloom of antiquity. The Rabbis themselves often assign Midrashic interpretations of Scripture to the ancients. Yet, though such statements are not to be taken literally. A noteworthy instance of this occurs in the Mishna (Shabb. vi. 6): 'This is the midrash which Jehoi-dada, the high priest, taught, etc.' Rabbis who accused the Rabbis who taught that which the Rabbinic authorities, A.D. 10-220; (c) the period of the Amorim, later Rabbinic authorities, A.D. 220-500. The historical side of the development of Midrashic study has been ably dealt with by L. Zunz, Die gottdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, Frankfort, 1882; Z. Frankel, Hodgecast in Mish-nam, Leipzig, 1859, and Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitum, Breslau, 1870; D. Hoffmann, Zur Einleitung in der halachischen Midraschim (Beilage des Rabbiner-Seminariums zu Berlin), 1877; and especially in the works of W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten, Strassburg, 1906, Die Agada der babylonischen Amorim, do. 1878, and Die Agada der palästinischen Amorim, do. 1892-99. Only few traces remain of the Midrashic exegesis of the early scribes (cf. Mishnath Sotah, viii.; Midr. Ahare Shelomoh, 10 f.). During the second period, the Tannaitic, Midrashic study must have developed to grand proportions, as is evident from the fact that the various schools of Rabbis, begin-


2 <i>id.</i>, Rabbin Simon, the son of Gammalel, adds: 'Not the midrashim (pure theoretic study) in the Talmud, but the desire (Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, ed. C. Taylor, Cambridge, 1897, p. 118.)


4 W. Bacher, Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsteilnehmer, Leipzig, 1939-1935, i. 103.

5 This word from the formula mag'dah 'i, 'the text explains that,' in use in the earliest Midrashic works.
The period of the Anorah was most prolific in the field of Midrashic research, most of the collections, in fact, having their beginnings during that period. The legalistic exegesis of Scripture did not proceed in an unsystematic manner. Each school of Rabbis would hand over the results of its work to the next in the form of rules of legal hermeneutics which were derived from the previous. Rabbi Akiba and his followers in the Pentateuch. Accordingly, the school of Hillel, at the beginning of the first century of our era, left seven such rules, which, in the school of Rabbi Ishmael, were later amplified into thirteen. These are either based on some logical syllogism or of purely exegetical character. Thus the seven original rules laid down by the school of Hillel embrace the following: (1) the inference from minor and major (at the bottom of which is a *foraioi* reasoning); (2) the analogy of expressions; (3) the generalization of one special provision; (4) the generalization of two special provisions; (5) the effect of general and particular terms; (6) the analogy made from another passage; (7) the explanation derived from the context.

From the school of Rabbi Ishmael a complete commentary was added to the Pentateuch. In the Mishna this commentary was issued, the following parts of which have been preserved.

(a) The *Mkhlit* (Aramaic for 'rule' or 'measure'), which is the earliest rabbinic work extant, is a running commentary to the legal portions of Exodus. It begins with the injunction concerning the Paschal lamb in 12:6, and ends with the injunction concerning the kindling of fires on the Sabbath (35:6). A large portion of Haggadic material has also been added. In the *Mkhlit*, as well as in all the other Halakhic Midrashim, the activity of Rabbi Akiba in the legal field is analyzed. In the Mishna it is synthesized. The *Mkhlit* went through the hands of later redactors, whose work is still traceable. The *Mkhlit* was completed by Hoffmann ('Einleitung', pp. 72-76) from fragments preserved in various places in Babliic literature.

(b) The Halakhic Midrash to Numbers from the school of Rabbi Akiba, for example, is a running commentary to 5:25-35 with omissions. The work is generally bound together with the *Sifer* to Deuteronomy, and both were, for a long time, considered of similar origin. The latter work, however, originated in the school of Rabbi Akiba. The name *Sifer* probably means 'books.' The first edition was printed in Venice, 1545, and a critical edition was issued by M. Friedmann, *Sifer del Rabi Akiba* (Vienna, 1864).

(d) Fragments, from the same school, of a commentary to Deuteronomy were published by D. Hoffmann, in *Judenth!' zum zweiten Geburts- tag des Dr. Israel Hildebr, Berlin, 1890, pp. 1-82.

Opposed to the methods pursued by the school of Rabbi Ishmael was the more rigoristic school of Rabbi Akiba. The latter, in expounding the law, followed a method known as 'extension and limitation' (ribbhot 'um- david), introduced by his teacher, Nahum of Gimzo. According to this system, it was necessary to consider the amplifying or limiting value of certain words when considering the legal question involved in the passage, in order to include the additions of tradition or to exclude it when no longer sanctions. Thus the particular words 'lest' or 'only' were considered as amplifying, the particles 'but,' '... and,' 'from as limiting, the original law. Rabbi Akiba's disciples included the most distinguished teachers of the law, such as Rabbi Me'ir, Judah ha-Nasi, and Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai. His disciple, Aquila, followed his methods of exegesis in his Greek version of the OT. From the school of Rabbi Akiba the following Halakhic Midrashim have been preserved: (i), the *Mkhlit* of Rabbi Akiba on Exodus, continued in the *Midrash hag-Gadol*, and published by D. Hoffmann (*Mechilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai*, Frankfort a. M., 1895); (ii), the *Sifer* or *Torath Kohanim*, 'The Law of the Priesthood,' which is a complete running Halakhic commentary to Leviticus, and was edited by Rabbi Hyya (middle of 2nd cent.; cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' p. 225); (iii), the *editio princeps* was Venice, 1545, and the standard edition is *Yefra, Commentar zu Leviticus...* nebst Erlauterung des R. Abraham ben David und I. H. Weiss... herausgegeben von Jakob Schlossberg, Vienna, 1862; (iv), the *Sifer* to Numbers, and the *Sifer* to Deuteronomy, which is the running commentary to Numbers from the school of Rabbi Akiba, existing only in fragmentary form in various collections, foremost among which is the *Yefra, Arba'een 'Ber* (cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' pp. 69-66); and (iv), the *Sifer* to Deuteronomy, which was first printed in Venice, 1574; and (v), the *Sifer* to Numbers, which is the running commentary to this book issuing from the same school. It is usually bound with the *Sifer* to Numbers emanating from the school of Rabbi Ishmael (cf. above).

These Midrashic collections are but small remnants of the great number of such works which the ravages of time have destroyed. They were compiled, for the most part, during the first two centuries of our era. While their scope is primarily Halakhic, the Haggadic content in each instance forms no mean proportion, for the Rabbis felt themselves bound by no rigorous division-line in arranging their material. The later Mishna and Talmud are extensive collections which comprise the greatest efforts of the Rabbis in the realm of Halakhha and Hagga'da.

To illustrate the methods of the Halakhic Midrash the following passage, in which the legal aspect of tort is discussed, will be of interest:

"'Eye for eye' (Ex 21:23) means a money-compensation. This, however, is a mere assertion; perhaps we are actually to understand the passage in its literal sense. Says Rabbi Elasar: 'Scripture unites in one passage (Lv 24:17) the two injunctions, 'He that killeth a beast shall make it good' and 'be that killeth a man shall be put to death.' For what purpose is this collocation—in order to establish a like precedent for the laws of tort in the case of man and beast. Just as the damage inflicted on a beast is punishable by a fine, so the damage inflicted on a human being is punishable by a fine." Rabbi Issac adds: "In the case where one man's beast has repeatedly inflicted death on several human beings, Scripture specifically imposes a fine on the owner a death penalty (Ex 21:23) in this case, where the Scriptural penalty is only the loss of an eye, there is all the more reason to believe that the law has been issued, to allow a money compensation" (cf. *Mkhlit* of Rabbi Akiba, Mishpatim, 8).

The binding force of the decisions of the Rabbis with regard to their interpretations of the Mosaic law is clearly expressed in the following:

"Concerning the authority of the words of the scribes, Scripture says (Lv 24:17): 'According to the law which they shall teach thee.' It does not say which the Torah

VoL. VIII.—40
Haggadic Midrashim.—The Haggadah is the expression of the philosophy of Jewish life, and, as a result, had a wider appeal than the more abstruse Midrashim. There was a keen appreciation of the consoling powers of the Haggadah, Rabbi Isaac informs us:

"Generations before, when the penny had a freer circulation, there was a desire to listen to Midrash and Talmud; but to-day, however, when the penny is scarce, there is only a desire for Scripture and Haggadah" (Pilpul of R. Eliezer, Bahnhofshash-Shirmah).

The Haggadah Midrashim are of two kinds: (1) exegetical and (2) homiletic. The first form running commentaries to the text of the various books of the OT, and in this respect follow the method of the Halakhic Midrashim. They are, however, frequently introduced by several proems—opening remarks generally based on some text in the Haggadah—which is rather a characteristic of the homiletic Midrashim. The latter are collections of homilies or sermons, which were delivered in the Synagogues and festival services in the synagogues, and which were based on the portion of the law read during such service. The homiletic Midrashim, therefore, differ essentially, in their treatment, on the homiletic, from the exegetical, on the subject-matter, from all the other Midrashic works.

They are regularly introduced by proems in which a passage from the Haggadah or Prophets is explained or interpreted. Several homiletic works (notably the Tḥonḳamāh) also resort to a Halakhic exordium. The lesson of the day is then attached to the opening verses of the passage. In the course of the law read, the text being often used merely as a basis for a lesson on morals quite fully developed. The homilies close, for the most part, with verses of encouragement, prophesying the redemption of Israel and the advent of the Messianic era.

Two cycles of homiletic Midrashim are in existence: (a) those originating in the three-year-cycle of Scriptural Sabbath readings then in vogue in Palestine; and (b) those based on the readings during the special Sabbaths in the Jewish calendar (occuring before Purim and Passover) and on the festivals and fast-days—thus the *Pilpul* cycle.

3. Exegetical Midrashim.—Of these the oldest and most important is *Br'orrhah Rabbâ* a Haggadic commentary to Genesis. It is the first in the collection known as Middrash Rabhâ, or *Middrash Rabbâ*, which comprises ten Midrashic works, one for each book of the Pentateuch, and one for each of the Five Scrolls (the books of Esther, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes). The works included in this collection are of a miscellaneous character, and their time of composition extends from the 6th to the 12th cent.—the period in which the different Haggadic Midrashim were redacted. Of the Haggadah Midrashim Brereth Rabbâ is, no doubt, the oldest as well as the richest from the point of view of subject-matter. Like most of the Midrashim, it had its origin in Palestine, and was put into its final form no later than the 6th century. Older authorities assign the work to Rabbi Roshalah, a Palestinian teacher of the 3rd cent. (with whose remarks the book has been confused) and it cannot be responsible for the

1 Cl. J. Theodor, in Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, xxiv. [1850-57], 396.
2 For introduction to the various Midrashic works cf. JR, under each title; Winter and Wünsche, I, 411-601; and the introductions to the separate works.

work in its present form. The historical and legendary content of Genesis furnishes ample material for Haggadic exposition. The ten Midrashic works forming the collection *Middrash Rabbâ* were printed for the first time in Venice, 1545. The standard edition is that of Wilna, 1875-87. The collection was translated into German by August Wünsche in Bibliotheca Rabbinica, eine Sammlung alter Midrashim, Leipzig, 1889, and L. Shapiro translated it into English as *Brereth Rabbâ* into English (Middrash Rabhâ, New York, 1906).

*Ekhâ Rabbâthî, a Haggadic commentary to Lamentations, is also a very early exegetical Midrash, and is included in the *Middrash Rabbâ*.

This work (as well as *Brereth Rabbâ*) is introduced by many elaborate proems followed by commentary to the text of Lamentations. The book is especially rich in anecdotes and legends of the pathetic events that transpired during the destruction of Jerusalem. A critical edition has been issued by S. Buber, Ekhâ Rabbûthî, Wilna, 1890.

*Middrash Bâbâ* (also included in the *Middrash Rabhâ*) is an exegetical Midrash to Ruth. The book is introduced by a series of proems, and the conversion of Ruth furnishes a beautiful lesson to the Rabbinic commentators.

*Koheleth Rabbâ* (also included in the above collection) is an almost complete exegetical commentary on the *Koheleth*.

Ester was preserved, and it was utilized much of the material found in the Talmud and in various earlier Midrashic works, and mentions several sources by name—a sign of the late origin of the *Middrash Ester*.

Finally, *Esther*> is an exegetical commentary on Esther included in the *Middrash Rabhâ*. This is one of a number of extant Haggadic Midrashim to the book of Esther, very richly because of its use during the Purim festival. The others were published by S. Buber, Sammlung agadischer Kommentare zum Buche Esther, Wilna, 1896, and Aegidius, Abhandlungen zum Buche Esther, Cracow, 1897.

Besides the above-mentioned Midrashim to the Five Scrolls, Buber published several other extant Midrashim to the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in *Midrash Suta* Berlin, 1894.

There are still extant several Haggadic Midrashim dealing with the remaining books of Scripture. There can be no doubt that originally such exegetical works existed on all the books, but they have been lost. Foremost among them are *Middrash Tehillim*, a Haggadic commentary to the book of Psalms. It is also known as *Shehâr Tôhâ*, 'He that seeketh good' (Pr 11:12), which are also the opening words of the book. This Midrash is especially rich in the rhetorical devices employed by the Haggadists—analogies, legends, fables, maxims, etc. A critical edition was issued by Buber (Midrash Tehillim, Wilna, 1891). A Midrash to the book of Samuel has, likewise, been preserved, and it is a collection of Haggadic comments on the book, gleaning from various parts of Rabbinic literature. The first edition of the work was Constantinople, 1517. A critical edition was published by S. Wiinsche (Middrash Tehillim, Cracow, 1893). *Middrash Midhalah* is an incomplete Haggadic Midrash to Proverbs. The comments in this Midrash are exceptionally brief, so that the work approaches the character of a Biblical commentary. A critical edition was
issued by S. Buber (Midrash Minchot, Wilna, 1895). The Midrashim to the books of Isaiah and Job have been compiled by older authors and, of the latter extracts are found in the collection, Yalkut Machiri (to Is 61), and in a few other old works. Several fragments of a Midrash to the book of Jonah have been published by A. Jellinek (Beth han-Sidra, Leipzig, 1823-70, i. 06-105); and by C. M. Horovitz (Sammlung kleiner Midraschim, Berlin, 1891).

4. Homiletic Midrashim.—The purely homiletic Midrashim belonging to the Pentateuch (based on the homiletic commentaries of the Talmud in the synagogues of Palestine) are: (1) the Tanhûma, (2) Aggadah Brâschîeth, and (3) the four remaining works in the Midrash Rabba on the four last books of the Pentateuch. The Tanhûma (the well-known Vinnamâdî, 'Let him teach us,' because of the frequent use of this formula to introduce the Hâlakhic exordiums in the Midrash) is a complete homiletic commentary to the Pentateuch, extant in two versions, containing also special homilies for the days of the Psikte cycle. A third version is known to have existed. A critical edition was issued by Buber (Midrashim, Wilna, 1885). Shemôth Rabba on Exodus, Wawûkî Rabba on Leviticus, Shemôth Rabba on Numbers, and vBôcharîm Rabba on Deuteronomy are four homiletic works of different origin belonging to the same cycle. Of these the homilies to Leviticus are, no doubt, among the oldest, and are characterized by a frequent use of popular sayings and proverbs to illustrate the lesson of the day. The other three works include material, which previous collections are already found in the Tanhûma collection. Aggadah Brâschîeth is a collection of homilies to portions of Genesis and to portions of the Prophets and Psalms, and was edited by Buber (Aggadah Berashîth, Crickow, 1929).

2. Two collections of homilies of the Psikte cycle have been preserved: (1) Psikîth of Rav Kahana, and (2) Psikîth Rabba. The first consists of thirty-four homilies on the lessons for the special Sabbaths and the fast days. It was edited by Buber (Pesiktha . . . von Rav Kahana, Lyck, 1868). The Psikîth Rabba is a later work, and also contains homilies for the special days of the Psikte cycle. It was edited critically by M. Friedmann (Pesikta Rabba, Vienna, 1880).

5. Style and content of the Haggadic Midrash.

1 Besides the collections already mentioned, there are special Haggadic works of didactic import based upon a large amount of material in previous works, but not arranged in the form of a commentary. Such are the Periké Rabbi Eliezer (periké Rabba, Wilna, 1885), and the collection made by Buber (Haggadot Beroseh, Crickow, 1929).


In order to make their teachings more effective, the Rabbis resort to well-known rhetorical devices. Foremost among these is the use of the nasîḥâ, 'analogy.' The analogy, or extended metaphor, is a well-known figure in literary composition; in the hands of the Rabbis it reached the acme of its development. The analogies were drawn from two sources,—first, from the events of every-day life, and, secondly, from the institutions of the Roman empire, during which period the Rabbis lived. On the subject of the political history of the Jews and the practices of Rome as depicted in the nasîḥâ an interesting volume of no mean size has been written (J. Ziegler, Die Königsfiguren des Midrash beleuchtet durch die römische Kaiserzeit, Breslau, 1903). On the comparative side, Paul Fiebig has contributed an interesting volume on the differences between the Rabbinic and the NT use of the nasîḥâ (Alljüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, Tubinga and Leipsic, 1904). The analogy was most helpful in explaining difficulties in the narrative, and often in accounting for extraneous matter in Scripture not quite adaptable to preaching purposes. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the use of the nasîḥâ.

A nasîḥâ once asked Rabbi Yose bar Halâth, 'Why does Scripture say: 'He which knoweth the righteous, and giveth knowledge to them that know understanding' (Dt 32: 2)? It were notes that the phraseology of the P'siktoth, yôsho bâ me," the newies, and knowledge to them that have not understanding." This Rabbi Yose met with the following: 'Let me give you an analogy. If, for instance, one were to approach thee to borrow a sum of money, to whom wouldst thou lend the money, to the poor man or to the rich? 'Of course to the rich man,' she replied, 'for, in the event of his loss, he still has assets from which I might recover, whereas from the poor man I could not get a penny.' (Babylonian Talmud, Yebamoth 46).—The second method by which we may interpret the homilies of the Psikte cycle is a method of didactic homilies, which, from the point of view of the assembly, could be presented in the form of a sermon (Kabbalat hatehillsa, &c.).

In commenting upon the fact that the Pentateuch does not enumerate by name the participants in the sedition of Korah, the Rabbis use the following nasîḥâ: Rabbi Judas, the son of Simon, explained, on the authority of Rabbi Levi ben Parata—This may be compared to the son of a debaucer who once committed a theft in the public bath, and the keeper of the bath does not desire, for tactical reasons, to reveal his name; but describes him as 'a handsome youth dressed in white.'

Similarly the Pentateuch does not mention the names of all the participants in the sedition of Korah, but merely describes their behavior. This may be compared to the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown (Ne 10: 16; cf. Brûcharîm Rabba, xiii. 3).

Another form of the nasîḥâ was the fable or parable. Collections of parables are already associated in the Jewish world with the name of the wise king, Solomon, who is said to have spoken of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes (I K 4). In the Talmud two collections are mentioned on several occasions—a collection of fox-fables and a collection of date-fruit parables (cf. Sukkah, 28a; Rabbi Bathra, 13me). The latter uses the parable in the speech of Jotham (Judg 9: 8-9) and in that of Jehoshâ (2 K 14: 14). A casual example will illustrate its use in the Midrash.

In the following, the fable of the fox and the fishes is effectively employed by Rabbi Akiba during one of the persecutions, when the study of the Torah was forbidden under penalty of death. Pappus discovered Rabbi Akiba hastily engaged in the study of the Scriptures. Rabbi Akiba was guilty of an art thou not endangering thy life in transgressing the royal mandate? Whereupon Rabbi Akiba replied, 'Let me give thee an analogy in the following story: Once the fox rambled alongside the bank of a river and, beholding the fishes, exclaimed, 'Come unto me, and I will give thee very sweet fruit.' The fishes, however, answered, 'Wouldst thou grapple with us, and snatch us from the crevices of the rock, where you will never fear capture.' To which the fishes replied: 'Pappus wouldst thou, art nothing more than a simileton. Our whole life depends upon the element of water, and thou wouldst have us for thy prey.'
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in one element—the study of the Torah, as it is written, "For he is the foundation of the holy tongue." [De 30:9], and the would have me leave it because of personal danger." [Tanhuma Taan. 10, 2].

Another means of impressing a lesson is the aphorism, maxum, or proverb. The OT already contains extensive gnoseologies in proverbial form. This is how Rabbi Becha later added to this original store, and the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers is a historically arranged gnoseology written in the Talmudic period, and comprising the most important examples of the learned teachers from the time of Simon the Just to the period of the Amora'im. A later author, Rabbi Nathan, is said to have made a large collection of such maxims; and in the Aboth of Rabbi Nathun (ed. Schecter, V. 1, 1887) a sublustrum of his original work remains. This work is characterized by the frequent use of the numerical proverb, in which a number of sayings are associated by means of a numerical key. The material in these collections, as well as the sayings current among the masses (generally introduced by the formula 'as the people say'), was employed by the Rabbis in teaching their lessons. Many of these proverbs are also found in the Gospels. For example, the well-known saying in the Sermon on the Mount, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you." [Mt 7:2], is very frequent in Haggadic literature (cf. Talmud, Bavli, 38: Phillsin, xxii. 2; and Mishnah Sotah, i. 17). Similarly, 'Enough for the servant that he be as his lord' (Mt 10) is found in Tanhuma, Esh Elcha, 28; Phillsin, xxvi. 8; and in the Talmud (Brâbithâh, 80). Only a few of these gems can be quoted here:

A single coin in an empty ar est makes a loud noise('T'hillim, i. 21, and in the Talmud, Bâbithâh, 50a). 'Say to the bee, I want not thy honey and I crave not thy sting' ('Phillsin, i. 21). 'Woe to thee, Phillsin, xx. 22, 23, to the doth which the baker condemns as unrighteous' ('Phillsin, ch. 14). 'Woe to the living who implores aid of the dead, woe to the hero who intercedes with the weakling, woe to the seeing who ask help from the blind, and woe to the generation whose leaders are women' (Veh. xxvii. 2).

Another rhetorical device for impressing a lesson is the pun. This leads into the field of Rabbinic humour. Scripture has set the precedent for its use in carefully executed word-plays and puns especially on the names of individuals.

And the bare Cain, and said, I have gotten ('Eshb. K'thatim) ('Genesis 4:1), as 'phillsin' (Phillsin, xxvii. 22). Similarly, the Rabbis take great liberties in punning on proper names.

Where was the prophet called Jeremiah? Because, during his life, Jerusalem was left in a state of ignomia ('desecration') ('Kethoth Rabba, i. 2). The name of the daughter-in-law of a rich man because in her back (Chesid) she carried herself to her mother-in-law. The name of the other was Ruth, because she unprejudiced ('râkothâh) the words of her mother-in-law (Rapâh Babbath, i. 9).

The Rabbis decide from a pun that the language of the creation was Hebrew.

"She shall be called Woman [''Hâshbah, because she was taken out of Man [''Udish]. [Gen 2:24], from this it is evident that the Torah was given in the holy tongue." Rabbi Pineshas and Rabbi Bishkah claim the following on the authority of Rabbi Simon: 'Just as the Torah was given in the holy tongue, so was the world created with the holy tongue. For, hast thou ever heard anyone derive a form gynno from the word gynne (Gr. γυνή), meaning a woman? (one derives a form anthroops (Gr. ἄνθρωπος, man), or phihkri from ghâdhr (Syr. for 'man')." But one does say, 'Hâshbah (Yeb. for 'woman') from teh (Heb. for 'man')' (Pethah D'hâshbah, xvii. 4).

The Massoretic variations of the Heb. text of the Bible are of such a nature, that removing one or more accidental errors for the sake of the text, the Midrash often assigns explanations for the defective writing in the text or for the marginal variations (פֹּלַח and פְּלַח). The following is an example:

'When it giveth its colour (lit. 'eye') in the cup" (Pr 22:35) is rendered "the script reads 'in the purse'" (Eshb. K'thatim, not in the cup" (Rabbi bakkhi, referring, of course, to the drunken, who giveth his eye in the cup: and, on the other hand, to the merchant whockett his eye on his purse' (Tanhuma Shmuel, 7).

The Midrash also employs the well-known rabbinic method of exposition, 'g'morât, which consists in deducing hidden meanings from the numerical value of the letters in the Heb. words.

Finally, the Midrash employs the anecdote to advantage. The value of the anecdote as a didactic force is generally recognized. But, more than this, we are to seek in the anecdote for historical events witnessed by contemporaries, for folk-lore, for primitive conceptions of nature, science, etc. Only a few examples can be given here. The following pathetic tale is one of a series of anecdotes depicting the events that transpired during the destruction of the Holy City:

The story of Miriam, the daughter of Na'âshôâdône, whom the ages had granted an allowance of 500 (sic) gold dole for her daily oatmeal expenditures, and who maligned them for it in the words 'Thus mistreat your own daughters!'... Says Rabbi Eleasar: 'So sure may I be of seeing Elijah as a prophet as I am that she (Miriam) falls fast asleep after the destruction in Asse, picking barley grains from beneath its ashes, and watered for her face. And I applied the law, ..." (Midrashic gloss on Ex 20:3). But should it be so? If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the Rock, and feed the kids beside the shepherdess' tent, (De 19)'(Eshb. Rabbâthâh (proem 29), it is said, 'The Arab slays a lamb and inspects the liver for the purpose of auguring future events.' This practice is well known to students of Kulturgeschichte. Philosophy, primitive conceptions of science, natural history—all cater to the one end of teaching a lesson in ethics or morals, which is ever the ultimate aim of the Haggadic Midrash.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

SOLOXON T. H. HEURWITZ.

MIGRATION.—See RACE.

MKIRS—Name and History.—The people known to the Assamese by the name Mikir are one of the numerous Tibeto-Burman races of Assam. Their own name for themselves is Arêng, which (like many other tribal names in this region and elsewhere) means 'man.' In general. Their numbers, according to the Census of 1911, were 106,239—a large total for a homogeneous Tibeto-Burman group in Assam; of these 730 were classified in the returns as Hindu, 1182 as converts to Christianity, and the remainder as animists. The race occupies the central portion of the Assam range, looking north to the Brahmaputra, and the isolated mountainous block south of that river between Newong and Sibisgar called the Mikir Hills; a few have settled in the plains of Newong and Kamrup, and north of the river in the barren districts, and follow shifting cultivation, but the main strength of the tribe is found in the hilly region of the Kamrûp (about 11,000), Khasi and Jaintia Hills (15,000), Newong (45,000) and Sisagar (25,000) districts. A hill tribe, essentially a hill tribe, practising the form of cultivation by axe, hoe, and hoe known as jhûm. Their remembered history, like that of most tribes of the kind, goes back a very short distance in time. There is reason to believe, from the local names of places and streams, that they once occupied the

1 In Heb. the letters have numerical values.
southern portion of the hill tract north of the Kachar valley, where they are not found at the present day; it is certain that they afterwards resided in mass in the Khowai, Dair-jon Hills, as subjects of the Jaintia Raja; and a still clearer tradition relates that, being harassed by warfare between Khásí (or Jaintia) chiefs, they resolved to move into territory governed by the Ahom kings. Thereupon migrated into the tracts which they now hold in the Nowgong and Sibsagar districts. This migration probably took place, as can be gathered from the Ahom annals, about A.D. 1756. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khásí and Jaintia Hills and along the Kámarú border, which tract they call Níliang, the territory into which they migrated in the cast being called Nilip. They are a peaceful and unwarlike race, and are said to have given up the use of arms when they placed themselves under the protection of the Ahom kings. Their traditions tell of fights with the Hill Kachars, or Dimásis, but these were anterior to the migration into Jaintia territory, or at any rate to that into the Ahom dominions.

2. Physical characteristics. — Physically they possess the ordinary features of the Thibeto-Burman race of races; a light yellowish-brown complexion, an average height of about 5 feet 3 inches, cephalic index 77-9. The nose is broad at the base, and the nasal index of 80-1 and an orbito-nasal of 107-7. The facial hair is scanty, and only a thin moustache is worn. The front of the head is sometimes shorn; the hair is gathered into a knot behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. They have been largely employed (like the Khásí) as porters in frontier expeditions in Assam, and carry heavy loads, the burden being borne upon the back and secured by a plaited bamboo or cane strap passing round the forehead; this, however, is the general method of carriage from Nepal eastwards along the whole sub-Himalayan region, and not peculiar to the Mikirs. The staple food is rice, fish, and the flesh of pigs, goats, and fowls, but meat is chiefly eaten at sacrifices. The flesh of cows is not eaten, nor is milk drunk. Large quantities of rice-beer are made and consumed, being prepared by each household, and spirit is also distilled. Opium is used to a large extent, as by other races in Assam. Tobacco and betel-nut are also commonly used.

3. Marriage and inheritance. — The Mikir people are divided into three sections, called Chhitông, Rông-hang, and Amrí. These, however, are only local names, the first representing that portion of the tribe inhabiting the Mikir Hills, the second the central portion, in the hilly parts of Nowgong and N. Kachar, and the third those in the Khásí and Jaintia and Kámarú Hills. The whole tribe, wherever settled, is divided into five large exogamous groups, and these into sub-groups. The five main groups are called Ingti, Tóring, Lákthi or Inghi, Téírón, and Timung. Within each of these groups intermarriage cannot take place. The scheme of society is patriarchal, the children being counted to the father's group. The most usual marriage is between first cousins on the mother's side, and the maternal uncle occupies a privileged position at the funeral ceremonies; this may be a custom adopted from the Khásí, among whom the strictly matriarchal system prevails. However, the custom of marrying a girl to her father-in-law, or his son to his father's house; but, if he has to make a payment to his father-in-law, he may stay a year, two years, or even for life, and when his term of service is over, he works to the family in return for his bride. There are traces of a former condition of things analogous to that which obtains among the Naga tribes, in which the boys of a village lived together in the terér, or bachelors' house, and their unmarried girls are said also to have had their own terér or to have lived in that of the boys, when promiscuous intercourse and illegitimate births were common. The practice, however, no longer obtains anywhere. The marriage-tie is said to be ordinarily observed with strictness, but divorce is permissible. Polygamy has been adopted sporadically from the Assamese, but generally monogamy prevails. The sons inherit, if there be none, the brothers; after them the deceased's nearest agnate of his own exogamous group. The wife and daughters get nothing, but retain their personal property, ornaments, etc.

4. Gods. — The religion of the Mikirs has been to some extent affected by ideas borrowed from the Khásí, and in a larger degree by Hinduism. One of their gods, Pirthâ Récho (the god of thunder), bears a Khásí name; but borrowings here are chiefly noticeable in the funeral ceremonies and the methods of divination. Hinduism has contributed the name of Jom, or Yama, of the dead, and the abode of spirits is called Jon-drông, or 'Yama's town.' Possibly Mahâdeva may be the original of Arám-kethê ("the great god''), who is a house-god worshipped at a triennial sacrifice; and the gods, and lot and paró ("the hundred-god''), includes under this name Kâmkhâyâ, the Hindu goddess of Nilachal above Gauhati. The original Mikir conception of deity is, like that of the rural population of India, generally, open to the adoption into the pantheon of any divine agency venerated or propitiated by their neighbours. The word árman ("god") may be generally defined as representing anything fearful or terrible. All natural objects of a striking or imposing character have their divinity. The sun and moon are regarded as divine, but are not specially propitiated. Localities of, and habitats of, divinities, such as mountains, waterfalls, deep pools in rivers, great boulders, places where a river disappears underground, have each their árman, who is concerned in the affairs of men and has to be placated by sacrifices. Such local divinities of the jungle are propitiated chiefly to avert mischief from tigers, which are a terrible plague in some parts of the Mikir country.

Besides these divinities of flood or forest, there are other deities of a more specific character. These may be classified into house-gods, concerned in the welfare of the household, and gods concerned in the prosperity of the village generally, while a third class preside over various kinds of disease or trouble. The most important of the house-gods is Hêmphô ('head of the house,' or 'householder'), who owns all the Mikir people. With him is associated Mukrang, who is slightly lower in dignity. These two gods, the preservers of men, are approached by the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Everybody can sacrifice to them at any time, and Hêmphô must be invoked first in every sacrifice, being the peculiar owner of men. Pêng, another house-god, lives in the house, and gets the offering of a goat, sacrificed once a year in the space before the house; tóring, rice, and a mound of rice-beer are placed for him above the verandah of the house, and the first-fruits of the harvest are offered to him. Armân-kêthê, already mentioned, is another house-god, who lives in heaven, not, like Pêng, in the house itself. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a castrated pig once in three years. Both Pêng and Arám-kêthê have to be specially invoked to take up their abode in the house, and the summons to it is generally due to the action of a diviner (tuchê), called in on the occurrence of a case of sick-
ness, who declares (after the appropriate incanta-
tions) that Árnám-keth or Pëng wishes to join the household. If it were not for this, Mikir families would generally be satisfied with Húmpá and Mikrungá. The village or communal gods are called Rêk-
anglung (= ‘mountain of the community’) or Inglông-plë (‘great mountain’); and Árnám-pårö, also named Mykungá. The Mikir tribes are nomadic, moving from place to place as the soil in the neigh-
bourhood becomes exhausted. Rêk-anglung is the god of the hill on which the village stands, the deus ex machina, with whom they have to be at peace. He is worshipped in the field, and only men eat the sacrifice, which is a fowl or goat per house once a year. Árnám-pårö is the name of a god who takes a hundred shares of rice, rice-flour, betel-nut, and the red sapble of the plantain-tree cut up; the name seems to be a collective, and to indicate all the divine powers in the neighbourhood. He is worshipped with a white goat and a white fowl. These two gods figure particularly at the Rông-
or great annual festival, celebrated for the most part in June at the beginning of the year’s rainy-season cultivation, or in some villages during the cold winter months. The sacrificed goats are eaten by the men only of the village, and they keep apart from their wives on the night of the festival. The observances correspond with the custom of gens (village) head, which is common among the neigh-
bouring Naga tribes.
The gods named above are all invoked and pro-
pitiated to grant prosperity and avert misfortune, both generally and specifically. There are, besides, numerous gods who take titles from the special diseases over which they preside or which they are asked to avert; such gods are called after rheumatism, cholera, barrenness among women, goitre, pustules, stone, diarrhoea, small-
pox, black and white leprosy, elephantiasis, etc. Each worship has its appropriate ritual, often of a complicated character. Among these deities perhaps a temple is associated with the name for smallpox, pi-düm, ‘the mother’s flowers’; in Assamese and Hindi the goddess of smallpox is known as ‘the mother’ (Máth, or Sítala Má). It is difficult to draw the line which divides the gods, Árnám-dám, who preside over these plagues from the demons or devils, A-i, who are also said to cause continued sickness. They too are propitiated with sacrificial offerings in the same manner as the gods.
An interesting name in the list of gods is Lâm-
áphi, ‘the head or master of words,’ a power proba-
bly of modern origin. He is the deity sacrificed to by a man who has a case in court; the sacrifice is a young cock, which should be offered at night, secretly, by the sacrificer alone, in a secret place.
There is no worship of trees or animals, and the gods have no visible shape, temples, or shrines. Idols are not in use. At the time of the sacrifice the gods to whom it is offered are addressed in set forms of words by the worshippers, but there does not appear to be any separate class of priests charged with the sacrificial ritual. The animal sacrificed is beheaded, as in Hindu sacrifices, by a stroke delivered from above with a heavy knife. The most important person with reference to the worship is the diviner (mekh, fem. uchê-plë), who decides on the deity to be invoked. Here, again, there does not appear to be any caste or hereditary function; any one may be an uchê. The most important of all the Mikir diviners is the ailing man, called sâng-kol-yéng-dông, ‘he who in-
spects grains of rice,’ whose art is acquired by instruction and practice; and the superior, called tor-), is a learned workman who works under the inspiration or afflatus of divine powers.

The services of these persons are generally sought in cases of sickness, the loâlt being inquired of in the more serious cases. The humble practitioner proceeds by arranging grains of rice, taken at random from those left in the pot, in particular fashion in small heaps; the grains in the heaps are then counted, and, if the numbers predominate, the patient is cured. Communities sometimes use shells instead of grains of rice. Another way, apparently derived from the Khonds, is to arrange a circle from a point marked on a board, as many little heaps of clay as there are gods suspected in the case, each heap being called by the name of the god. An egg is tied to the point marked in the middle of the board; when it breaks and the yolk is sucked up, that heap which remains is the largest heap, or towards which the largest and longest splash points, indicates the god responsible for the affliction. Another mode is to hold, instead of the hand a long iron kind of special form, called the nobij, which is invoked by a spell to become inspired and to speak the truth. The holder then asks questions of the nobij as to the probability of the sufferer’s recovery and the god responsible for his sickness, and the nobij shakes at the correct answer and name.
The loâlt is an ordinary woman (not belonging to any particular family or group) who feels the divine afflatus, and, when it is upon her, yawns continually and calls out the names and will of the gods. Her assistance is invoked when witch-
craft (nàjëd) is suspected. She baulks the brooks, feet, and face in water in which the sacred basil (cowasam saanam, the tudî of Indian languages) has been soaked; it has been stewed, or boiled. It is said that when milked, indifferently to the riddles, answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the gods to whom the sacrifices must be offered. Charms are much used for the treatment of dis-
case, as they are everywhere else in India, and do not present any special features. Oaths and imprer-
cations take the place of oracles, the speaker invoking evil on himself if he swears falsely or fails to perform a promise.

6. Funeral ceremony.—The most elaborate cele-
bration is the funeral ceremony, of which a long account, found in some of the works, is inserted in the monograph on The Mikirs cited at the end of this article. Much money is spent upon it, and it is spread over several days. It is the only occasion on which dances are performed by the young men of the village or music used, except (to a much less extent) at the harvest-home. The ceremony is considered obligatory in all cases except that of a child who has been born dead, or who has died before the after-birth has left the mother; in such cases the body is buried without any ceremony. Victims of smallpox or cholera are buried shortly after death; but the funeral service is performed for them later on, when the bones are brought together and cremated. When a person is killed by a tiger, if the body or clothes are found, they are buried at a distance from the village, because the tiger is sup-
posed to visit the burial-place. The sacrifice is made, not gain admittance to Jôm-àrông unless elaborate funeral and expiatory ceremonies are performed for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally im-
puted to the victim’s sin; his spirit is believed to dwell in the most dreary of the places where dead men’s spirits go. Except in such cases, the dead are disposed of by cremation, the burnt bones being afterwards buried.

What is chiefly noticeable about the ceremony, as described in the work referred to, is the confident assumption of the continued existence of the dead person’s spirit, for whom death, specially in this ceremony. If the deceased is a person of unusual importance, a still more elaborate ceremony is required, and monumental stones, upon the model of those erected by the Khonds, are set up in the town square, and the work is under the supervision of afflatus of divine powers.

7. Ideas of future life.—Apart from the ritual of
the funeral, the Mikirs seem to have a strong conviction of the survival of the dead. They speak of (holy image) of a dead man; a sickly or neurotic person catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. Phāṭhā, 'spirit,' is used both of living persons and dead. The Mikir is ovatelled in his mind as the (living) spirit from whom I saw him,' where phāṭhā is the spirit of the sleeping man. When such glimpses are experienced, betel and food are set aside in the house, and after a time thrown away. After a death a chant is composed, setting forth the parentage and life of the dead, and ending: 'You will now meet your grandparents, father, deceased brother, etc., and will stay with them and eat with them.' As already mentioned, food is regularly provided for the spirit until the completion of the funeral; after that there are no regular offerings, but occasionally a man or woman puts aside from his or her own share of food a portion for the dead, as, e.g., when another funeral reminds them of those who have died before. There is said to be no fear of the dead coming back to trouble the living. The Mikirs' conception of 'Jom's town' is that everything there is different from that of Jom, and the Mikirs, from Hinduism, is said to prevail that the spirits of the dead do not stay for ever in Jom-ārung, but are born again as children, and this goes on inde- finitely. One of the Mikirs is the head of the family, and in the words of his informant, the following:

'The Mikirs give the names of their dead relations to children born after such a child has a way that the dead be near him; but they believe that the spirit is with Jom all the same' (Mikirs, p. 29).

3. Conclusion.—The unwarlike character of the Mikirs has prevented them from becoming, like their neighbours, the Nāgas and Kukīs, split up into different units, with hostile feelings towards all outside the community, and with languages gradually diverging more and more from the common standard. Their speech is very uniform wherever they are found, and a large amount of co-operation and friendly intercourse exists among them. On the other hand, the group differs very much, in habits, institutions, and particularly in language, from the other tribes by whom they are surrounded. A study of their speech and social institutions has led to the conclusion that they should be classed with those tribes which form the connecting link between the Nāgas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter race, especially with those dwelling in the south of the Arakan range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of the Irrawaddy valley.

LITERATURE.—All that has as yet been put on record about the Mikirs is included in the section on the various tribes of Assam. Ethnographical Monographs entitled The Mikirs, from the papers of E. Stack, edited, arranged, and supplemented by C. J. Lyall, London, 1892.

C. J. LYALL

MILINDA.—Milinda is the Indian name for the Greek king of Bactria called in Greek Menander. When Alexander's empire broke up on his death, Greek soldiers on the east of India founded separate States, and the names of about thirty of them and their successors are known by their coins. Of these the most powerful and successful was Menander, who must have reigned for at least thirty years at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. He died probably about 30 B.C., but we know neither the boundaries of his kingdom nor how far he was merely overlord, rather than the actual administrative sovereign over the various portions of his vast domain. He is the only one of those Greek or half-Greek potentates whose memory has survived, and he is living in his own time. He is characteristic enough, not as a political ruler, nor as a victor in war, but as an intelligent and sympathetic inquirer into the religious beliefs of his subjects. This has found expression in a very remarkable book, the Milinda Paśha (Questions of Milinda). Just as in one of the most popular of the Dialogues of the Buddha Sakka, the king of the gods, is represented as putting puzzles in religion to Nāgasena, a wise teacher among the Buddhists of his time. In all probability it was with the Sakka Paśha Suttaṭṭha that the author of the Milinda Paśha, whoever he was, framed his work.

The Milinda Paśha is divided into seven books. The first is introductory, and is very cleverly so drawn up as gradually to raise the expectations of the reader regarding the great interest of the encounter of wit and wisdom which he will find in the following books. Bk. i., 'On Ethical Qualities,' and bk. iii., 'On the Removal of Difficulties,' contain a number of questions, put by the king and answered by Nāgasena, on the elementary doctrines of Buddhism. On the conclusion of this book the king is converted, and devotes himself to a long and careful study of the text of the Pāli canon. In bk. iv., the Menaṇḍaka-panha, or 'Dilemmas,' the king submits to Nāgasena the difficulties which he has met in the course of his studies. The discussion is again a clever one, and ends up with the meaning of nirvāṇa, and closes with an eloquent peroration on that subject.

Having thus brought his reader up to the bracing platform of emancipation, the author proceeds in the next book, the Anu-maṇḍa Paśha, 'Problem of Inference,' to describe what is to be found there. In an elaborate allegory of the City of Righteousness he sets out the various mental and moral treasures enjoyed by the arahant who has reached in this life the ideal state. The next book, the Dhutangaṭṭha, 'Extra Vows,' is devoted to an exaltation of those who have adopted the ascetic practices so called. The last book, incomplete in our existing MSS, consists of a long list of types of the arahant, showing how he has, e.g., five qualities in common with the ocean, live with the earth, live with water, and live with fire. The details of sixty-seven such similes are given. Of the remaining thirty-eight only the list is given, the detailed explanations being lost.

There are peculiarities both of merit and of defect in this book. The author, or authors, have an unusual command of language, both in the number of words used and in the fitness of the words chosen in each case. There is great charm in the style, which rises occasionally throughout the book to real eloquence; and there is considerable grasp of the difficult and important questions involved. On the other hand, there is a great weakness in logic. The favourite method is to invent an analogy to explain some position, and then to take for granted that the analogy proves the position taken to be true; and quite often, when the right answer to a dilemma would be a simple matter of historical criticism, the answer given savours of casuistry, or is mere play on the ambiguity of words. Then the author, though he naturally avoids the literal interpretations prevailing in European books against Buddhism—that nirvāṇa, e.g., is a state to be reached by 'a soul' after it has left the body, or a state not attainable except by a 'priest' or a 'monk'—does not stand on the ancient Path. His description of the other who calls a yāgī (a term not found in the older books), lays more stress on those qualities afterwards ascribed to the bodhisatta (g.v.) than on those belonging to the

1 See the authorities quoted in Haug Davids, Questions of King Milinda, i. (SBE xxxv.) pp. xvii-xxxii.
arhat) in the Nibbānas. His Buddhism has advanced beyond that of the Nibbānas. The ethies of the Aryan Path are barely referred to; the doctrine of causation, the necessity of seeing things as they really are (yathābhūtānā pi jānānāvā), is not even mentioned, notwithstanding its cardinal importance in the earlier teaching. The author devotes a book to a topic not occurring in the Nibbānas, and in that book manifests a spirit entirely opposed to the early teaching. All these peculiarities of style and meaning suggest some indifferent thought on the part of the translator. It would seem, therefore, most probable that it was the work of one author or of one school within a limited period of the history of that school. Probably the latter will eventually be found to be the right explanation.

The work is four times quoted as an authority by the great Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa. It is the only work outside the Pāli canon which he thus quotes. It is also quoted as an authority in the Dhammapada commentary (i. 127). All these references may be dated in the 6th cent. A.D. They are taken from the second, third, and fourth books which, at least must be considerably older than the works in which the Milinda is quoted as an authority. None of the quotations is exactly word for word the same as the corresponding passage in Trencnker's edition of the text, and the present writer has pointed out elsewhere the various interpretations possible of these interesting, though slight, discrepancies. In one passage (p. 192 of the text) Buddhaghosa seems to have the Abhidharma-kōavyadhyakṣa, a Sanskrit Buddhist work which may be dated in the 6th cent. A.D. There are also several incidental references in Chinese "translations" of Indian books. When we know the dates of the latter, and can be sure that the references really occur in them, these references may have importance.

At the beginning of the work (p. 9 of the text) there is a table of contents giving the titles of the subdivisions of the book. The editor, V. Trencnker, also gives us titles, which differ, however, from those in the table of contents given in the text. Hinaṭkumbarā's translation into Sīthaleśa likewise gives titles, presumably from the much older Pāli MSS which he used. These titles differ from those in Trencnker lists. Trencnker, who has certainly made one glaring mistake (p. 363), gives no apparatus criticus for his titles; and, as he used only three of the seven MSS of the work known to exist in Europe, one would like to be informed also as to what readings are given by the other four. Even for the canonical books the discrepancies in the subsidiary titles are very frequent, and it is often probable that such titles are later than the text to which they refer. It is clear that, pending further information, Trencnker's titles to the divisions of the Milinda cannot be relied on as original.

B. Nānja, in his most useful catalogue of Chinese Buddhist books, gives under no. 1358 the title of one called Nāsien Bihkhu King, Nāgasaṇa the Bhikkhu's Book. The attempt to reproduce the sound of the words of this title suggests that the words before the translator must have been, not Sanskrit (bhikṣu), but Pāli (bhikkhu) or some other Indian dialect akin to Pāli. J. Takakusu has discussed the date of this work, which purports to be a translation of an Indian book with the same title. It is first mentioned in a catalogue dated A.D. 785-804, and subsequently in others. But, though the compilers of all these catalogues are usually careful to give the name or names and the date of the translators or authors of the books which they mention, they do not do so in this case. They add, however, a remark: "The translation of some we register as belonging to the Eastern Taśa dynasty (A.D. 317-429)."

So we have a book known to have existed at the end of the 6th cent., and then believed, on grounds not recorded, to have existed in the 4th cent. A.D. There is no evidence that the original was in Sanskrit.

There are two recensions of this book in Chinese, the longer one about half as long again as the shorter one. The difference arises mainly from the omission in the shorter of two long passages found in the longer. In other matters the two are much the same. These omissions are probably due to a mere mistake, perhaps of the translator, perhaps of the printer, and the two recensions may be considered as restatements. This bears to the Pāli text the following relation.

The translation into English by the present writer consists of 850 pages. The Chinese corresponds more closely to 90 of the recension omitting about 34 of those 90. The paragraphs corresponding in Chinese and Pāli are those on pp. 40-155 of the English version. But there are seven or eight omissions, and three additions of wording, paragraphs, and quite a number of smaller variations or discrepancies. It is clear that there is some connexion between the Chinese and Pāli books. It is possible that the Indian original (for this was only one) of the Chinese book may be the original out of which the Pāli was developed, mainly by the addition of the last three books. It is equally possible that the Indian work translated into Chinese was itself derived from an older work in seven books, and that its author or authors omitted the last three books as dealing with arahat-ship, in which he (or they) took little interest. This would be precisely in accord with the general feeling in the north-west of India at the period in question—the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. The doctrine of an emancipation to be reached in this life by strenuous mental effort, not unnaturally, taking place to a doctrine of salvation in the next life through bhākī, personal devotion to a deity. The psychological details of the old system of self-control rather bored people. So the Milinda may, quite possibly, have been reduced to a short and easy book, with the sting of arahant-ship taken out of it.

A solution of this Milinda problem would be of the utmost importance for the elucidation of the darkest period in the history of Indian literature. Unfortunately, each of the alternatives suggested above involves great difficulties, and none of the scholars who have written on the subject has so far been able to persuade any other to accept his conclusions. The evidence at present available is insufficient. When the Tibetan translation has been properly examined, when the quotations from the Milinda in the Pāli commentaries are edited, when all the references elsewhere (and especially those in the numerous Buddhist Sanskrit works still buried in MSS) have been collected, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the external evidence as to the history of the Milinda literature in India. When an adequate compari-
son has been made between the words used and the ideas expressed in the Fahi Miiindia and those found in the Indian and European literatures. On the one hand, we shall have more valuable internal evidence than is yet available. The lists of about a hundred words peculiar to the Miiindia published by the recent writer in 1873 are not completely adequate, and has not since then been improved upon.


MILITARISM.—See War.

MILK (Primitive Religions).—That milk should have become an object of sacred importance in the mind of early man was inevitable. All food was sacred, and milk, so beneficial in every way, has been accorded a special place among the objects of religious veneration by mankind at nearly all stages of his development. Anthropologists have not specifically dealt with the first stages in the domestication of animals, except as a part of the larger question of totemism. There are people who have practically no tamable animals, and these are in the lowest stages of savage culture. An observation of O. T. Mason is clearly indicative of where these first stages must be looked for.

Women were always associated especially with the milk-animal, which, since the earliest times, has possessed sacred associations. In the two continents where they were not known in aboriginal times, the human mother had to suckle her young with her body and milk, and she was able to walk at her own will and had the power to give birth to children. In the absence of milk-yielding her suddenly increased her burdens and retarded the growth of population ('Women's Share in Primitive Culture,' London, 1886, p. 103.).

The two continents here referred to are America and Australia, and E. J. Payne has also summarized the economical and social results of the absence of milk-producing animals (Hist. of America, Oxford, 1892, I. 297-332).

These results may be contrasted with the corresponding economical and social results of the European, Asiatic, and African continents, who have, as far as observation goes, always possessed milk-producing animals. Milk takes an important part in their religious belief and ceremonial. It is neither, however, whether the diverse practices obtaining among the varied races of these continents have any relationship as stages in the evolution of man's religious attitude towards milk. Consideration of the subject from this point of view can be conducted only by the widest survey of the evidence, and it will be well to approach it from the highest form to which religious belief concerning milk has attained, and proceed thence to some of the lower forms of the cult.

The use of milk in religion has reached its climax among the Todas tribe of India. The sanctity of the milk among these people is the chief element in their religion. The gods take part in the churning, and the dairy organization marks off two great clan divisions: 'The most important dairy institution among the Todas is a churn, and to the Toda calendar, but their dairymen are Teivali' (I. W. H. R. Filtnister, The Todas, London, 1900, p. 650). The milk of the buffer is sacred. The ritual connected with the buffalo and with the dairy is 'certainly a religious character,' and there can be little doubt that the dairy formula 'are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities' (ib. p. 351). The dying are given milk sparingly by their relatives as an adequate, and has not since then been improved upon.

The sacred character of milk in other parts of the primitive world is shown by its use in various ceremonies of a religious character, but not in connexion with an organized religious cult, as among the Todas. Both in Africa and in India these ceremonies reach a high grade in places, but do not attain the Toda level. Perhaps the royal milk-drinking observances of the king of the Uyoro, a section of the Bantu people in Africa, affords the nearest parallel (J. G. Frazer, Totemism, London, 1910, ii. 320-328) to the Toda practice of an interesting Kaffir folk-tale, 'The Story of the Bird that Nibbled Milk' (ib. p. 432, p. 482).

E. Theud, Kaffir Folk-tales, London, 1882, pp. 146-155, appears to be founded on the first use of milk and refers to events which preceded the use of milk, but it contains details which bring it within the general condition of the African beliefs. 'They used to get milk from a tree. This was got by squeezing, and the people who drank it were always thin.' The Kaffirs now drink a kind of fermented milk, and it is noticeable that, 'when poured out for use by the master of the household, who is the only one permitted to touch the milk sack, a portion is always left behind to act as a sacred offering.'

These are clearly religious practices which require further investigation, but in the meantime it is permissible to classify them as less developed in form than the Toda example.

Every one knows the reverence paid to the cow in India; but, in spite of the attempt of the early mythologists to identify the cow with the higher forms of Hindu religion (A. de Gubernatis, Geological Mythology, London, 1875, ii. 245), there is little doubt that the cow is not a god. The reverence for the cow is quite human in its character, and the 4th book of the Laws of Manu contains the clearest evidence of this.

Crooke points out that respect for the cow in India is of comparatively modern date, and gives some interesting data to show the lines along which it has developed (PB ii. 203-206). This view is confirmed by the usages to which the products of the cow were put. According to Vijn, a house is purified by plastering the ground with cow-dung, and land is cleansed by the same process; cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible by producing sacrificial butter, and among six excellent productions of a cow which are always propitiated, milk and sour milk are included (Institutes of Panjab in 1911, pp. 114). It is also a protective from the evil eye, and has various uses in magic and divination. This reverence for Panjab milk is on its way towards a definitely religious status.

In Europe the once sacred character of milk is indicated by the evidence of folklore, which records
the protective measures which have to be taken to secure it against harm from witches and other malevolent powers (GEB, pt. i., The Magic Art, London, 1911, pt. 214). The best examples are found in Russia, where the people on Midsummer eve drive the cattle through the fire to protect the animals against ‘two wicked witches, who are the ravenous after milk’ (W. R. S. Ralston, Songs of the Russian People, London, 1872, p. 391). This rite affords the explanation of a curious story told of an Irish prince on the occasion of the Festival of Fionnachta. It is related of him ‘that he arrogated to himself the milk of all the hairless dun cows in the land,’ and he ‘caused a great fire of ferns to be made, and all the cows in Munster to pass through it, so that they might fulfill the necessary conditions, and their milk become the royal property’ (H. d’Arbois de Jussainville, Irish Mythological Cycles, Eng. tr., Dublin, 1963, p. 59). Included in this tradition are the following ritual observances—the restriction of cows of a single colour, the passing through fire to secure protection, and the right of the king to a royal supply of milk. The restriction as to colour also appears elsewhere in Irish folklore (P. Plimer, Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae, Oxford, 1910, vol. i. p. cxivi, and K. Meyer and A. Nutt, Voyage of Bran, London, 1863–67, ii. 186). The legend of the Dun na nGall, in which they were destined to be milked in the same order, the attacking witch being successful in this case (J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, Lancashire Legends, London, 1882, pp. 16–19).

Ritual in custom and ritual in myth are parallels, and it would be well to inquire whether in folklore there is more than this suspicion of sanctity in the attitude of popular belief as to milk. The milkmaid is almost everywhere an important personage in the social fabric of the village, and her utensils share her importance. The present writer differs from Lady Gomme in her explanation of the famous game of ‘Milkling Palls’ as a mere teasing of the mother (Dict. of Traditional Games, London, 1894–98, s.v.) in that it appears to be a cumulative estimate of the superior value of the milkling-pall as an article of domestic use, and it is pertinent to note in this connexion that the Irish chieftain had ‘in his house constantly a cask of milk’ (Anc. Laws of Ireland, Dublin, 1865–1901, iv. 311). That milk was poured on the ground is attested by J. G. Dunan in his Grammar of Glasgow and the Western Islands, Glasgow, 1835, p. 193), and W. Gregor states that at death all the milk in the house was poured out on the ground (Folklore of N.E. of Scotland, London, 1881, p. 208). This must have originally been an offering to the earth-god as in the Panjab. In Ireland it is called an offering to the fairies (W. G. Wood-Martin, Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland, London, 1902, ii. 7), and the fairies are the successors of the gods. It was offered every Sunday on Brownie’s stone in the island of Vayal and other islands (M. Martin, Western Islands, London, 1716, pp. 67, 110).

This brings us very close to the stage when milk was a sacred object in the cult of the gods. In the Christian Church it was substituted for wine in the elements of the communion. This was after the First Council of Nicaea (325), quoting Gratian, Decretal., i. 111), but it may be surmised that it originated as one of the surviving rites of ancient pagan religion. St. Bridget was in some degree regarded as the special patron of milk, as appears in the beautiful milkling-songs of Scotland (A. Carmichael, Carmina Godelica, Edinburgh, 1900, i. 261–275), and she was at her birth bathed in milk (Lives of Saints from the Book of Saints, London, 1889, ed. E. L. Stage, Oxford, 1900, pp. 184, 318). St. Bridget is in many of her attributes a pre-Christian goddess, and her association with milk in the surviving forms once more takes us back to ancient pagan religion.

That bathing in milk was also a death rite is shown both in traditional ballad lore and in traditional games. In the beautiful ballad of ‘Burde Ellen,’ preserved by R. Jamieson (Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, etc., Edinburgh, 1866, p. 125), is the verse—

’Tak up, tak up my bonny young son,  
Gar wash him wi’ the milk.  
’Tak up, tak up my fair lady,  
Gar row her in the milk.’

Lady Gomme has analyzed the different versions of the children’s game of ‘Green Grave,’ and has shown from the general movements of the game that it is derived from a funeral rite. This view is confirmed by the fact that the most constant formulae of the game rhyme include the lines,

‘Wash them in milk and clothe them in silk’

(L. 172).

There seems little doubt that these words are survivals of an ancient burial rite.

In the religions of antiquity there is more definite evidence. J. E. Harrison, in her discussion of primitive baptism (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903, p. 589 f.), asks what was the exact ritual of the falling into milk? ... Did the neophyte actually fall into a bath of milk, or is the ritual act of drinking milk from the belly of the Bull as the Bull is described? and in spite of a useful parallel from Egyptian ritual, comes to the conclusion that ‘of a rite of immersion in milk we have no evidence.’ This, however, cannot be quite true if St. Bridget really regarded as there is strong evidence to prove, an early Celtic goddess who has brought into her Christian attributes traditions and rites of pre-Christian origin. There is the further example of the Fiats in Ireland saving themselves from the Fomorians by their Fir-Fidga enemies by taking a bath filled with the milk of one hundred and twenty white hornless cows, where the single colour condition is again repeated in the rite of bathing in milk attributed to St. Bridget was certainly not of Christian origin any more than the offering of milk and honey in early baptismal rites was Christian (ib. p. 587 f.), and we must take it that these rites come from early Celtic religion. The offerings of milk and honey were made to the nymphs and to Pan (Theoc. Id. v. 53 f. and 58 f.), and to this day in modern Greece they are made to the Nymphs (J. C. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore, Cambridge, 1910, p. 150 f.).

To sum up the evidence—it would appear that in primitive religions there are three stages in the sacred characteristics attributed to milk: (1) where it is a definite part of the dominant religious cult; (2) where it is extensively used in religious ceremonial, but is not an exclusive or predominant element in the ceremonial; (3) where it is looked upon as a religious object, and is, consequently, subject to danger from outside forces, from which it demands various forms of protection. The survey seems to make it clear that the unique example of the Todas is a highly specialized development of the religious conception of milk, and not a normal condition, while the evidence of folklore and of the religion of antiquity leads us to conclude that the endowment of milk with sacred properties arose from its enormous social influences, which led to specialization of its use on solemn and important occasions. This would be the normal position of milk in religion. A last stage is represented by the necessity of protecting it from malignant influences. This is survival from the normal stage, and arises only when it was no longer a protective force in itself.

LITERATURE.—This is given fully in the article.

L. GOMME.
MILK (Civilized Religions).—1. As food and sacrifice.—Since man is a mammal, milk is universally known; and, as man early learned to use the milk of goats, cows, and camels, milk became a natural symbol of nourishment. The ancient Egyptians sometimes pictured the heavens as a woman with hanging breasts, and sometimes as a cow with full udder, thus suggesting that the heavens were fed men. The Hebrews suggested, similarly, that milk is the divinely given nourishment of man by picturing the mother-goddess with breasts so full that she must support them on high beams. Since milk is the universal element of human diet, it is but natural that it should have been offered at times in sacrifice to deities, as meat, meal, and firstfruits. Thus in I Macc. x. the Avestan there is frequent mention of a sacrificial gift of boiled milk, and it was mingled with haoma (g.v.) in sacrifice. Among the Arabs milk seethed in milk is still a common dish; yet the Hebrews were prohibited from boiling a kid in its mother's milk. W. R. Smith thought that this was because milk for boiling is usually sour, so that such boiling would involve the offering of a fermented sacrifice, or that possibly milk was here regarded as a substitute for blood.

2. In a supposed Semitic myth.—In the OT "flowing with milk and honey" is a phrase frequently used in the designation of Palestine. It occurs in Ex. 33:17; 13:23, Lv. 20:13, Jer. 11:33, and Ezek 20:44. Curdled milk (the modern laban) and honey are also mentioned in Is. 7:23 as the food of the child that is to be named Immanuel. It occurs again in the same chapter (79), where it is more difficult to interpret, and where its occurrence may be due to editorial redaction. The phrase "flowing with milk and honey" occurs in the J document (c. 950 B.C.), and continued to be used till the time of Ezekiel. T. K. Cheyne in 1901 noted that the phrase is more poetical than the context seems to justify, and suggested that it might be a survival of a description of Israel's idealized past. Since ancient poetry is always tinged with mythology, he thought it not improbable that this phrase was of mythological origin. Usener in 1902 held that the phrase was of mythological origin, and that it was borrowed by the Hebrews from Iranin mythology, where, according to him, we hear of heavenly honey and holy cows. The phrase had, he thought, descended by one line to the Hebrews and by another to the Persians. He described the food of the infant Zeus on Crete as curds and honey. Stade, in commenting on Usener's article, claimed that the phrase "flowing with milk and honey" was not used earlier than the time of Ezekiel, that in the J document and Jeremiah it was a later addition, and that Usener was right in claiming that in J 33 the use of the figure was due to Greek influence. Whether "curd and honey" could have been a mythological phrase introduced from Assyria, he thought, was a problem for Assyriologists. H. Zimmern in the next year, 1903, claimed that the Assyriological side that honey and curd played a great role in the Babylonian cult, and that it was of mythological origin, though he offered little proof for the statement. Finally, Greessmann in 1905 endeavoured to work this view into an elabor-

1 See J. H. Breasted, History of Egypt, New York, 1900, p. 56.
4 W. E. von Ettingshausen, L. 15; Niebuhr, 74; it is also an offering by itself in 37a, 1, 4, 11: 37a; Niebuhr, xi. 3; 37a, 57, 60, 103.
5 Br. 1854, p. 188, and W. R. Smith, Rel. of Semitists, London, 1894, p. 521 et seq.
7 Heiss, Museum fuur Philol. Frel. 177-195.
8 ZAW xxii. 321-324.
9 KAT p. 692.
11 Laban was a dish so relished as an article of diet that Abraham is said to have offered it to his hosts (Gen. 18:7) and fuel to the tired milk, or labon, played in the life of the Hebrews. Milk, like wine, was in early Israel a symbol of prosperity and plenty. An old poet sang of Judah:

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MILK (Civilized Religions)

brought forth a still-born child, in order to effect her purification (see Vendidad, v. 52, vii. 67). Milk is here only one of several ingredients—meat, bread, wine, water. As she had first to drink ox

urine she has been chosen for its mythical reasons. Another fragmentary text which has been frequently cited on the basis of an

infinite reference by Friedrich Delitzsch as reads as follows: 2

1 Crown of . . . 2 For the shepherd of the black-headed (people) . . . .

1 I pray a prayer . . . 2 A sceptre of maple should may his hand (group).

1 For the shepherd of the black-headed (people). . .

1 Honey and lavan abundantly . . .

1 The mountain bearing produce . . .

1 The steppos, the field bearing fruit . . .

1 The orchards bearing fruit . . .

1 On his left hand may the god Sin . . .

1 To the king in person may they homage !

This is clearly a prayer for a Babylonian ruler. The petitioner asks that great fertility and prosperity may come in his time. The language resembles that of Joel and the Sibyl, but the imagery is capable of as natural an explanation as that of the Hebrew seers.

The other passage which has been thought to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians held mythological views of milk and honey occurs in an incantation. The part in question reads:

1 Pure water bring into its idol.

2 The exalted lord, the great serpent of heaven, By pure water shall he be called.

3 To a place of purity shall bring thee,

4 To a place of purity shall bring thee,

5 With his pure hands shall bring thee

6 Into honey and laban shall bring thee.

7 Water of an incantation he shall put to thy lips.

8 Thy mouth with an incantation he shall open.

Here at last we have a passage that moves in such a realm of heavenly unreality that it may possibly be regarded with something like amusement, but the mythical part does not centre at all in the honey and laban, but in the action of the god. Honey and laban are used to denote a place of fertility and plenty, and it may fairly be claimed that they were introduced here from such usage as that of the preceding passage, and are no necessary part of the myth.

The names probably had their origin as a separate people in Arabia, which was a land of deserts and oases. It was thus that the oasis and its palm-tree became one of the symbols of paradise and the garden of Eden, and finally entered as one of the elements into the Christian symbolism of the New Jerusalem. 5 It seems probable that in the primitive language of the desert an oasis or fertile land like Babylonia and Palestine may have been designated as a land flowing with milk and honey. 6 The occurrence of the phrase among both Babylonians and Hebrews points in this direction; it probably had an origin in their common ancestry. As the phrase is lacking, however, in the description of paradise both in Gn 2, 3 and in Ezk 28, it can hardly have formed an integral part of the traditions of the Golden Age, or have entered as an important element into the mythology of the Semites.

Indeed, in the paradise story of Gn 3 the food which makes man like God is not milk and honey, but the fruit of the tree. So in the corresponding Babylonian story, the Adapa myth, it was not milk and honey, but 'food and water,' that might have gained immortality for Adapa. 7 As these accounts are doubtless both variants of the same primitive paradise myth, it is impossible to resist the conviction that milk and honey formed no part of that myth among the Semites, but was simply borrowed and enlarged by the later poets to form a descriptive legend as to when the desert was to be described fertile lands—a phrase which survived both in Babylonia and in Palestine, and which came only in post-Exilic times among the Hebrews to designate a Golden Age that was still future.

3. In the Avesta.—Among the Persians these ideas apparently did not in the early time play a prominent rôle. Milk was offered in sacrifice and was used in certain incantations, as noted above. Homage was rendered to it, 1 and it was regarded as a divinely purified provision in the breasts of females, as was the seed in males; 2 a prosperous woman was 'rich in children and rich in milk.' 3 The cow was regarded as a benedict animal guarded by Ahura Mazda as he guarded all other things on which the prosperity of people depends, 4 but in no sense a heavenly animal. So far as the Jews having borrowed a myth from Persians, as Usser thought, the elements of the supposed myth appear only in the later syncretistic Mithra cult, and would seem to have been borrowed from the Semites.

4. In the Vedas.—In India milk was viewed as a symbol of nourishment. The Atharvaveda regards a house full of nurturing as one full of milk, 5 and the earth is a mother who can pour forth milk for her suppliants. 6 Nevertheless in the Rigveda both milk and honey were employed in the ritual, though they were both subordinate to the all-prevaling soma. When milk was used as an offering, it was sometimes sweet and sometimes sour, both kinds of offerings being recognized. 7 As in Iranian ritual, the milk was mixed with honey and latedel element sometimes being sour. 8 Honey was in the same way used as an offering; sometimes it was mixed with soma, but sometimes with milk. Thus Rigveda, viii. 4. 8, addresses Indra: 9

'With honey of the bees is the milk mixed;

Come quick, run and drink!' 

Milk was created in kine by Varuna, even as he gave cool breezes to the forests, swiftness to horses, wisdom to the heart of man, lightning to the clouds, the sun to the sky, and soma to the mountains (Rigveda, x. 1 sv. 22). This reveals a high estimate placed upon milk and honey as foods, but lacks any mythical element, 10 as does the passage (x. 123. 5) in which the sky (dyaus) gives milk to the Aryan race.

The Sanskrit poets often allude to the ability of the eon to separate milk from water; but this, as C. R. Lukanoff has shown, has no mythical significance. It is a reference rather to the fact that these birds fed on the milk-like juice of the lotus stalks, which grew beneath the water. 11 Similarly the religious teachers of India often use as an illustration of a changing existence the relation between sweet milk, sour cream, and butter, not because they saw anything mythological in them, but because they illustrated change in forms of existence. 12

In India, then, it can only be said that milk and honey were so highly valued as food that they

1 Young, vii. 17, vii. 20, viii. 1, xvi. 8.  
2 I. 12.  
3 Young, xxiv. 13, 49.  
4 I. 1.  
5 Atharvaveda, iii. 16.  
6 I. 16.  
8 Ib. p. 222.  
9 I. 16.  
10 For the various sacrifices into which milk entered as an element (sacrifices for the dead, new and full-moon sacrifices, etc.) see A. Hilbrechtschift, Ritualliteratur: Pflaum Oppen and Zander (=GLAP iii. 2), Strausberg, 1897, pp. 144, 141, 117, 131, 135, 150, 177.  
11 Cf. p. 278.  
naturally formed a part of the most valued offerings to the gods. Perhaps the proper mixture of these viands was supposed to have some magical significance, for one passage (Rigveda, IX. 12) says that they were mixed by the athermal; 1 but there is no trace of such a myth as some have supposed for the Semites. 2

5. In Egypt.—In Egypt, as already noted, the sky-goddess was pictured as either a woman or a cow with full breasts; but this was only to symbolize her nurture of her earthly children. If milk had in early Egyptian thought any mythological significance, we should expect to find it prominent among the foods promised to the deified kings to whom the many-texts of the Old Kingdom promised a place among the gods. True, the departed king is frequently represented as suckled by the sky-goddess or some other divinity connected with her. The goddess is once thus addressed: 'O mother of this king Pepi . . . give thy breast to this king Pepi, suckle this king Pepi therewith.' The goddess replies: 'O my son Pepi, my king, my breast is extended to thee, that thou mayest suck it, my king, and live, my king, as long as thou art little.' 2 Milk was, then, the food of the celestials only during their heavenly childhood. When Pepi was grown, he is promised bread which cannot dry up and 'beer which cannot grow stale.' Later he is given a 'snared fowl.' 3 Bread is called 'the bread of the god.' Pepi is invited to 'sit down to thy thousand of breas.' thine thousand of oxen, thine thousand of geese, thine thousand of everything whereon the god liveth.' 4 Another source of food for the deified king is the tree of life situated in a mysterious islet at a distance, and th is king Pepi sought and attained. 6 This tree of life is probably a survival from a desert and oasis life similar to that of the Semites. 7 Milk plays very little part in these mythological myths. It was only the food of the deified kings during that part of their celestial life which corresponds to childhood on earth.

6. In Graeco-Roman literature.—Among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Semites and people of India, milk and honey were delicacies that were much appreciated, and their use goes back to an early time. Libations of milk and honey were, according to the Iliad, poured out for the dead, and such libations appear to have continued down to the Christian era. 8 In case of pestilence milk and honey were among the offerings presented at the sacred mountains of Pelion and Ithaqua. Before eating, milk, honey, and bread were offered to Hestia. 9 Milk and honey were also symbols of plenty and prosperity. Thus Pindar (744 B.C.) says:

'Rejoice, my friend! E a I send you, though at late hour, this honey mixed with white milk, fringed with the froth of blending, a draught of song conveyed in the breathings of Aeolian ducts.' 10

Though here metaphorical for sweet poetry, the metaphor attests the use of milk and honey as delicacies. In course of time both milk and honey became symbols of plenty. Thus Tibullus (18 B.C.) says:

'The oaths themselves give honey, and beyond the sheep bounding to milk the mind easily takes the hand to the dairy-tree.' 11


3 Seee, L. Thibaudeau, Vie des écrivains. I. 1299.

4 Zb. 3923, freasted, p. 132.


6 Barton, Sem. Or. p. 171 f.

7 So W. M. Müller in a private letter to the writer.

8 Sch. 2, 27.


10 Silvius Ital. vii. 184.

11 Neum. Ill. 70 ff.

12 Astl. 43 f.

Similarly Ovid:

'Nows Rivers of milk, now rivers of nectar run,
And yellow honey distills from the green box.'

With these poet's milk and honey have become emblems of the Golden Age, but with many others they are simply symbols of plenty. 2

Latin writers are, of course, dependent on Greek models for their imagery, and it is possible that Tibullus and Ovid were influenced directly or indirectly by Semitic ideas. A usage of milk and honey, however, which goes back to Homeric times cannot have been borrowed from the Egyptians. Possibly it may have come from Semitic Mesopotamia through the Hittites, since Hittites appear to be mentioned in the Odyssey, 3 but we know as yet too little of Hittite ritual to regard this as more than a mere possibility. Possibly, too, it may have been carried to the Aryan lands by Phoenicians, but it is quite as probable that the uses of milk and honey developed in the Aryan lands independently of Semitic ideas.

7. Among Christians.—The many references to milk and honey in Patriotic literature collected by Usener 4 are chiefly echoes of Indian myth. Some curious Christian myths connected with the milk of the Virign Mary are, however, still current in Bethlehem and its vicinity. There is at Bethlehem a cave called the 'Milk Grotto,' 5 a legend has it that the Holy Family took refuge there, and that, as the Virgin nursed the Child, a drop of her milk fell on the floor. Because of this it is still believed that a sajourn in the grotto not only increases the milk of women and animals, but cures them of barrenness. In reality this legend arose to Christianize a grotto that was originally a shrine of Ashareth. 6

All about Bethlehem the limestone crumbles and forms little white pebbles about the size of peas. These are accounted for by the story that a drop of the Virgin's milk fell on the rock, and that these peas are the miraculous result. Similarly it is said that, as the Virgin nursed the Child by the wayside, a drop of her milk fell on a thistle, which on this account became flecked with white and is called 'Mary's thistle.' 7 These myths are the outgrowth of the transfer to the Virgin of the old grotto of the mother-goddess, and are really much more erotic to Christianity than the quotation in the Patriotic writers about the Golden Age.

In the early Church the newly baptized were given milk and honey to taste (or, in some Western churches, milk and wine) as symbolizing their regeneration through baptism (cf. l. Co 7, He 6, v. 12 f.). By the twenty-fourth canon of the Third Council of Carthage (307) this milk and honey was to be consecrated at the altar on Easter Even, the most solemn day for baptism, but the use has been forbidden since the Trullan Council of 692. 8


George A. Barton.
MILL, JAMES, and JOHN STUART—The two Mills, father and son, occupy a unique position in the history of British thought. They were, after Bentham, the greatest figures in the utilitarian school and the leaders of the philosophical radicals.

1. James Mill.—Next to Bentham, James Mill was the force that moulded the early expression of utilitarian doctrine. He was a Scotsman by birth, the son of humble parents (his father a country shoemaker), and was born at North Water Bridge, on the North Esk, in the parish of Logie-Pert, Forfarshire, on 6th April 1778. By his intellectual ability and his industry he raised himself to the commanding position that he ultimately attained. His early education was received at the parish school of his native place, and afterwards at Montrose Academy, where he had as school-fellow Joseph Hume. From Montrose Academy he went to Edinburgh University (in the palmy days of Dugald Stewart), where he graduated M.A. in 1794, and forthwith proceeded to the study of Divinity, and was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in the Church of Scotland in 1798. The ministry, however, was not destined to keep him long. Being appointed tutor to the only daughter of Lord Stair, then Speaker of the House of Commons for Kincardineshore, he came under the special notice of Sir John, and went with him to settle in London in 1802. He was not long in London, for in 1803 he married Catherine, and in 1805 we find him active in originating The Literary Journal and making many contributions to it. In 1804 he produced his pamphlet on the Corn Trade, in which he advanced a series of articles, in an unceasing flow, to innumerable periodicals and magazines.—The Philanthropist, The Annual Review, The Westminster Review, The London Review, The Edinburgh Review, &c. He was now, and continued to be, in his active period, a contributor to a large number of periodicals, and was regarded as the chief of them being on 'Government,' 'Education,' 'Jurisprudence,' and 'Laws of Nature,' as a sort of textbook of the Encyclopaedia articles was made in book form and had a wide influence. For about eleven years (from 1806 to the end of 1817) he worked strenuously at his History of British India, which he began in 1806 and published by installments in 1820; an immense work, which was at once a great increase of knowledge. The immediate result was his appointment to a post in the India House, in the department of Examiner of India Correspondence, where he remained for some years. Besides a little book on the Elements of Political Economy (1821), largely reproducing Adam Smith, but embodying also the distinctive principles of Ricardo, he produced his great psychological work, the Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, which was brought out in 1839. This at once raised him to the position of psychologist in chief of the utilitarian school, filling the gap that had been left in the elaborate and multifarious teaching of Bentham. With Bentham himself Mill was on terms of the most intimate friendship, and the master regarded him as his most stalwart disciple. So much so, that when he died, in 1835, it was Mill that it was doubted whether he was anything more than a brilliant reproducer of Bentham's opinions. That, however, does Mill an injustice. He was no mere echo, but a voice that was potent as a political force to an extent that even Bentham hardly equalled. When he died (his death took place in London, on 20th June 1836), he left behind him a London University, the great inspiring spirit of radicalism and the one man who could have made the radical propaganda the success that it had become. In the year before his death (1835) appeared his Fragment on Mackintosh. This is really a vigorous defence of empiricism against intuitionism, though it assumes the form of a vehement criticism of Mackintosh, and is chiefly valuable as presenting Mill's philosophical positions in a clear and condensed light, rendered all the more effective by the polemic setting.

Mill's fame as a psychologist rests on his consistent experientialism, his thoroughgoing application of association to the phenomena of the mind, and his uncomprising attack on the doctrine of associationism to explain the mind and all its processes. But this has already been brought out in the art. Association, and need not be further dwelt on. A word, however, is not to be omitted on psychological ethics. Mill's ethics is essentially hedonistic; the human will is moved by pleasure (or the avoidance of pain) and by this alone; and with a view to the attainment of pleasure (or to the getting rid of pain) men habitually act. But there is such a thing as disinterested conduct; and by the utilitarian himself benevolence is regarded as the supreme virtue. How, then, explain this? In the first place, Mill has recourse to the distinction (of which Bentham had made so much) between motive and intention, and maintains that, while our intention in benevolence is disinterested, our motive is interested. To the other words, benevolent action pleases the individual, gives him satisfaction, else he would not do it, but it also promotes the happiness of others. Now, this being pleasant with an action benevolence is always considered—i.e., the principle that we see at work in the micer, whose nature is so changed by his traffic with money that the original desire of money for the 'pleasure that ensues' becomes ultimately the desire of money for its own sake. What happens in the case of the miser happens in the case of disinterestedness and benevolence. Although individual pleasure lies at the root of a man's benevolent action, on the other hand, it is through intercourse with men and the experience of mutual help, to submerge the thougt of his own pleasure and make benevolence itself his end. What, then, with its intentions and its intimations? Conscience is Mill not a simple and elementary faculty in human nature, but the product of association. That gives it to its power, and explains its peculiarities, and indeed constitutes its value. The ultimate test of morality is utility: right and wrong are qualities of conduct and are to be gauged by the tendency of actions to produce pleasure or pain. Education occupied a large share of Mill's attention. As a utilitarian radical, he was eager that the people should be educated—educated so as to develop and improve their intelligence, and render them fit to be the children of a great nation, and to enter into the practical interest in the educational movement of the time, and entered as a keen polemic into the controversy between the Lancasterian and the Bell systems of education. He tried to establish a school (but failed) on the principles of Bentham laid down in his Christianmatics ('Study of useful things'); and he was one of the small band of ardent educators who, generally speaking, were not admitted to the University. But his claim to honour as an educationist rests on his broad-minded theory of education, as developed in his Encyclopaedia article, where education is shown to be the work of a man's life-time, where
the roots of it are laid in associationist psychology, and, where the principles of Helveticus regarding the almost unlimited power of education in transforming the individual are vigorously enforced.

In the realm of jurisprudence Mill made for himself a great name by his logical and philosophical treatment of the problem of law. His Encyclopaedia article on that subject is, within its limits, almost perfect. It might be elaborated at points and more fully illustrated, but it is almost descriptive of precisely the work that is striking is its handling of the rights of nations in the time of war, and its treatment of the possibility of an effective court of arbitration in international quarrels.

A philosophical politician Mill achieved fame by his theory of government. It is not a theory that is invulnerable. It lays itself open to objection as to the adequacy of its analysis of human nature; it was attacked by Macaulay on the ground of its deductive method and disregard of the inductive mode of procedure; and Sir James Mackintosh attacked it on the side of its extreme advocacy of popular representation. But Mill seems to have ignored the demand of democratic tyranny, or the abuse of power on the part of the 'masses' in defiance of the interests of the 'classes.' The foundation of the theory is that every man is by nature self-centred, that he aims at pleasure for self and as much of it as he can obtain, and that, in his pursuit of personal interest, he is ready to lay hold of everything that ministers to his gratification, regardless of the pleasures and desires of others. Hence the need of government, and its meaning: government just signifies keeping one man from grasping at and mercilessly pursuing what belongs to another. But the members of a government are themselves men, with men's selfish passions and readiness to tyrannize over others, and, consequently, need themselves to be restrained. The restraint comes and only can come from the people; and the only tolerable form of government is a representative government—a government where the people's representatives act as a check on legislative abuse. It is only when the people are governed by men elected by themselves and representing them that the interests of governors and governed can be identified. Yet this identification of interest is liable to be broken through, if representatives are not sufficiently watched.

A body of representative men, if left entirely to their own actions, will have 'sinister' interests and may become as selfish and oppressive as an individual. The fruits of frequent parliamentary elections; thus only (so it appeared to Mill) could the people retain a proper hold on their own representatives.

Into social reform Mill threw himself with much energy. Reforming zeal was the great characteristic of the utilitarians. This was but the practical side of their all-controlling principle, the general welfare, or the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Prisons and prison discipline, mendicancy, the Poor Laws, and such like engaged his pen; and it was through the influence of his views, to no small extent, that subsequent reforms were effected.

2. John Stuart Mill.—The eldest child of James Mill was John Stuart Mill (born in London on 20th May 1806; died at Avignon, in France, on 5th May 1873). He was educated solely by his father, who, although constantly occupied in literary and exacting work, did not grudge to act as schoolmaster to his son. His method of teaching was an exceptional kind; and, although the result of it was also exceptional, the method has not been imitated by others or regarded as generally practicable. At three years of age the boy was set to learn Greek, which was his chief study for the next five years, English and arithmetic being added as secondary subjects. This created in the youthful learner a love for Greek—not only for the language, but for the literature and the thought of Greece—so that lasted throughout his life, and was more noticeable in his writings than his genuine appreciation of the dialectic method of Plato and his constant use of the Socratic mode of inductive definition, in order to secure clear concepts and exact verbal expression of them, with a view to truth. At the age of eight, the boy had Latin added to his Greek; and, by the time that he was fourteen years of age, he was indoctrinated into the principles of logic, psychology, and political economy. These were still subjects for a boy of that age; but they were the subjects in which he afterwards excelled.

All the time that these subjects were being set as tasks, the father was making the boy his constant companion, sharer in his daily walks, and, through his conversation and judicious cross-questioning, was successfully developing the boy's mind and imparting to him clearness and exactness of thought and confidence in thinking. This Socratic procedure was supplemented at the earliest moments by making the boy a teacher. He was set to superintend the education of the younger members of the family, thereby enabling him to gain further clearness of ideas and to strengthen his intellectual faculty. No wonder that the precocity of young Mill became proverbial.

A further stage in his education was a year's sojourn in France, as the guest of Sir Samuel Bentham, at the age of fourteen. This introduced him to the French language and to French literature and politics; and, through excursions in the Pyrenees and elsewhere, aroused in him an enthusiasm for natural history and a love for botany and zoology. These things all influenced him in later life.

On his return from France, he was further taken in hand by his father. He was now directly introduced to Bentham's teaching, in the French translation and exposition of it in P. E. L. Dumont's Traité de législation (London, 1802). 'The reading of this book,' he says (Autobiography, p. 64), 'was an epoch in my life; it is the first point in my mental history.' At this time also he studied Roman law under John Austin, the jurist. At the age of sixteen, the youth was beginning to feel his intellectual independence. Baring with enthusiasm for Bentham, he started a Bentham Club of young men, which he designated 'The Utilitarian Society.' Somewhat later he became a member of 'The Speculative Society,' and was also a prominent figure among the youths who met, at stated times, in George Grote's house for discussion of philosophical and economic questions. Later he took an active share in 'The Political Economy Club.' Thus was the development of young Mill's thought and mind further aided by a variety of powerful intellectual agencies.

In 1823, at the age of seventeen, came his appointment, by the East India Company, to the post of Assistant Examiner, under his father, in the Office of the Examiner of India Correspondence. This continued to induced the position of Chief of the office in 1850—two years before the abolition of the East India Company.

A turning-point in his life was his break-down in health together with a failure at the age of thirty-eight, to keep fit, and an over-strain of early education under his father's tuition were largely the cause of this. But there was something more. There was the emotional
nature of the young man, which had been cramped but not destroyed by his father's one-sided training, craving for satisfaction. The end of the crisis was what he himself regards as analogous to a 'conversion.' It came in large measure through study of the poetry of Wordsworth and the philosophy of Coleridge, and showed itself in a revolution both in his intellectual opinions and in his character. He was no longer the undiscriminating follower of Bentham that he had been; he was no longer affected by the formal, stereotyped, one-sided slice of human nature. He emerged from the ordeal a new man, with wider mental outlook and deeper and intenser sympathies. The extent of the change may be seen by reference to his two remarkable essays on Bentham and Coleridge, republished in vol. i. of his Dissertations and Discussions (London, 1859–67).

Another important factor in his life was the influence over him of Mrs. Taylor, who became his wife in 1851.

His work in connexion with literary journals was enormous. He wrote articles almost without number and on an exhaustive variety of subjects (philosophical, political, economic, social). They began with The Westminster Review and extended to other magazines—especially The London Review and a London and Westminster Review. They are valuable as enabling us to trace the development of his opinions, the growth of his views in philosophy, and the gradual modification of his radicalism in politics.

His intellectual work was his System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, which appeared in 1843. This was followed, in due course, by his Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy (1844), and Principles of Political Economy (1848). In 1859 appeared his little treatise on Liberty, and his Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform. His Considerations on Representative Government were first published in 1860; and in 1863 (first appearing in magazine form) came his Utilitarianism. In 1865 came his Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy in 1867 his Rectorial Inaugural Address at St. Andrews University, on the value of culture; in 1868 his pamphlet on England and Ireland; and in 1869 his treatise on The Subject of Education. In 1869 also was published his edition of his father's Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, with many valuable notes illustrative and critical by J. S. Mill himself, by Bain and Grote, and by Andrew Findlater. His two posthumous works are his Autobiography (1873) and his Three Essays on Religion (1874). To these have to be added the two large volumes of Letters (ed. Hugh S. R. Elliot) published in 1910.

A phase of Mill's life has still to be noted—his parliamentary career. In the Parliament of 1855–68 he sat as Radical member for Westminster. Three things in chief did he advocate in the House of Commons—women suffrage, the interests of the labouring classes, and land reform in Ireland.

In philosophy J. S. Mill's fame rests chiefly on his Logic, his Political Economy, and his Examination of Sir William Hamilton, to be taken in connection with his notes in his edition of his father's Analysis.

As a logician he stands out as the great empiricist who formulated and elaborated inductive logic, who restated and in part redefined deductive logic, who made systematic application of logical principles to the moral sciences (including politics), and who, enforced, in polemic form, the power of expression the spirit of the age, and the ultimate test of truth. The brilliancy of his thought and the clearness of his style (including an unwonted aptitude for felicitous illustration, ranging over a wide field of knowledge) cannot be too highly praised.

The stimulus to the student derivable from a study of his Logic is unqualified. The explanatory character of his great work must be acknowledged without reserve. But how far he has succeeded in bridging the gulf between inductive and syllogistic logic may be judged by the reaction of his friend and associate, who has doubts (see his Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics, London, 1903, pp. 21–26); and empirical logic has made great advances since his day. On the other hand, it must be admitted that his theories were rendered possible only through Mill's work.

In psychology Mill upheld the associationism of his father, but gave a more attractive expression of it as 'mental habit; or, more generally,' his psychology into theory of knowledge and formulated his doctrine of psychological idealism (found on Berkeley), which, resting on the empirical genesis of knowledge through the various senses operated by association, issues in the conception of matter or objective reality as the permanent possibility of sensations' and of mind as the permanent possibility of feeling. In the case of mind, however, there is a peculiarity: it is conscious of its states. This we must accept, as it is given in our experience, but we must accept it in its inexplicit form. It is not further defined.

He was unbending in his opposition to those who base truth on intuition. Not that he denied the fact of intuition, but he demanded that it should be tested by experience, so that it may not become (as it had doubtless become to a school of empiricism at the time) the bulwark of prejudice and irrationality and the hindrance to intellectual, political, and social progress.

Mill's great work on Political Economy (equal in originality of thought and in importance to his Logic) is a clear exposition of the various branches of the science—wealth, distribution, consumption, and exchange. It is a masterly work, and out of these. It shows him also as a keen, but fair, critic. But his chief merit lies in his widening the scope of political economy and removing from it the reproach of being the dismal science. This he did partly under the influence of Auguste Comte) by infusing into it human feeling and associating it with the philosophy of society. Economic principles were now conjoined with their practical applications (including thought and action). Not only do we have a minute and scientific handling of such things as labour, capital, rate of interest, money, international trade, and all the other points in political economy, but Mill was actuated by an interest in these problems and not only were the problems dealt with, but also a stimulating and wise treatment of such deeply interesting problems as the future of the labouring classes, the land question, socialism, etc. In explanation of the exceptional popularity of the treatise he himself says:

'It was, from the first, continually cited and referred to as an authority, because it was not a book merely of abstract science, but also of application, and treated Political Economy not as a thing by itself, but as a fragment of a greater whole; a branch of Social Philosophy, to which the other branches, that its conclusions, even in its own peculiar province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and counter-action from causes not directly within its scope: while in the character of a prophetic guide it is not without apart from other classes of considerations ' (Autobiography, p. 230).

That is, doubtless, absolutely correct.

Mill's utilitarian ethics, as expounded in his Utilitarianism, is extraordinarily significant in both the matter and the style. And the style, not less than the glee of conviction that permeates the whole. Justice has really been done to it by the critics, but not indeed by the utilitarians. (a) that it is not a treatise of pure abstract reasoning, but one written out of the living conviction of a man who loved his fellow-men; (b) that it is practical in its object, and not merely theoretical; and (c) that,
although it sets forth pleasure or happiness as the standard and test of human conduct, it makes supreme the conception of man as a social being and conditions all by the conception of the general welfare. His view of the human will, as determined by character, and of character as formed by a man, and not for him, is his contribution to the solution of the free will problem, and his defence of the principle that the human will is such a thing as a science of ethics—and, if of ethics, then also of economics.

Mill as a political thinker is a great subject. As a political philosopher he loved the people and worked hard for them in parliament and out of it. But he would not submit in any degree or for a moment to their irrational desires and expectations. They had to be led and not followed. He was actively conscious of their tendency to tyrannize and their selfish disregard of justice. He was exceptionally alive to their readiness to dominate over minorities; hence, he powerfully advocated the principle of parliamentary proportional representation. Thus alone, he thought, could minorities of electors get their rights. He saw the people's jealousy and suspicion of the educated and aristocratic classes, and he worked fast by the principle of plurality of votes, as determined by culture and social position. He was very sensitive to the tendency in the masses to act unscrupulously and blindly on land and fashion; therefore he opposed vote by ballot.

On the other hand, he was a strong upholder of the liberty of the individual; and he gave a powerful defence of individualism in his treatise Liberty—a defence of the right of the individual to hold his own opinions and to give free expression to them, and his right to live in such a way as seemed fit to himself, so long as his mode of living did not interfere with the lives and liberties of others. In the same spirit, though he was quite alive to the necessity of the government dictating and controlling within limits, and, therefore, restricting the liberty of the individual, to that extent, he thought that the less government interfered the better: his legislative principle, with necessary qualifications, was laissez-faire.

Another object that lay near to Mill's heart was that of women's suffrage. His book on the subject has exhausted the handling of the theme from that point of view. But he added active support to theory by consistently advocating universal franchise for women and personally guiding the Women's Movement in London and the provinces.

The problems of the universe were constantly in Mill's thoughts. He puzzled himself long and anxiously over the question of the freedom of the will, and ultimately reached the determinist solution that has just been referred to. The nature of the external world and of the human ego also exercised his mind; and his doctrine of 'psychological individualism' was the result. But there still remained the problem of God. With the conception of the Deity as 'the Absolute,' unknown and unknowable (such as knowledge, mercy, and love) could be applied, he had no sympathy. His criticism of H. L. Mansel's view, as set forth in his Bampton Lectures on The Limits of Religious Thought (London, 1870), is scathing and effective. But Mill's thought on the great theme is best given in his supremely interesting posthumous Essays. His honesty of character and his 'indifference to truth' (as Locke would express it) here come out in a very striking fashion. Discouraged from theistic thinking by his father in his early training, and not encouraged to it by his utilitarian friends and fellow-thinkers in after life he yielded that openness of mind that would willingly receive truth to whatever extent it might reveal itself. His faith would have been optimistic in his view of the universe, but he could not; and the most that he could do was to allow a conception of God that conserved his goodness but limited His power. In face of our harrowing experience of Nature 'red in tooth and claw with ravin' and of the unutterably hard and harsh experiences of life in general, he is led to the idea of a Great Power who was All-loving, Omniscient, and Omnipotent. But he was willing, or, at any rate, not unwilling, to believe in a Power of Goodness or of Law if He would, if He could, subdue evil and put an end to suffering and misery and was only hindered by the recalcitrant circumstances of the world. This admission, combined with his admiration of Jesus of Nazareth as the highest of ethical teachers, shows his power of detachment from early upbringing and from immediate social environment, and his readiness to respond to the light whenever it came. This was the noblest trait of his character.

Mill's nature was, in many ways, an attractive one, characterized by high and sterling qualities. He was generous in his outlook and sympathetic with men in the struggle for justice. He was free from all doubts. He was eager to be fair in his estimate of others and of their opinions, and always ready to admit that there is likely to be some truth in very doctrine and a belief that has been sincerely held; there was always kindness of the heart. His disinterested regard for truth was unbounded; and he took little care to cloak or hide unpalatable opinions, but expressed himself freely without regard to personal consequences. He delighted in championing persons and causes that he conceived to be unjustly treated by society or by the law of the land. His public spirit was intense; and he never feared to attack legislatures and magistrates and justices, and to uphold unpopular views, in the interest of the working classes or of the downtrodden. His life was consistently devoted to one end—the furtherance of the good and welfare of his fellow-men.


WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

MILLENNIUM.—See Eschatology.

MILTON.—I. Life.—John Milton was born in London at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, Cheapside, on 26 Dec., 1608, the son of John Milton, a London scrivener, whose conversion to the faith of the Anglican Church had led to his being disinnherited by his father, a member of St. John's, Forest, and a staunch Roman Catholic. The poet inherited the stubborn self-will of his grandfather and the more sensitive and cultured spirit of his father, from whom he also derived his taste for music. From the first the boy was studious, and his father supplied him with the best teachers. When in 1625 (Feb. 12) he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, at the age of sixteen, he had already acquired, under his first tutor, Thomas Young (a graduate of
Milton left the University in 1632 without taking orders, and the next six years of his life were spent at Horton in the quiet prosecution of his studies in classical literature, history, mathematics, and music, with occasional visits to London to purchase books, to visit the theatre, to be an onlooker perhaps at Court ceremonies.

Yet I had rather, if I were to choose, Thy service in some greater subject use, Such as may make these search the sower round, Before thou clothe my fancy in its sound: Spurn shallow works, and deep transport me, May soar Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door Look in, and see each blissful deity; etc.

Milton was not destined to sing of kings or the Round Table. The meeting of the Long Parliament determined him to return home, and he made his way back to England by Venice and Geneva to plunge soon into that long course of controversy, ecclesiastical and political, which determined the choice of themes, the doctrinal framework, and the temper and spirit of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes.

The first of the controversies into which Milton plunged with arduous and venerable was that concerning Church government and the preeminence of a Presbyterian and Prelatical organization. In the first pamphlet, Of Reformation in England (May–June 1641), he raises the question why the English governments and earlier monarchs called against them as enemies of the Church. These pamphlets (Of Prelatical Episcopacy [June–July 1641] is an examination of the origin of Episcopacy in reply to a

any English pieces (some of the Latin elegies are very much in this vein) had been or were ever again to be written by Milton. But in Comus, or A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle (1634), which he composed as a coronation gift to Henry Lawes, all the resources of Milton’s learning and art were employed to set forth his deepest ethical and religious convictions, his passionate love of purity, his sense of the dependence of all human virtue on the protecting grace of God. The theme of the second book of the Faerie Queene is rehanded by a poet of a higher moral temper and a less, though more controlled and classically educated, sense of beauty.

Milton had gone to Cambridge with a view to taking orders, and, though he left without doing so, there is no evidence that he had ceased to be, when he settled at Horton, an orthodox Anglican. He was a communicant; he had signed the Articles; nothing had yet betrayed that he was by conviction a Presbyterian in his views on Church government; while on the doctrine of predestination in its relation to the human will his position was always closer to that of the Arminians than to that of the Calvinists. What alienated Milton from the Church of England was the permanent and intransigent rigour of Laud and the identification of Episcopacy with the Court and its arbitrary policy. His intense and ideal love of liberty was awakened, and the first note of the countryman’s feeling for a Laudian England was struck in Lycidas (1638), the most passionate, plaintive, and musical poem which Milton had yet written. In the same year he went abroad, still intent rather on self-cultivation and the preparation for the task of writing a great poem on controversy and theology. In Paris he met the Dutch savant Hugo Grotius, whose Adsumus Exult was one of the sources of Paradise Lost. He spent two months in Florence, conversing and interchangeing Latin and Italian verses with young Academicians. He proceeded to Rome, where he visited the Vatican Library and the English College, and heard Leonora Baroni sing at the palace of Cardinal Barberini. The elevated strain of compliment in the Latin verses addressed to her betrays the influence of Italian preciosity. At Naples he met Manso, Marquis of Villa, Tasso’s patron and Marzio, and in a Latin poem addressed to him prays that he may find a like patron when he undertakes to sing of...
On 13th February 1649—a fortnight after the execution of Charles I—are published, in defence of his predecessors, 'The Eikonoklastes,' and 'A Defence of Kings and Magistrates,' proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinance of the Commonwealth has neglected, or deny'd to do it. And that they who, of late, so much blame deposing are Men that did themselves. The sting in the tail of this bold title is intended by the Presbyterians, who are roughly handled throughout as hypocrites and revolters from their own principles. The Eikonoklastes, of the same year, follows chapter by chapter the Eikon Basilike in Milton's most scornful style. To Salmassius and other impugners of the King's execution Milton replied in his first and second 'Defensio pro populo Anglicano' (1651, 1654). The 'Defensio contra Morrish' (1653) was a savage onslaught on one, who, he believed, had slandered himself. His last purely political pamphlet, the 'Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth' (March 1660), was published on the eve of the Restoration.

That conception of the Church's influence and authority as purely spiritual which is evident in Milton's first sketch of an ideal Presbyterianism, and had been intensified by the increasing activity of the Presbyterians, led him to disapprove of Cromwell's attempt to combine religious endowment with a wide though still limited toleration; and his own position was exposed in the 'Defensio Secunda' (1656), a 'libertine' pamphlet, the 'Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth' (March 1660), was published on the eve of the Restoration.

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though a device peculiar to himself) had been practised by Italian poets known to Milton. In 1638 Paradise Lost was resumed in epic, not dramatic form; was composed to dictate, corrected, and completed by 1668; and published in 1667. It was followed in 1670 by Paradise Regained, an epic in the brief meter of the Book of Job, and Samson Agonistes, Milton’s sole experiment in those ‘dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign.’

The epic and the works. — Of Milton’s early poem, no more need be said here. Apart from their rare poetic beauty they bear delightful witness to the delicate purity and profound piety of the poet’s childhood and youth, combining in an effect of spots the transitory levelling of literary and classical culture with the finer spirit of a Puritanism which was not yet heated and hardened by the fires of religion and political controversy. The purpose of the present article is to outline the creed of Milton as it took shape in the years of storm and stress which followed his return to England and to consider the reflection of this creed, and the temper which it at once expressed and intensified, in his longer poems.

In his earliest pamphlets Milton ranges himself on the side of the Presbyterians reformers of the Anglican Church. The Scriptures are the sole authority for the right government of the Church, which is not a matter that has been left to human discretion and experience to devise. God, who shaped to its minutest detail the government and work of the Jewish Temple, should be no less now by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass, direct not only the upright but the lovely shapes of virtues and graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ’s body which is his church, in all her glory and relations and proportions? (Reason of Church Government, I. 2). But the NT recognizes only two orders, bishops or presbyters (they are the same thing) and deacons — so Paul writes to Timothy, not the same as the orders in the Church'. Prelacy is an addition of man’s devising and ambition (‘Lucifer . . . was the first prelate angel’) opposed to ‘the reason and end of the gospel’ (ch. 1. 31 E.)

But when Milton came to state the respect in which Episcopal jurisdiction opposes the reason and end of the gospel, he parted company at once (how far conscientiously it is hard to say) with his Scottish and English sympathizers, and with the actual practice of dominant Presbyterianism. For his objection to Episcopal jurisdiction is the, for Milton, fundamental principle ‘that jurisdic- tion in the church there ought to be none but all.’ His objection is to the archiconclaves with their penalties and fines, and the Star Chamber. Over the outward man, person, and property, authority belongs to the State, which is not concerned with inner motives but with the ‘warden peace and welfare of the common wealth, and civil happiness in life’ (ch. ii. 3). The authority of the Church is over the inward and spiritual man, and her sole weapons are instruction, admonition, reproof, and, finally, excommunication, the last to be so used as always to keep open the door of reconciliation to repentance. The motive to which the Church appeals is not terror, but shame, ‘the reverence and due esteem’ in which a man holds himself both for the dignity of God’s image upon him and for the price of his redemption which, he now knows, is sufficient, the knowledge that is his head, the making him account himself a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debase-
different passages are duly compared and when all allowance is made in the light of the Lutheran law of charity, in the spirit of the words 'the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath'? The one consideration to which Milton never condescends is experience, the difficulties and the practical means of achieving those revealed by experience; he has none of Burke's reverence for 'prudence constituted as the god of this lower world'.

Milton's polemical pamphlets are, accordingly, a bewildering blend of ideal reasonings, high a priori principles set forth in glowing and harmonious but elaborately Lati-nized periods; a pedantic, at times captious and wrong-headed, citation and cross-examination of Biblical texts; truculent polemic, condescending not infrequently to coarse personal abuse; and withal a general absence of the mellower wisdom that proceeds from experience and charity. There is much to inspire and delight in these pages burning with fires that are perhaps not yet altogether extinct but in general have died down; there is little to interest the statesman. If Milton's pamphlets yet live, it is as eloquent statements of high and abstract ideals, to ignore which altogether is to reduce political expedience to sheer opportunism.

The divorce pamphlets have nothing to say upon the difficult problems of children and the mutual relations of the family and the State. They combine elevated exhortations on the ideal significance of marriage as a spiritual rather than a carnal union (regarded solely from the point of view of the man) with a tedious, passionate, wrong-headed attempt to reconcile Christ's prohibition of divorce 'but for adultery' with Moses' permission. (And cannot have at any time permitted sin.) The later command cannot have been intended, therefore, to annul the earlier, but merely to check certain prevalent abuses. Milton was not without apprehension of the fact of moral and religious progress. He went beyond the English Protestantism of his day in asserting that under the new dispensation the Mosaic law as well as ceremonial law had been abolished. But the new law was, he maintained, a law of liberty, of greater responsibility because of greater freedom. Such a rigid law of marriage as the Churchers asserted was a curtailment of the highest of earthly liberties. Law had granted, a fresh enslavement of the spirit to the letter. Looking at the question exclusively from the man's point of view, he advanced to an assertion of divorce as the private concern of the individual and to a defence of polygamy (De Doctr. Christ. i. 10).

The Areopagitica was an overflow from the divorce controversy, and is a magnificent a priori vindication of freedom of thought and speech as the fundamental condition of the successful quest of truth. The practical difficulties which have beset the attempt to find a solution, other than a compromise varying in different countries, are set outside Milton's ken; nor could be foreseen all the evils that have attended the freedom allowed to a Chauvinist or a commercial press to deceive and to corrupt.

The same lofty but a priori idealism combined with exposition of texts and interchange of personalities characterizes the pamphlets, Latin and English, written to vindicate the execution of Charles I, and those on, what became his favourite themes, an unenclosed clergy and a universal toleration of all religious bodies, the Book of Common Prayer and the liturgy of the MS in which was set down the creed of the Church of John Milton, the final result of his resolve to have done with traditions and definitions, councils and assemblies, and to formulate for himself,
Milton from a study of the text of Scripture, a complete and articulate body of divinity and morality. The creed was, as it were, a fountainhead, from which the thought of Milton flows. But Milton's faith is not limited to the spirit of the classical Renaissance, for the points on which Milton stands most resolutely aloof from orthodox Calvinism are just those on which his creed is formed to compromise the dignity and liberty of the human mind which the Renaissance had re-asserted. In this respect Milton's Ariantism, though the most startling, is not the most important of the dogmas which he formulates. Yet it reflects the poet's temperament, and is in harmony with the religious tone of the two epics. The doctrine of the divinity of Christ regarded on its psychological side is the expression of the transient worth ascribed by the Christian consciousness to the personality and life of Jesus: it is the intellectual expression of a passionate devotion. Milton's reverence for the 'author and finisher' of the Christian faith is sincere and profound, but it is not animated with the ardent flame of love which throve in Dante's Divina Commedia or Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress or Thomas de Kempis' Mystical Ecclesiastical, or many others of the great distinctively Christian works of feeling and imagination. A high and austere monotheism is of the innermost tenor of Milton's soul.

The same high, not to say proud, soul is revealed in Milton's refusal to accept the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and the complete corruption of man's soul by the Fall—his refusal to sacrifice the reality of human freedom, the intrinsic worth of human nature, Predestination, he declares, extends to election only, not to reprobation. It did not determine man's fall, but the means of his redemption, since God foreknew that of his own free will man would fail: 'For man will hearken to his glezing plea, And easily transgress the sole command, Sole pledge of his obedience, so will fail He in his faultless preggy, Whose heart? Whose but his own? Ingano, he had of me All he could have; I made him just and right, Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.' (Paradise Lost, III. 95 ff.)

The redemption purchased by Christ is in the same way not to all, not to himself, but to a predestined number. To all, God gives grace, 'though not in equal measure yet sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation': 'I for will clear their senses dark What may suffice, and stony spots clear To pray, repent, and bring obedience due, To pray, repentance, and obedience due, Though but endued with sincere intent, Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut' (ib. 185 ff.). Nor—and here again Milton diverged from orthodox Protestantism—is all apprehension and aspiration after good extinguished in man as a result of the Fall. The result, indeed, of Adam's sin is not only guilt but spiritual death, which is 'the obloquy to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good,' that 'dreadful subjection to sin and the devil which was united, and on which the death of the will,' Yet the divine image in man's soul is not wholly extinguished. 'This is evident, not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from what is said in Gen. ix. 2 the creed of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, v. 4, those that man's blood by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made He man, Though his image was corrupted, yet his understanding. Ps. xvi. 1 the heavens declare the glory of God; which could not be if man were incapable of hearing their voice. Nor finally, is the frame in which they will eternally be destroyed' (De Doctr. Christ. I. 12 (Sumner's tr.)).

Man retains sufficient liberty at least to endeavour after righteousness, at least to make himself responsible for his actions, though his power is so small as to afford him no subject for boasting.

In accordance with the same high regard for the will, for conduct as the test of a living religion, Milton refuses to accept the orthodox distinction of faith and works, and the re-assertion of the command to the former alone. In the text 'A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law' (Ro 3), he insists that stress must be laid on the words 'of the law.'

For Paul does not say simply that a man is justified without works, but without the works of the law, nor yet by faith alone, but 'by faith which worketh by love,' Gal. 5. Faith has its own works which may be different from the works of the law. We are justified therefore by faith, but by a living not a dead faith; and that faith alone which acts is accounted living. James i. 20, 26 (ib. 122).

The same takes Milton assert more completely than the Westminster Confession the liberty of the Christian under the new dispensation. It is not the ceremonial law alone that is abrogated but the whole Mosaic law, including the Decalogue (ib. i. 26), the place of which is taken by a higher law 'written not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart,' the law of love given in our Lord's words, the imagination to the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself' (Lk 10).

In the Decalogue included the Fourth Commandment (ib. i. 10, ii. 7), on which English Puritanism laid so much stress. In his first pamphlet Milton had joined in the general condemnation of the Book of Sports, and the instigation to 'wassailing and mixed dancing on that day which God's law, and even our reason, hath consecrated.' But in The Likeable Means to remove Hirlings, the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient recourse of a week in 17th century, whether seventh or other number. Our rigid observance is an unnecessary cause of separation from the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The argument (e.g., of the Westminster Confession) that the Jewish law of the Sabbath had been transferred intact to the first day of the week is invalid (De Doctr. Christ. ii. 7).

'Under the Gospel no one day is appointed for divine worship in preference to another, except such as the church may set apart of its own authority for the voluntary assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services as far as is consistent with the duty of our calling. Such are the Last Supper, the Lord's Day, and the Catechism.'

Such are some of the most important divergences of Milton's creed from the creed of the Protestant Churches and the Jews. Of the differences between Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained are the poetical setting forth. Like the Divina Commedia, the Paradise Lost is not primarily an epic, but a didactic exposition of a theological creed; and, as all the details of Dante's creed may be discovered in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas, so Milton's conception of God, of Christ, and of the angels and devils is that which he has set down more clearly in the De Doctrina; and the purpose which Milton declares he has in view—'To justify the ways of God to men'—is theologically conceived. His poem is not an attempt to reconcile the heart and the imagination to truths already accepted. It is a restatement in poetic form of these doctrines in such a way as will finally justify God and indite man. Therefore thou art inexcorable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest (Ro 2).

Looked at steadily from this point of view, it cannot justly be said that Paradise Lost will bear comparison with the true and the false Nature of Lucretius. Take away from either of these poems the high purpose that shines through them, and half their beauty is gone. It is its symbolic, mystic character that gives sublimity to
every detail of Dante's heaven and hell. Few to-day read Paradise Lost with any desire to discover Milton's 'defects,' as he himself called his 'errors with any conviction, any such willing suspension of criticism as it is the function of poetry to beget, his justification of God's way to men, this stern and harsh rendering of the passionata feelings of Satan.' The time is past in which Milton's poem was read almost as if it were the Bible itself, the poetic presentation of those momentous events as if they actually occurred, to judge of the justice or injustice of the proceedings. We are more willing to believe that the epic form and the spiritual intention of the poem are not capable of being harmonized. The poem is held together from the first line to the last by the miracle of Milton's style—a veritable 'cloth of gold' encrusted with all the barbaric spoil of his multifarious learning—and by the miracle of his verse harmonies. But, when we look beneath this dazzling surface, we see that the unity is not so complete as we imagined, that a magnificent epic story is troubled and rendered abortive by the cramping theological purpose. All that is greatest in Paradise Lost is the product of Milton's creative, mythopoeic vision as freely on the scanty material of Biblical record and ecclesiastical tradition as did Homer or any primitive poet when shaping and embroidering popular myths. But the result has something in all of that is essentially Christian. The splendid scenes of the opening books—Satan and his companions debating in hell, Satan voyaging through chaos or descending through the heavenly bodies in the first freshness of their creation, the scenes in Eden, the wars in heaven—these might be fragments from the primitive myths of some forgotten religion, and perhaps nowadays we should read them with greater and less troubled interest if we might do so without the necessity of a reference to our own religious traditions and feelings, without having to ask ourselves 'Is this our God?' Is this the Second Person of the Trinity? For, as Milton approaches his proper theme, in the theological disquisition in heaven, in the story of the Temptation and what follows, we cannot but feel, despite frequent beauties, a steady subsidence of the creative power of the opening; the didactic disposes the epic poem. The magnificent promise of the opening books seems to be unfulfilled. The great characters there brought upon the stage achieve nothing. Even the Satan of the Temptation strikes us not quite the Satan of the first and second books, of whose dauntless, passionate soul we should have expected some action larger, more magnificent, than this rather over-elaborately treated temptation of a not too wise woman. The simple Bible story will not adapt itself to the classical epic treatment. The large, creative movement of the earlier episodes is lost as the poet feels himself confined by the original story and the didactic purpose.

The harmonizing of story and didactic is better achieved in Paradise Regained, Milton's epic on the 'brief model' of the book of Job; but it is so because the didactic and argumentative strain is, as in Job, dominant throughout. The poem is a finely wrought presentation of Milton's ideal Christian virtues, obedience, temperance, and the scorn of worldly glory. But, beautiful poem as it is, austere in spirit and chaste yet rich in texture, there is none of the wonderful creative power of the great episodes and characters in the longer poem; and its austerity of tone marks its limits as a religious poem, for obedience, temperance, and unworldliness are Christian virtues only as they flow from or lead to charity, and but little of the radiance of Christian beauty illuminates and warms this severe and stately poem.

The passion which sleeps under Milton's austere lines flowed forth like a flood of lava in the work which closed his career. Samson Agonistes has the rare interest and beauty of the present in Lycidas and Paradise Lost. Unfettered by Scriptural details or didactic purpose, Milton pours into the artificial mould of classical tragedy all the passionata feeling which the course of his own life and the history of the cause with which he had identified himself so wholeheartedly. The never-closed wound of his first marriage, the loss of his sight, the defeat of the high hopes which he had formed to see himself as a chosen people, a Kingdom of God on earth, the triumph of the hated prelates and the despised

Of Belial down with insolence and wins"—
all found utterance in the severely moulded lines and choruses of this tragedy, not a lament, as the Pre-Raphaelite last utterance of Milton's indomitable will, that unshakable self-confidence which he called faith in God—a fitting close to the career of the loftiest soul among English poets: 'Samson hath quit himself like Samson, and hereby hath finish'd
A life Hercules, a day, a world.'

Of Milton's supreme greatness as a poet there is no question. In sustained loftiness of soul, elaborate magnificence of language, and mastery of varied cadences he has no superior. His works have become the touchstone of poetic taste, for, unless a reader has an ear and taste for the technique and music of poetry, he may not find much to attract him in Milton; if he does, he will find endless delight. To the question whether he is also to be considered a great Christian poet a more modified answer must be given. A study of his articulated creed bears out the impression communicated by his poetry that Milton's was not an animo naturali Christiana. His was rather the soul of an ancient Stoic, blended with that of a Jewish prophet, which had accepted with conviction the Christian doctrine of sin and redemption. The spirit of his poetry wants two of the most distinctly Christian notes—humility and love. Milton's soul was as proud as Dante's; he was less conscious of the failing (Purg. xiii. 186 ff.) it is the absence in all his poetry of the note of passionate self-surrender to the love of Christ that separates him, not only from Dante, but from a Puritan like Bunyan, an Anglican like Herbert, a Roman like Cranmer or his contemporaries. It was on another side that Christianity claimed Milton. His work begins and ends in the idea of liberty and its correlative duty, human freedom and the responsibility that it carries with it of living

'As ever in the great Taskmaster's eye.'

God is, for Milton, indeed the great Taskmaster, but he rejoices in the tasks; 'the victories of the conscience are gained by the commanding charm which all the severe and restrictive virtues have for him' (Emerson, in North Amer. Review, xlvi. [1838] 65); for Milton freedom is obedience in the highest and hardest tasks. To restore this freedom is the great service of Christianity, the fruit of Christ's perfect obedience and the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit. Christianity alone is perfect liberty, a liberty that no human authority, Church or State, may limit. Milton's defects, is an ethical and religious poet because of the conviction which his poetry imparts that, in the words of a recent French writer,

'God is for Milton the all in all of life, there is no more terrible evil than sin which separates us from God; there is no more sublime mystery than the Redemption which reconciles us to God' ('C. Chauvet, La religion de Milton').

All his acts and writings were inspired by his desire that the Kingdom of God might come on
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earth, be it his conception of that Kingdom was in some way mainained and incomplete, that it was not always given to distinguish between the other worlds and God's

'O, may we soon again renew that song.
And keep in tune with Heaven, till God ere long
To do the same as we must
To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light!'
(Cat a Solomon Music, 25.)

LITERATURE.—I. EDITIONS.—Ed. Birch's poems are numerous, but a really good annotated ed. has yet to be made.
The first edition of H. London, 1719-23 is still valuable because of its collection of classical sources. Of later ed. mention may be made of D. Mason's (London, 1754) and W. Aked Wright's (Cambridge, 1802). Collected ed. of the prose works are J. Toland's (Amsterdam, 1699), T. Firth's (London, 1738, 1753), and J. A. St. John's (Bodleian Libraries, 1810). Some of the pamphlets—e.g., Areopagitica—have been edited separately.


H. J. C. GRIESSON.

MINAMSA.—Mimamsa in Sanskrit signifies 'investigation,' 'explanation.' The word is usually employed as the title of one of the six systems of philosophy recognized as orthodox by the Brahmanas. The Mimamsa system is most closely related to the Vedanta (the ultimate and final truth). For in them both the subjects of ancient Indian speculation which meet us in the Brähmaṇas and Upanisads are methodically developed. The two systems form a connective whole in the sense that the Mimamsa comprises the ritualistic doctrine of works, the Vedanta the doctrine of salvation by knowledge. Each, while limited to its own sphere, makes reference also to the other, so that it is impossible to doubt that they received a literary form at the same time. It is due chiefly to this close connexion with the Vedanta that Mimamsa is accorded the position to which it has been cast, that the Mimamsa has found a place in India among the philosophical systems; for with philosophy its particular subject does nothing to do with anything else. Mimamsa as a name of the ritualistic system is an abbreviation of Pārāra- or Karmamimamsā, 'first explanation,' or 'explanation of the function of work.' These names are explained by the conjunction of the system with the Vedanta, which, on its side is termed Uttarā or Brahma-mimamsā, 'second explanation' or 'explanation of the All-Soul,' also Sarvāra-mimamsā, 'explanation of the constitution' (of Brahman), the oldest and most important text-book of the Mimamsa is the MimamsaDarsaṇa of Jaimini. H. Jacobi places the composition of this work (and the contemporary composition of the Vedanta or Brahma-mimamsā) between c. A.D. 200 and 450 (JAOS xxxi., (1911) ff.).

The aim of the Mimamsa is to give rules for the correct interpretation of those Vedic texts whose subject matter is the ritual. Since these texts contain in great part an imperfect and obscure description of the ceremonies, and, besides, are interspersed at every step with speculations on the origin of the Veda (or Brahma-sūtras) between c. A.D. 200 and 450 (JAOS xxxi., (1911) ff.),

The Mimamsa offers a solution of all doubts which might present themselves with regard to the details of the sacrifice, and also proposes to remove the discrepancies which are actually found in the Vedic texts. These last, however, according to the view of the Mimamsa, are in every case alone apparent. The sacrificial procedure, moreover, discusses at the same time the rewards which are offered for the correct performance of the sacrifice; so that the Mimamsa is a compendium of both the ritualistic and the theological.

The Mimamsa does not recognize the existence of God. Nevertheless this fact interferes as little here as in the Sāṅkhya and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith. If we ask on what authority the instruction given with regard to the sacrifice and its consequences rests, the Mimamsa answers that the Veda needs no authority, but is eternal and uncreated; and that its revelation concerns only things existing from eternity, and self-evident. This conviction is in India maintained with remarkable tenacity, and is strangely opposed to the entirely personal wishes, for the most part quite worldly, which were continually presented to the gods by the authors of the ancient Vedic hymns. In reality the teachers of the Mimamsa are not the ancient hymns than with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedic literature, in which the individuality of the authors is not so prominent.

It has been already remarked that the form in which the Mimamsa is presented may have contributed towards its being regarded, in spite of its essentially unphilosophical character, as a system on a level with the other five systems of Indian philosophy. For the contents of the Veda are here classified under definite categories, and every subject of investigation is explained according to a method which represents already a high degree of logical skill in their arrangement and established scheme, which the other schools also adopt as their standard, contains the following five divisions: (1) the proposition, (2) the doubt as to its correctness, (3) the erroneous method of treating the question, (4) the refutation of the erroneous method by the true argument, (5) the result of the investigation. Occasionally also, for the purpose of the connexion of the subjects to the form in which the Mimamsa, questions of philosophical import are discussed. This is true especially of the proposition that sounds and therefore words are eternal, and likewise the connexion of words with their meaning. On the basis of this theory the Mimamsa teaches that the relation of sound and meaning is not dependent on general agreement, but that the meaning is naturally inherent in the word. The Mimamsa was compelled to propound this theory in order to protect the Veda from the suspicion of fallibility which attaches to all human works. If the Veda were to be regarded not as a collection of books composed or inspired, but as something uncreated, existing independently from eternity, then the connexion of the words of which the Veda is composed, with their meaning, could not be the result of human activity, but the words, and in the last resort the sounds that form the words, must have existed from all eternity—a view which could have held sway only within the narrow horizon of a school to which one language alone was known.

MIND—Questions of empirical psychology and of the relations between body and mind are discussed in other articles (see BODY, BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND). The present article must be limited to a discussion of the metaphysical theories of mind. Owing to the peculiar position which these problems occupy in philosophy, as well as in the study of ethical and religious problems, it is advisable, first of all, to make explicit some of the epistemological problems which especially confront the student of the nature of mind; and, in order to do this, we must, in view of numerous traditional complications which beset the theory of the knowledge of mind, open the discussion with some general statements concerning the nature of problems of knowledge.

The history of epistemology has been dominated by a well-known contrast between two kinds of knowledge, namely, perceptual knowledge and conceptual knowledge. This dual contrast seems insufficient to supply us with a basis for a really adequate classification of mental types of knowledge. It is proposed in the present article to base the whole discussion upon a threefold classification of knowledge. Having begun with this threefold classification of knowledge, and illustrated it, we shall go on to apply it to the special problems which we have to face in dealing with mind. We shall then consider in some detail what kinds of mental facts correspond to the three different kinds of knowledge thus defined. In conclusion, we shall deal with some problems of the philosophy of mind in the light of the previous discussion.

1. Perception and conception as fundamental cognitive processes.—A careful study of the processes of knowledge, whether these occur in the work of science or in the efforts of common sense to obtain knowledge, shows us three, and only three, fundamental types of knowledge present in every developed cognitive activity and interwoven in more or less complicated fashion. Of these two have been recognized throughout the history of science and philosophy, and their familiar contrast has dominated epistemology. The third, although familiar and often more or less explicitly mentioned, was first distinguished with sharpness, for epistemological purposes, by the American logician, Charles Peirce. We shall speak first of the two well-known types of cognitive process, perception and conception.

The name 'perception' is used in psychology with special reference to the perceptions of the various senses. We are here interested only in the most general characteristics of perception. William James has used, for what is here called perception, the term 'knowledge of acquaintance.' He distinguishes 'knowledge of acquaintance' from 'knowledge about.' In the simplest possible case one who listens to music has 'knowledge of acquaintance' with the music; the musician who listens in the light of his professional acquaintance has not only 'knowledge of acquaintance,' but also 'knowledge about': he recognizes what changes of key take place and what rules of harmony are illustrated. A deaf man who has learned about the nature of music through other people, in so far as they can tell him about it, but who has never heard music, has no 'knowledge of acquaintance,' but is limited to a knowledge of acquaintance' is also sometimes called 'immediate knowledge.' In the actual cognitive process of the individual human being it never occurs quite alone, since, when we know something perceptually or by acquaintance, we also always have or less 'mediate' knowledge, i.e., one who listens to music, but who also considers the person of the artist, the relation of the music to the programme, the name of the composer, or the place of this experience in his own life, has in his knowledge, which is more than the immediate hearing of the music.

Knowledge about includes, on occasion, mental processes which may be very widely and which may be mingled with 'knowledge of acquaintance' in ways which are far too complex to analyze here. But 'knowledge about' is especially opposed to 'knowledge of acquaintance' in one class of cases which need to be emphasized through the use of a special name. We may name that class by calling the kind of knowledge involved in it by the name already used, 'conceptual knowledge.' Conceptual knowledge is knowledge of universals, of relations, or of other such 'abstract' objects. The Socratic-Platonic theory of knowledge called attention from its very beginning to universals and relations, and consequently made this type of knowledge specially prominent.

No doubt, even if one is disposed to cling to this merely dual classification of knowledge, one may make a well-considered objection to the division of knowledge into two types of knowledge. 'Knowledge of acquaintance' is of the grade of conceptual knowledge. For there is much 'knowledge about' concerning which we should not hesitate to say that it is knowledge of universals. Socrates himself, in his effort to define the knowledge of universals, met at the start with the fact that much of our knowledge of universals is confused and inarticulate. But if, for the moment, we neglect the intermediate cognitive states in which we more or less mingle 'knowledge of acquaintance' and conceptual knowledge, or possess conceptual knowledge in imperfect degrees of development, we may readily admit that this traditional dual classification of cognitive states is sufficient to call attention to a distinction which is of the utmost importance, both for empirical science and for metaphysics.

While the distinction between perceptual and conceptual knowledge is of great importance in determining the distinction between the deductive and the inductive methods in the sciences, the classification of these two modes of cognition does not of itself suffice to determine what constitutes the difference between inductive and deductive science. When we have clear and accurate conceptual knowledge, we are able to take scientific processes that in the case of further development will involve deductive methods. Thus, in particular, a conceptual knowledge of the racial, or other general, relations of the species, is indispensable to the production of a system of logical deduction.

2. The axiomatic method.—The axiomatic method is the most developed form of deductive science. The axiomatic method, in its most rigorous form, starts with a precise list of axioms, and then proceeds by logical deduction to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms. This method is the most rigorous form of deductive science, and it is also the most powerful form of deductive science. It is the most rigorous form because it starts with a precise list of axioms, and it is the most powerful form because it can be used to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms.

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3. The scientific method.—The scientific method is the most developed form of deductive science. The scientific method, in its most rigorous form, starts with a precise list of axioms, and then proceeds by logical deduction to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms. This method is the most rigorous form because it starts with a precise list of axioms, and it is the most powerful form because it can be used to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms.

4. The general method.—The general method is the most developed form of deductive science. The general method, in its most rigorous form, starts with a precise list of axioms, and then proceeds by logical deduction to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms. This method is the most rigorous form because it starts with a precise list of axioms, and it is the most powerful form because it can be used to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms.

5. The empirical method.—The empirical method is the most developed form of deductive science. The empirical method, in its most rigorous form, starts with a precise list of axioms, and then proceeds by logical deduction to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms. This method is the most rigorous form because it starts with a precise list of axioms, and it is the most powerful form because it can be used to prove all the propositions that can be obtained from the axioms.
and the conceptual types of knowledge. When a hypothesis, such as Newton’s formula for gravitation, or Galileo’s hypothesis concerning the laws of falling bodies, is stated, the type of knowledge involved in formulating and in understanding the hypothesis is prevailingly conceptual. When the hypothesis is tested by comparing the predictions issued upon it with experience, the test involves mainly—although it involves to a considerable extent—to perceptual knowledge, or ‘knowledge of acquaintance.’ The processes of experiment used in an inductive science might seem to be typical cases of processes involving perceptual knowledge. And experiment unquestionably do involve such knowledge. But an experiment reveals a truth, because it brings concepts and perceptions into some sort of active synthesis. Upon such active synthesis depends the process of validation which is used for the definition of truth used by recent pragmatists (see Error and Truth).

In so far as we insist upon this dual classification of fundamental processes of cognition, the questions which most come to our notice, regarding both knowledge and its objects, concern (1) the relative value of these two cognitive processes, and (2) the relation, if any, between them.

Conceptual knowledge gives truth; perceptual knowledge gives illusion or appearance—such is, on the whole, the Platonic doctrine. In recent discussion the pragmatists—and still more emphatically Bergson—have insisted upon the relative superiority of the perceptual type of knowledge.

The familiar expression of this view is the thesis of recent pragmatism: ‘Conceptual knowledge has only a sort of ‘credit value’; perceptual knowledge furnishes the ‘cash of experience’; concepts are ‘bank notes’; perceptions, and perceptions only, make ‘cash.’’ The statement of Bergson questions, and declares that, if we had unlimited perceptual knowledge, i.e., ‘knowledge of acquaintance’ whose limits and imperfections we had no occasion to feel, because it had no limits and no imperfections, then we could have had no possible interest for us as cognitive beings.

In other words, we use concepts, i.e., we seek for a knowledge of universals, only when our perceptions in some way fail us. Conceptual knowledge is in its very essence a substitute for failing perceptual knowledge. The opposition between Plato and Bergson regarding this estimate of the relative significance and truthfulness of the two kinds of cognitive processes is thus characteristic of the contrast which is here in question. Of course all the philosophers admit that, in practice, our knowledge makes use of, and from moment to moment consists in, a union which involves both conceptual and perceptual processes.

(2) On the question whether the two foregoing types of knowledge, however closely linked in our normal human experience, can, at least in ideal, be separated—i.e., whether a knowledge by ‘pure reason’ is possible on the one hand, or a knowledge of ‘pure experiences’ is over attainable on the other hand—it is to be observed that, although the questions of ontologies are closely related to well-known metaphysical controversies. For Plato, as (in another age, and in a largely different metaphysical context) for Spinoza, and in the last resort for Kant, perception, or for the individual philosopher, to attain a pure intellectual insight into the realm of ‘ideas’ or into the nature of the ‘substance.’ For various forms of mysticism, as well as for theories such as the one set forth in the Kritik der reinen Erkenntnis (Leipzig, 1898-s) of R. H. L. Avenarius, a mental transformation may be brought about through a process which involves either a practical or a scientific correction and gradual suppression of erroneous or intellectual distinctions, and, at the height of this process, reality becomes immediately and perceptually known, without confusion through abstractions.

The ‘radical empiricism’ of James’s later essays makes use of a theory of knowledge which attempts, as far as possible, to report, apart from conceptual constructions, the data of pure experience.

2. Interpretation through comparison of ideas as a third fundamental cognitive process. It is an extraordinary example of a failure to reflect in a thoroughlygoing way upon the process of knowledge, that until recently the third type of cognitive process to which we must next turn has been neglected, although every one is constantly engaged in using and in exemplifying it.

When a man understands a spoken or written word or sentence, he gives an expression or an expression of an idea or meaning, which in general belongs to the mind of some fellow-man. When this sign or expression is understood by the one who hears or reads it, it becomes, in a sense, a part of his consciousness, and it may be any combination of perceptual or conceptual knowledge that chances to be in question. But, if any one cries ‘Fire!’ the sort of knowledge which takes place at the moment of reaction, which we understand this cry essentially depends upon this fact:

I regard my fellow’s cry as a sign or expression of the fact either that he himself sees a fire or that he believes that there is a fire, or that, at the very least, he intends me to understand him as asserting that there is a fire, or as taking an interest of his own in what he calls a fire. Thus, while I cannot understand my fellow’s cry, unless I have at least some perceptual knowledge, and while I equally shall not have a ‘knowledge about’ the nature of fire, and so a ‘knowledge about’ the object to which the cry refers, unless I am possessed of something which tends to be conceptual knowledge of his object, my knowledge of my fellow’s meaning, my ‘grasping of his idea,’ consists neither in the percept of the sign nor in the act of reversion, the sign, but in my interpretation of the sign as an indication of an idea which is distinct from any idea of mine, and which I refer to a mind not my own, or in some wise distinct from mine.

It is to be noted that, however we reach the belief in the existence of minds distinct from our own, we do not regard these minds, at least in ordinary conditions, as objects of our own perceptual knowledge. For the very motives, whatever they are, which lead me to regard my perceptions as my own even thereby lead me to regard my fellow’s perceptions as never present within my own field of awareness. My knowledge of my own physical pains, of the colours that I see, or of the sounds that I hear is knowledge that may be called, in general terms, perceptual. That is, these are objects with which I am engaged, occasion could be, acquainted. But with my fellow’s pains I am not acquainted. To say this is merely to say that, whatever I mean by ‘myself’ and ‘the others,’ the very things that I perceive is some sort of perceptual knowledge, as ‘I and my friend’ in the case of my own object of acquaintance. Thus, then, in general, perceptual knowledge has not as its object what is
at the same time regarded as the state of another mind than my own.

But, if the mind of my fellow, in particular his ideas, his feelings, his intentions, are never objects of perceptual knowledge for me, so that I am not directly acquainted with any of these states, must we regard our knowledge of the mind, of the ideas, of the intentions, of the feelings, of the interests of our fellow-man as a conceptual knowledge? Is our fellow-man's mind the object of a concept of our own? Is the fellow-man a universal, or a relation, or a notion not in the least distinct in its character from a mathematical entity or a law of nature? Unquestionably we regard him as possessing conceptual knowledge of his own, and also as engaged in processes of knowledge which may be conceptual, or which may involve any union of percept and concept. But the fact remains that neither by our own perceptions can we become acquainted with his states of mind, nor yet by our own conceptions can we become able to know the objects which constitute his mental process. In fact, we come to know that there are in the world minds not of our own by interpreting the signs that these minds produce on our own interpretation. And an interpretation is a third type of knowledge which is closely interwoven with perceptual and conceptual knowledge, very much as they are bound up with it, but which is a highly complex or combined consisting of elements which are merely perceptual or merely conceptual.

Every case of social intercourse between man and man, or (what is still more important) every process of inner self-comprehension carried on when a man endeavours to make up his own mind or to understand what he is about, involves this third type of cognition, which cannot be reduced to perception or to conception. It is to this third cognitive process that, following the terminology which Peirce proposed, we here apply the name 'interpretation.'

In order to distinguish more clearly the three types of cognition, we may say that the natural object of perception is some inner or outer datum of sense or of feeling, such as a musical tone, a colour, an emotional state, or the continual flow of the inner life upon which Bergson so much insists. For these are typical objects of perceptual knowledge, i.e. of 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The typical objects of conceptual knowledge are such objects as 'moral property,' 'difference,' 'equality,' and so on. But typical objects of interpretation are signs which express the meaning of some mind. These signs may be expressions of the meaning of the very mind which also interprets them. This is actually the case whenever in memory we review our own past, when we reflect upon our own meaning, when we form a plan, or when we ask ourselves what we mean or engage in any of the inner conversation which forms the commonest expression of the activity whereby an individual man attains some sort of explicit knowledge of himself.

The form of cognitive process involved in the social relations between man and man is essentially the same as that involved in the cognitive process by which a man makes clear to himself his own inner and external mean. For, despite well-known assertions to the contrary on the part of Bergson, nobody has any adequate intuitive 'knowledge of acquaintance' with himself. If such perceptual or intuitive knowledge of the self by the self were possible, we should not be obliged to acknowledge that the world of human beings is dominated by such colossal and often disastrous ignorance of every man regarding himself, his true interests, his feelings, his talents, his personal value, his intents, and his powers, as we actually find characterizing our human world. In brief, man's knowledge of himself and of his neighbour, and knowledge of the signs.

This thesis is very ably maintained by Peirce in some of his early essays, involves consequences which are at once familiar and momentous for the theory of knowledge. That the type of knowledge involved whenever signs are interpreted is a fundamental type of knowledge which cannot be represented either to perception or to conception can be exemplified in most manifold and futile away from a mathematical entity or a law of nature. Unquestionably we regard him as possessing conceptual knowledge of his own, and also as engaged in processes of knowledge which may be conceptual, or which may involve any union of percept and concept. But the fact remains that neither by our own perceptions can we become acquainted with his states of mind, nor yet by our own conceptions can we become able to know the objects which constitute his mental process. In fact, we come to know that there are in the world minds not of our own by interpreting the signs that these minds produce on our own interpretation. And an interpretation is a third type of knowledge which is closely interwoven with perceptual and conceptual knowledge, very much as they are bound up with it, but which is a highly complex or combined consisting of elements which are merely perceptual or merely conceptual.

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type of knowledge in question can be designated by a single term, namely, appreciation or description, just as in the foregoing these two types of knowledge have been designated each by a single term, acquaintance in one case and conception in the other.

In designating the instances of interpretation it is impossible to do either without the presence of a mere conception has these aspects. For the one who interprets it is an expression of his own meaning. With reference to the object, i.e., to the sign, or to the mind whose sign this is, the interpretation is the reading or rendering of the meaning of this mind by another mind. In other words, every interpretation has so far a dual aspect: it at once brings two minds into quasi-social contact and distinguishes between them or contrasts them. In the light of this contrast and with reference to the direction in which it is read, the two minds are known each in the light of the other. As has already been said, the two minds in question may be related as a man's own past self is related to his present or future self. And in fact, as Peirce has pointed out, every act of interpretation has also a triadic character. For this act, containing as it has not only a social character, but what one may call a directed 'sense.' In general, when an interpretation takes place, there is an act  \( A \) wherein a mental process is interpreted, read, or rendered to a third mind. That is to say, the whole process can take place within what, from some larger point of view, is also a single mind with a threefold process going on within it has already been pointed out. Thus, when a man reflects upon himself, or any other mental or social character, his present self, using the signs which are indispensable, interprets his past self to his future self, the cognitive process being well exemplified when a man divides himself of himself into its threefold character, and, on the one hand, his present self interprets the past self to the future self; or some generally more explicit social process takes place whereby one self or quasi-self has its meanings stated by an interpreter for the sake of some third self.

Thus, in brief, knowledge by interpretation is (1) an act of judgment (or \( A \)) (2) the idea or meaning whereof some other mind gives a sign, and (3) such an expression as is addressed to some third mind, to which the interpreter thus reads or construes the sign.

3. Self-interpretation, comparison of one's own ideas, and knowledge of time.—When such interpretation goes on within the mind of an individual man, it constitutes the very process whereby, as it is sometimes said, he 'finds himself,' 'comes to himself,' 'directs himself,' or 'gets his bearings,' especially with reference to time, present, past, and future. In the inner life of an individual man this third mode of cognition, therefore, appears at once in its most fundamental and simplest form as the cognitive process whose being consists in a comparison of ideas. The ideas compared here belong in one sense to the 'same self'; but they differ as the ideas of 'past self' and 'future self'; or, in various ways, they belong to different 'quasi-minds.'

Thus much process is, indeed, irreducible to pure perception, to pure conception, or to that active synthesis of the two which James has in mind when he uses the term 'idea,' readily becomes manifest if we consider what changes a 'past self,' a 'future self,' the two belong to men who are 'different individuals' or to the past, present, or future selves of one who is, from another point of view, the same man.

An 'idea,' when the term is used in the sense which recent pragmatism 1 has made familiar and prominent, is not a mere perception, nor a mere collection or synthesis of various perceptions, images, and other immediate data; nor yet is it a perception of an idea, but a mental process. It is, for James and his allies, a 'leading,' an 'active tendency,' a 'fulfilment of purpose,' or an effort towards such fulfilment, an 'adjustment to a situation,' a seeking for the 'cash,' in the form of sense-data, as such may, when found, fulfill the requirements, or 'calls,' made by the conceptual aspect of the very idea which is in question. This concept has, in Bergson's phrase, its 'credit value.'

When the wanderer in the woods decides to adopt the idea that 'yonder path leads me home,' he makes an active synthesis of his concept of home and of his present sense-data. This active synthesis, expressed in his idea, 'I am homeward bound,' is a 'leading,' which, if he is successful, will result in furnishing the perception of the ideas of the perceptions of home which constitute the goal of his quest. This, then, is what is meant by the term 'idea' in that one of its senses which pragmatism has recently most emphasized.

In this way we can illustrate how the cognitive process possesses the two forms or aspects which have usually been regarded as the only fundamentally distinct aspects of knowledge: perception and conception. These two aspects are not active union of these two which constitutes the 'idea' as defined by recent pragmatism. But we do not thus illustrate an aspect of cognition which is equally pervasive and significant but which exists in the comparison of ideas. It is just this aspect of cognition upon which our present theory most insists. For by what process does the wanderer, when he reaches home, recognize that this home which he finds is the very home that he had sought? Not by the mere presence of a 'home-feeeling,' not by a perception which, merely at the moment of home-coming, pays the 'cash,' but by a process involving a comparison of his ideas about his home, at the moment when he reaches home, with his memories of what his ideas were while he was lost in the woods, and while he still inquired or sought the way home.

In order to consider what such a comparison essentially involves, it is not necessary to suppose that the act of comparison must take place in a form involving any high grade of self-consciousness, or depending upon a previous formation of an elaborate system of ideas about the self, the past, and similar objects. The essentially important fact is that whoever begins, even in the most rudimentary way, to take account of what seems to him as if it were his own past, whoever is even vaguely aware that what he has been seeking is the very object which now he finds, is not merely perceiving the present, and is not conceiving the past, and is not simply becoming aware of his present successes and disappointments as present facts—he is comparing his ideas of present successes or failures with his ideas of his past efforts. This comparison is essentially an interpretation of some portion of his own past life, as he remembers that life, in the light of his present successes or failures, and as he now experiences them. A third cognitive process is then involved. This comparison involves, at least two ideas: (1) the past idea or 'leading' ('e.g., this path leads me to the path through the woods'); (2) the present success

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1 See W. James, Pragmatism, London, 1907.
or failure (e.g., the reaching home itself, or getting to the close of some stage of the wandering); and, in making this comparison, this interpretation estimates the result, perhaps in the light of one's idea of other cases (I seek no more), or perhaps in the light of one's idea of one's entire self ('I have succeeded,' or 'I am a knower of the truth,' or 'So much of the world of reality is mine'). In any case two comments need be made upon every instance of comparing two ideas and interpreting one in the light of the other.

(1) Unless such processes of comparing ideas were possible, and unless, in at least some rudimentary form, it took place, we could never make even a beginning in forming a coherent view of our own past and future, of our own selves as individuals, or of selves not our own. Our ideas both of the Ego and of the Alter depend upon an explicit process of comparing ideas. The simplest comparison of ideas—such as the case upon which recent pragmatism lays so much stress—the comparison upon which the very idea 'my success' also depends, the comparison, namely, which is expressed by saying, 'What I sought at a past moment is the very same as what, at the present moment, I meet,' is an act of interpretation, and is not reducible to the two other types of knowledge.

(2) All such processes of comparison are equally capable of critical discussion. It is true that we focus our attention upon during our explicitly and literallv social life and of the cognitive activity which is needed when we think about our relations to our own individual past and future. In brief, neither the individual Ego nor the Alter of the literal social life, neither past nor future time can be known to us through a cognitive process which may be defined exclusively in terms of perception, of conception, and of the ideal 'readings' of the pragmatists. The self, the neighbour, the past, the future, and the temporal order in general become known to us through a third type of cognition which consists of a comparison of ideas—a process wherein some self, or quasi-self, or idea interprets another idea, by means of a comparison which, in general, has reference to, and is more or less explicitly addressed to, some self or idea.

4. The relation of the three cognitive processes to our knowledge that various minds exist and to our views about what sorts of beings minds are.—The use of the foregoing classification of the types of processes appears of special importance as soon as we turn to a brief outline of some of the principal theories about the nature of mind which have played a part in the history of philosophy. Nowhere does the theory of knowledge show itself of more importance in preparing the way for an understanding of metaphysical problems than in the case of the metaphysics of mind. No attentive student of the problem of mind can easily fail at least to feel, even if he does not very explicitly define his feeling, that in dealing with the philosophy of mind both common sense and the philosophers are accustomed to combine, so indivisibly in a very confused way, a reference to different more or less hypothetical beings, while the ideas that are proposed with regard to the nature of these beings are of profoundly different types.

Thus it may be a question for common sense or for a given metaphysical doctrine as to whether or not there exists a so-called soul. Now it makes a great difference to an individual whether the kind of soul which is in question is viewed as in its essence an object of a possible immediate acquaintance or perception, as an object of a possible adequate conception, or as an object whose being consists in the fact that it is to be interpreted thus or so. Unless the three kinds of cognition are clearly distinguished, the one who advances or tests a given theory of the soul does so without observing whether he himself is speaking of the soul as a possible perception, or is treating it as if it were, in its immost nature, an object which can be known only through some adequate conception. If one has called to his attention the fact that he is speaking in some conceptual and now in conceptual terms of the mind or soul which his theory asserts to be real, he may then attempt to solve his difficulties in the way which recent pragmatism has emphasized, i.e., he may declare that his doctrine is of necessity a 'working hypothesis' about the nature of the soul, that it is, of course, in part stated in conceptual terms, but that the concepts are true only in so far as they prove to be somewhere directly verifiable in terms of immediate percepts.

Yet nowhere does recent pragmatism, in the form in which William James left it, more display its inadequacy as a theory of knowledge than in the case where it is applied to an effort to define the truth of hypotheses concerning mind, or to test such truth. For, as a fact, nobody who clearly distinguishes individual ideas from his own expectations, or can consistently anticipate, that his neighbour's mental states, or that anything which essentially belongs to the inner life or to the distinct individual mind, which becomes, under any circumstances, a direct perception of his own. For, if my neighbour's physical pains ever became mine, I should know them by immediate acquaintance only so far as they were mine and not my neighbour's. And the same holds true of anything else which is supposed to be a fact essentially belonging to the individual mind of my neighbour. As best I can hope, with greater or less probability, to interpret correctly the meaning, the plan, or some other inner idea of the mind of my neighbour; but I cannot hope to go beyond such correct interpretation so far as to perceive my neighbour's mental states. For, if my neighbour's states became the immediate objects of my own acquaintance, my neighbour and I would so far simply melt together, like drops in the ocean or small pools in a greater pool.

The relation of the three cognitive processes to our knowledge that various minds exist and to our views about what sorts of beings minds are.
its conceptual constructions are capable of immediate verification in terms of certain facts of immediate experience. But my neighbour’s inner states of mind can never become for me objects of immediate acquaintance, and they become states of mind and not his, precisely in so far as he and I are distinct selves.

The hypothesis that our mental lives are similar may thus be suggested by analogy or may be stated in terms of a theory of truth which is in essence conceptual and realistic. One can, of course, assert that in actual fact the mental states of my neighbour really exist and are in a certain relation which makes it true to say that they are analogous to mine. This real relation may be asserted to be as much a fact as any other fact in the universe. If this fact of the real analogy is granted, then it may be asked what depending on it, that my neighbour’s mind is a reality is actually true. This, however, is precisely the type of truth which William James’s pragmatism undertakes to verify. A very different appearance is assumed by the whole matter if we recognize that there is a third kind of knowledge, which is neither conceptual nor perceptual, and which is also not the sort of union of conception and perception which is completely expressible in terms of the favourite metaphor of Bergson and the pragmatists, namely, the metaphor of the conversion of conceptual credits into perceptual cash, i.e., into immediate data of experience. For interpretations are never verified merely through immediate data, nor through the analysis of concepts. This is true whether we adopt any own interpretation or my neighbour is in question. If we seek for metaphors, the metaphor of the conversation, already used, furnishes the best means of indicating wherein consists the relative, but never immediate, verifiability of the truth of an interpretation. When I interpret (whether my own purposes or intents or the ideas of another man are the objects which I seek to interpret), what I first meet in experience is neither a matter of acquaintance nor a mere ‘knowledge about.’ What I meet is the fact that, in so far as I now understand or interpret what I understand, and I do understand immediately but in the temporal process of my mental life, that ideas have come to me which are not now my own, and which need further expression and meaning which are thereby partially expressed through signs. Under these circumstances, what happens is that, as interpreter of these signs, I offer a further expression of what to me they seem, and I, on the basis of this hypothesis that this expression makes more manifest to me both the meaning of this sign and the idea of the mind or self whereof this sign gave partial expression. It is of the essence of an expression which undertakes to interpret a sign that it occurs because the sign already expresses a meaning which is not just at the present moment our own, and which, therefore, needs for some interpretation, while the interpretation which at the moment we offer is not complete, but requires further interpretation.

In literal conversation our neighbour utters words which already express to us ideas. These ideas so contract with our own present ideas that, while we find this analogy interesting, we therefore, view them as expressions of a mind, we do not fully know what they mean. Hence, in general, our neighbour having addressed us, we in reply ask him more or less incidentally or on the point, whether or not this is what he means—that, we give him back our interpretation of his meaning, in order to see whether this interpretation effects a new expression which is in substantial agreement with the expression which we expected from him. Our method in a conversation is, therefore, unquestionably the method of a ‘working hypothesis.’ But since this ‘working hypothesis’ refers to our neighbour’s state of mind, it is never concrebly capable of direct verification.

Nor does what the pragmatists are accustomed to call the main basis of the hypothesis consist in the discovery of any perceptible fact with which we get into merely immediate relation. Our interpretation of our neighbour’s demands satisfies our demands, precisely in so far as our interpretations, which are new, are not made for new expressions and for further interpretations, lead to a conversation which remains, as a whole, essentially ‘coherent,’ despite its endless novelties and unexpectations derived from it.

Our whole knowledge of mind, in so far as by this term we mean intelligent mind, not only depends upon, but consists in, this experience of consistent and endless series of interpretations obtained, not merely by turning conceptual ‘credits’ into the ‘cash of immediate acquaintance’, but by seeking and finding endlessly new series of ideas, endlessly new experiences and interpretations. This never-ended series of ideas, in so far as we can hold them before our minds, tends to constitute a connected, a reasonable, a comprehensible system of ideal activities and meanings. The essence of mental intercourse—what we may at once say the essence of intelligent mental life and of all spiritual relations—not only depends upon, but consists in, this coherent process of interpretation.

Or, again, we may say that the so-called conceptual hypothesis which can be converted into ‘perceptual knowledge’; it is a hypothesis which leads us to anticipate further interpretations, further expressions of ideas, novel bits of information, further ideas not our own, which shall simply stand in a coherent connexion with one another and with what the original interpretation, as a hypothesis, had led us to expect. When I deal with intimate nature, I may anticipate facts of perception, and then my hypotheses about these facts ‘work’ in so far as the expected perceptions come to pass. But when I deal with another mind, I do not merely anticipate what are not necessarily true, but I anticipate what is that mind; I expect that mind to give me new ideas, new meanings, new plans, which by contrast are known at each new stage of social experience that I enter we either is itself or is opposed to my own and in many respects repellent to me. But it is essential to the social intercourse between minds that these endlessly novel ideas and meanings should, through the further novelties and surprises, retain genuine coherence. Thus, in dealing with other minds, I am constantly enlarging my own mind by getting new interpretations, both of myself and of my neighbour’s life. The contracts, surprises, conflicts, and puzzles which
these new ideas present to me show me that in dealing with them I am dealing with what in some respects is not my own, is with the coherence of the whole system of interpretations, ideas, plans, and purposes which shows me just as positively that I am dealing with a mind, *i.e.* with something through which reasoning consciously interprets itself, while, as I deal with it, I in turn constantly interpret it, and even in and through this very process interpret myself. It will and must be obvious, I think, that I have this same kind of deal, both in reflecting on my own mind and in seeking for new light from my neighbour, is never a merely single or separable or merely detached or isolated individual, but is always a being which is of the nature of a community, a 'many in one,' and a 'one in many.' A mind knowable through interpretation is never merely a 'monad,' a detached self; its unity, in so far as it possesses genuine and coherent unity, tends, in the most significant cases, to become essentially such as the unity which the apostle Paul attributes to the ideal Church: many members, but one body; many gifts, but one spirit (I Co 12):—an essentially social unity, never to be adequately conceived or felt, but properly the object of what the Apostle viewed, in its practical and religious aspect, as the spiritual gift of charity, in its cognitive aspect as interpretation. Nor may we say that this is the case in the former part of it, where one says, 'that ye may interpret' (I Co 14).

5. Metaphysical theories of the nature of mind.

(a) Predominantly perceptual theories. — The nature of mind may be defined by a given meta-

physical theory mainly in terms which regard mind as best or most known through possible 'perceptions' or through possible 'acquaintance' with its nature. Such theories have been promi-

nent throughout the whole history of human thought. They depend, first, upon ignoring the fact that what is most essential to the mind is known through the cognitive process of interpreta-

tion. They depend, further, upon making com-

paratively light of the effort to give any abstract conceptual description of what constitutes the essence of mind. They depend upon turning to what is sometimes called 'introspection,' or, again, 'intuition,' to bring about an immediate acquain-

tance with mind.

Since, in general, any one who forms a pre-

dominantly perceptual theory of mind is of what we may call, in a certain (but not necessarily in a natural) there is not depending solely upon his own personal experience, but upon the experiences which he supposes other minds to possess, these perceptual theories of the nature of mind actually make a wide use of the reports of other people and so, more or less consciously, of arguments from analogy.

The simplest and vaguest, but in some respects the most persistent, of all theories of mental life appears, upon a largely perceptual basis, and also upon a basis of an argument from analogy, in countless forms of so-called 'animism.' Leaving aside all the historical complications, we may sum up the animistic theory of mind thus. We per-

ceive, within ourselves, certain interesting processes which include many of our feelings, embody many of our interests, and characterize many of our activities. These activities, which in ourselves we more or less directly observe, are closely con-

nected with the whole process of the life of the organism, *i.e.*, of the body in whose fortunes each one of us is so interested. That which produces all these feelings, awakens in us all these interests, vitalizes our own body, and forms for each of us a centre of his own apparent world—this is the mind. The mind, then, the ideas and emotions, the feelings and pleasures. It prospers as the body prospers, and suffers as the body suffers.

Analogy shows that other people have such minds. These minds are as numerous as the organisms they resemble, and differ from one another, much as the organisms resemble and differ from each other. An extension of this analogy, on the basis of many motives, leads us to regard about three-quarters of the human species as having many minds which are not connected with human bodies—at least in precisely the same way in which our minds are connected with our bodies. When the vast number of such constituents which have made use of such analogies and such experi-

ences can be more effectively controlled through the advances of the human intelligence, this primitive animism tends to pass over into theories of which we find some well-known examples in early Greek philosophies. These early Greek theories of mind appear, on a somewhat primitive and already philosophical level, as 'hylomorphic.' The world, or, at all events, the organic world, has life principles in it which vary as the organisms vary, and which are also of a nature that feeling and desire reveal to ourrelatively immediate 'knowledge of acquaintance' with our own minds.

The theories of mind of this type have played a great part in the life both of philosophy and of religion. As a general theory, animism has proved very persistent, and that for obvious reasons. One of the Hindu vedanta school accepted both the origin and the logical basis—such as it is—of these theories when, in an analogy, it represents the question arising within the body as to where and what the soul must be. The question is put up to the various bodily organs, each asserting itself to be the principal seat of life and also of mind. To discover which view is true, the members of the body take turns in leaving the organism. When the eyes go, blindness ensues, but life and mind continue, and so on with various other members. But, when the breath starts to leave the body, all the other members together go, 'like with us! You are the life, you are the soul, you are the self or Atman.'

This analogy sufficiently indicates how primitive, how vague, and how stubborn is such a perceptual theory of mind when defined in terms of immediate intuition, and of a more or less pragmatic testing of various views about the physical organism.

Later in its origin, but continuing in its influence to the present day, is another perceptual theory of mind, which the later Upanishads present at length, and which, in another form, is exemplified by a notable assertion of H. Bergson in his *Introduction to Metaphysics*—namely, that of one object at least we all have that the object being the self. The entire history of mysticism, the history also of the efforts to discover the nature of mind through introspection, can be summarized by means of these instances in the Hindu *Upanishads* that discover the true self through the experiment with breathing, and of the latest vision of Bergson, who defines the nature of mind, and also its con-

trast with body, in terms of the *elam vital*; for all these views emphasize, in various more or less primitive, or in more or less modern, forms, essentially the same theory of mind: the essence of the mind is to be known through immediate acquaint-

ances. That which Schopenhauer calls the will, to live, that which Bergson characterizes in the terms just mentioned, that which the shamans and medicine-men of all the more intelligent tribes have sought to know, is, in every case, mind viewed as an object of possible perception.

In the history of thought such perceptual theories of mind have become more highly developed and diversified, and have assumed other and very widely influential forms, by virtue of an insistence that we have an immediate perception of what is variously called 'mental activity,' 'the active soul,' or 'the principle of individual selfhood.'


Motives which as a fact are not storable in purely perceptual terms have joined with this fondness for defining mind in perceptual terms to make emphatic the assertion that this theory of mind ought to be stated in expressly ‘pluridisciplinary’ terms. It has, consequently, been freely asserted that we ‘immediately know’ our own self to be independent, to be distinct from all other selves, and thus to be unique. Since it is also sometimes asserted that empirical theories are tene tively, upon occasion, the fact that we can never be directly acquainted with the conditions of our neighbour’s mind, such perceptual theories have given rise to the so-called problem of ‘Solipsism.’ For, if we know mind by perception only, and if we are sure of it only when we perceive it, and if each of us can perceive only his own mind, then what proves for any one of us that there is any mind but his own? The analogy which primitive animism so freely and so vaguely used becomes, for the critical consciousness, questionable. In consequence, the problem of Solipsism has remained in modern times a sort of scandal of the philosophy of mind.

The solution of the problem of Solipsism lies in the mind, upon which is based our claim that no one of us has any purely perceptual knowledge of his own mind. The knowledge of mind is not storable, in the case either of the self or of the neighbour, in terms of merely immediate acquaintance; nor is this true only of this proposition by one understood, the entire theory of mind, whether for metaphysics or for empirical psychology, is profoundly altered. Until this inadequacy of knowledge in which acquaintance and intuition meet the beginning of human knowledge is fully grasped, it is impossible to define with success either the mind or the world, either the individual self or the non-individual self.

(b) Predominantly conceptual theories.—As is the case with every highly developed doctrine, the conceptual form is very naturally assumed by a philosopher, i.e. ‘the abstract or rational’ metaphysical theories; and (2) those most indiscernible conceptual theories based upon the more or less highly developed ‘empirical psychologies’ of the period in which these theories have flourished. We need not enumerate these theories, but only give the results of their work.

Of principal importance in their history have been (1) that type of vitalism whose most classical representative is the Aristotelian theory of mind; (2) the monistic theory of mind, which often depends not so much upon the general metaphysical tendency to define the whole universe as One, but rather upon the effort to conceive mind and matter by regarding them both as the same in substance, and (3) the various types of monadology, which are characterized by the assumption of the existence of many real and more or less completely independent minds or selves, whose nature it is either to be so conceived as to be the embodiment of the divine being, or to be so conceived as to be the self upon which more modern forms of monadology have depended.

Of these various important theories which are expressed in the predominantly conceptual form of that of Aristotle is very deeply and interestingly related to primitive animism on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it looks towards that development of the idea of the distinctions between beings which under certain conditions can assume the form of persons.

Of these various important theories which are expressed in the predominantly conceptual form of that of Aristotle is very deeply and interestingly related to primitive animism on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it looks towards that development of the idea of the distinctions between beings which under certain conditions can assume the form of persons.

Whatever special forms the conceptual theories of mind may assume, the well-known problem

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1 See Bayes, Problem of Christianity, ii.
known through interpretation, while its manifestations lie not merely in the fact that it possesses or controls an organism, but in the fact that, whether through or apart from an organism, it expresses its purposes to other minds, so that it not merely has or is a will, but manifests or makes comprehensible its will, and not merely lives in and through itself, as a monad or a substance, but is, as it were, a more or less self-expressive subject, progressively makes itself known either to its fellows or to minds above or below its own grade.

That theories of mind which are based upon subjective or personal theory of the mind of primitive times, is manifest wherever in the history of religion a consultation of oracles, discovery of the future or of the will of the gods through divination, or, in fact, any such more or less superstitious appeals to other minds, and readings or interpretations of these appeals, have taken place. Primitive belief in magic arts has apparently, on the whole, a conceptual type of formulation. Therefore magic has been called the physics of primitive man. It depends upon the view that man is subject to laws which, if he could discover them, he could use for his purposes, just as we now make use of the knowledge of industrial purposes. The supposed realm of magic arts is thus analogous to our present realm of industrial arts. The view of pragmatism—that primitive magic is a hypothesis regarding how to cause rain or how to cure diseases does not 'work'—is in this case fairly adequate to express the situation both epistemologically and metaphysically.

Moreover, as we have seen, animism, in its more primitive forms, expresses a predominantly conceptual theory of mind, and whether such a theory, either of mind or of the relations between mind and the physical world, is held in some simple form by the medicine-man of an obscure tribe or is impressively reiterated in a Hindu Upanishad, or is fantastically placed in the setting of a modern evolutionary theory by Bergson, makes comparatively little difference to the essential views of the philosophy of mind which are in question. But that view of the nature of mind which gained, apparently, its earliest type of expression when men first consulted, and hereupon more or less cautiously interpreted, the oracles of their gods has (as behoves a theory which is founded upon a fundamental cognitive process) persisted throughout the history of philosophy. The way of viewing mind has, in fact, persisted in a fashion which enables us to distinguish its expressions with sufficient clearness from those which have had their origin either in the conceptions of primitive magic or in the perceptions which guided primitive animism.

From the point of view of the cognitive process of interpretation mind is, in all cases where it reaches a relatively full and explicit expression, equally definable in terms of two ideas—the idea of the self, and the idea of a community of selves. To an explicit recognition of what these two ideas involve first contributed, and hereupon more or less conscientiously interpreted, the oracles of their gods has (as behoves a theory which is founded upon a fundamental cognitive process) persisted throughout the history of philosophy. The way of viewing mind has, in fact, persisted in a fashion which enables us to distinguish its expressions with sufficient clearness from those which have had their origin either in the conceptions of primitive magic or in the perceptions which guided primitive animism.

The fortunes of the idea of the community have been analogous. In religion this idea has proved one of the most inspiring ideas with have gradually transformed tribal cults into the two greatest religions which humanity possesses—Buddhism and Christianity. In ancient philosophy the community, numbered as the 'spirit large,' inspired some of the most fruitful philosophical interpretations of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. In the general history of civilization loyalty, which is identical with the practically effective love of the essential communities as persons, the mind on a level higher than that of the individual, is, like the Pauline charity (which is explicitly a love for the Church universal and for its spirit), the chief bond and the soul of primitive communities, without which all the others are but 'sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' Yet, in the history of thought the idea of the community has greatly suffered, less frequently from the attempt to view it as the proper object of a direct mystical perception than from the tendency to reduce it to a purely conceptual form. As a conceptual object the 'mind of the community,' the 'corporate mind,' has tended to be thought of as an entity possibly significant in a legal or in a sociological sense, but difficult, and perhaps unreal, in a metaphysical sense.

Experience shows, however, that the two ideas—the idea of the individual self and that of the community—are peculiarly adapted to interpret each the other, both to itself and to the other, and that the theory of the religion of Israel first made central in what undertook to be a world religion, and which the apostle Paul laid at the basis both of his philosophy of human history and of his Christology.

Modern idealism, both in the more vital and less formal expressions of Hegel's doctrine and in its recent efforts at a social interpretation of the self, of the course of human evolution, and of the problems of metaphysics, has already given a partial expression to a theory of which we tend to become clearly aware in proportion as we recognize what the cognitive process of interpretation is, and how it contrasts with, and is auxiliary to, the processes of conception and perception. Only in terms of a theory of the threefold process of knowledge can we hope fully to express what is meant by that form of idealism which views the world as the 'process of the spirit' and as containing its own interpretation and its own interpreter.

LITERATURE. The epistemology of Charlie Peirce is discussed at length by the philosopher T. H. Broadhead in The Emergence of Christianity, London, 1913, ii. (In Index, v.e. 'Peirce,' references will be found which will serve as a guide to the contributions of Peirce's knowledge of philosophy, and its relation to the metaphysical theories of the nature of mind).

JOSIAH ROYCE.

MIND AND BODY. —See Body and Mind.

MIND AND BRAIN. —See Brain and Mind.

MINERALS. —See Metals and Minerals.

MINIM. —Certain persons of Jewish origin mentioned in the Talmud and contemporary Rabbinical literature, usually with severe disapproval, are called Minim. Considerable difference of opinion has existed upon the question who the Minim were; but the view is now generally, though not universally, held that they were mainly Jewish-Christians. This theory has the support of Graetz, Jost, Weiss, Bacher, and Lei; the chief opponent is Moritz Friedländer. The writer of this article, from an independent study of the Jewish-Christian interpretation, while admitting a wider denotation in a few passages. The evidence, consisting of the whole of the passages (so far as they are known to him) where mention is made of the Minim, is presented in full in the writer's work
Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, to which the reader is referred for details which cannot be given in the short space of this article.

The book Sippur, §115, p. 35*, quoting Na 150*, 'And ye shall not walk after your heart,' says, 'This is Midrash.' — Vanishing that this is the state of mind, or principle of conneût, characteristic of the Minim. This is the earliest attempt at a definition of the term, though the word itself was in use earlier. It adds further to saying that a 'Min' (singular of Minim) was one who followed the dictates of his own selfish nature as against those of the lawful authority. The result of doing so is, indirectly, the rejection of beliefs and practices enjoined on those who hold the true religion. A Min, accordingly, disregards the authority of the Rabbis, as teachers of religion and exponents of the Torah both written and unwritten, and also maintains doctrines and practices which are not those of the true religion. Tos. Sanh. xiii. 4 f. has the following censure on the Minim:

'The sinners of Israel, and the sinners of the nations of the world, descend into Gehenna, and are judged there twelve months... But the Minim, and the Apostates, and the heretics, a. [Oschanna is shut in their faces, and they are judged there for generations of generations.' If the term Minim denoted all unfaithful Jews, there would be no need of four descriptive names. The distinction between the four is as follows. The betrayers (M'sôrôth) are political informers, 'delators.' Apostates are those who wilfully and openly take part in 'some part of the law, thereby proclaiming their disloyalty. Apôlôgënes are 'Epicureans,' free-thinkers, whether Jewish or Gentile. The Minim are those who are false at heart, but who do not necessarily proclaim their apostasy. They are the more dangerous because more secret; they are not an open enemy, but the foe within the camp; and it is in accordance with this that the Talmud refers to the Minim more frequently and with more hostility than to the other classes of unfaithful Jews. The Min might be an apostate or a delator, and could hardly fail to be a free-thinker; but the real nature of his offence was moral rather than intellectual.

Why was the name Min given to such persons? Various derivations of the word have been given, some of them more fanciful guesses. The best explanation seems to be that proposed by Echler (in REJ xxxviii. 45) and accepted by A. Löw (ib. p. 205), according to which min (pc) is at first the ordinary word for 'sort,' 'kind,' and is translated in the LXX, Gn 13, by γένος. Figuratively the word was used to denote, and more particularly the sect of the Sadducees (ς Σάδδουκαῖς γένος, Jos. Ant. XIII. x. 6, where Σάδδουκαίας αἵτωρ is also used). Gradually the term lost the meaning of 'sort' and took on that of 'sectary,' the Jew who separated himself from the community and adopted false doctrines. If this explanation is correct, it throws light on the fact that in the Rabbinical texts the rending sometimes varies between Min and Sadduck (Sadducee). It is also said that the latter word is due to the Christian censor, who objected to the word Min, but in some cases the reference is certainly to the Sadducees, while yet the word Min, or possibly both words, may have been read. The writer of this article proposed another derivation of the word Min (op. cit. p. 362), but now surrenders it in favour of the one just set forth.

The Minim, then, were Jewish heretics of some kind. The question is, Of what kind? The answer resolves itself into a choice between Jewish-Christian heretics and Jewish heretics who were Jews beyond dispute, for a Gentile is never called a Min, unless in one or two instances through ignorance or inadvertence. The only conspicuous advocate of the Gnostic interpretation is Friedland (Der vorschrifliche judische Gnosticismus: cf. also a defence in reply to criticism in REJ xxxviii. 194 f.), but it is a serious defect of Friedlander's book that the argument is based on Rabbinical texts from which he strikes out, as interpolations, passages of crucial importance, without mentioning the fact. By this method any hypothesis could be proved. Bacher and Lévi, in articles in REJ (xxxviii. 38, 204) have severely handled Friedlander's hypothesis, showing that a passage of proof, and Lévi elsewhere refers to it as 'cest échantailage de propositions puériles' (RHR II. [1906] 412). The evidence for the view that the Minim were Jewish-Christs may be brieftly summed up as follows. In many of the passages where they are mentioned there is nothing distinctive, certainly nothing definitely Christian; but in a few passages a connexion between Minim and Christianity is so distinctly stated that it cannot be excluded from neutral passages except on the ground of equally definite statements to the contrary. Such contrary evidence is not to be found, and even Friedlander does not produce any. (1) In a famous passage, Bab. 'Abhôdâh Zârâh, 10b (and in three other places), it is told how a certain Rabbi Eliezer (end of 1st cent.) was arrested for Minim. He accounts for this arrest as follows: 'As I had once met 'one of the disciples of Jesus the Nazarene, by name Jacob of K'phar Kshanya,' who told him the exposition of a text and added, 'Thus hath Jesus the Nazarene taught me.' Also, in the same treatise, p. 27a, the same Jacob is called 'Jacob the Min,' and it is said that he offered to cure a sick man, while in Tos. Hull. ii. 22f. the same Jacob proposed to work his cure 'in the name of Yeâhâ ben Pandorâ,' i.e. Jesus.

(2) In Bab. Shabb. 166a there are mentioned, in close connexion, the books of the Minim and the Evangelion, i.e. the Gospels. (3) The characteristic doctrine of the Minim, which is in Heaven—is closely allied to, if not identical with, the teaching of the Ep. to the Hebrews, and is not the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurgus. The connexion of this doctrine with Christianity is shown by a passage in Pesqta Rab. xxii. 100b: 'If the son of the harlot saith to thee, "There are two Gods," etc., where 'the son of the harlot' denotes Jesus.

The combined force of these arguments, which could be multiplied in the same manner, makes it appear that the Minim held a doctrine which was distinctlyetical in favour of the Jewish-Christian interpretation; and this view is strongly confirmed by a passage in Jerome:

'Utile hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Judæos hæresis est, quae Mhnétermum et a Pharisæis numque damnatur; quos vellege Nazaraeos nuncupat, qui eruditi in Christianismo, illum, scilicet, nomen de virginitate Virginis Jesu, quae est qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est et resurrexit, in quem et nos ordinamus; sed dum velut et Judæi esse et Christiani, nec Judaei sunt nec Christiani (Ep. ad Ursin. [xix. 18]) (PL xxii. 949).

The general conclusion to be drawn from the evidence, of which the foregoing is the most important, is that, wherever in the Talmud and Midrash a mention is made of the Minim, the author of the statement intended to refer to Jewish-Christs. At the same time it is possible that the Rabbis attributed to Minim actions or opinions which, in fact, were not those of Christians; and, further, that the Rabbis occasionally applied the term Min to Gentiles as being enemies of Judaism.

The references to the Minim in the Rabbinical literature are few and fragmentary. The passages where they are mentioned amount to about 120, most of which contain either polemical dialogues between a Jew and a Minim or else such interpreta-

cal interpretations of texts, although a few are anecdotes of events in connexion with the Minim. It is not possible to construct a history of the Minim; the material is sufficient only to give a few glimpses.
MINISTRY (Early Christian).—An attempt will be made in this article to collect the more important facts in connexion with the ministry as far as the first five or six centuries are concerned. About the facts themselves there is general agreement; but the interpretation of the facts has been disputed. A summary will be made, as briefly as possible, of the theories that have been deduced from the facts as to the institution of a ministry by our Lord, and its development in subsequent ages. But a discussion of these theories is not part of the scope of this article.

i. The Apostolic Age.—In Acts and in the Epistles of the NT we find in active operation a ministry of two kinds, Itinerant and Local.

1. The Itinerant Ministry.—We read of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, all of whom came under this heading. The first of these terms includes at least a few (even in the early ages) who were not of the Twelve (see below, § 2). The qualification of an apostle seems originally to have been that he should have seen our Lord, and have been His "witness" (Lk 24:48, Ac 1:1). Thus, when the vacancy in the number of the Twelve has to be filled up, the qualification mentioned by St. Peter is that the person chosen should have "companied with [the Eleven] all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among men," or (over, εὐώνυμον) them, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that He was received up from them; so that he might become a witness with them of Jesus' resurrection (Ac 1:18). St. Paul received his qualification, though in a different way, at his conversion (cf. Gal 1:14). An apostle, not from men, neither taught, nor known of men, but from God through the Lord Jesus Christ, and God the Father). That St. Barnabas and the others mentioned below (§ 2) had seen Christ is not stated, but is quite probable. Irenæus says that Barnabas, H.S. 18, was one of the Seventy. This qualification may have been waived in the sub-apostolic period.

Hort (Christian Ecclesia, p. 28) thinks that the word 'apostle' is of comparatively rare occurrence in the Gospels, referred originally only to the mission to the villages, though such passages as that about judging the twelve tribes (Mt 16:19, Lk 22:29) were indications of the extended significance of the name which we find in Acts. 1 It is clear, however, from Lk 6:22 (the reading in §§ 542 is doubtful) that our Lord gave them the title; and that He intended more than a mere mission to the villages by the designation appears almost certain from such passages as Lk 12:24, where He speaks of a commission for future ages (see below, § 9). St. Luke certainly uses the name without reference to the mission to the villages.

Christian prophets are frequently mentioned in the NT—Agabus and others (Ac 11:28; 21:11); those at Antioch, 'prophets and teachers,' including

1 The name 'apostle' for the Twelve derives from Westcott and Hort's text, only in Mt 16:16, Mk 3:14-19, Lk 6:18, 28, 29, 24 and not at all in Jn, though 15:16 seems to be an allusion to the title.
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Barnabas and Saul, also Symeon Niger, Lucas of Cyrene, and Manaeu (Ac 13:2); Judas and Silas (10:25); and an unstated number in 1 Co 1:11 (see § 2) 143–33. Prophets are mentioned as a class in Eph 2:7–8 41 (see § 2), possibly in 1 Th 2:1; also in Rev 1:16 232. They are compositions of Eph. and Rev. with apostles. They are also mentioned as receiving the Epistles of the New Testament and of which gives regulations for 'prophets' as for those who have already been mentioned in the Epistle; and of Tit 1:8 with v. 7 (appoint presbyters in every city ... for the Lord's sake must be blameless); also from 203. St. Peter of Alexandria comments on speaking of presbyters (see above, and 1 P 5). The same thing is apparently found in Clement of Rome (Cor. 42, 44), where the local ministers are called 'bishops' and yet 'presbyters' are spoken of, and their 'episcopate' (ἐπισκοπεῖ). He says that the apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the episcopate. In the Didache (§ 4) the local ministry consists of 'bishops and presbyters,' Perhaps 'prophet' expressed the rank, and 'bishop' the function.

Hort (pp. 96 f., 193–212) takes a different view. He holds that the words 'bishops' and 'deacons' are used in a non-technical sense in the NT as meaning 'those who have oversight' and 'those who minister.' He thus interprets the words in Ac 10:22, 1 Ti 5:16, and deduces the conclusion that the same holds good in 1 Cor. 1, where πρεσβύτεροι and διάκονοι have no article. He does not deny that 'deacon' may have become the name of the officials before the Pastoral Epistles were written, but he does think that St. Paul uses the word in a non-technical sense.

(b) Presbyters.—The name was perhaps taken over by the Christians from the Jews who gave it to the members of the Sanhedrin and others. But inscriptions show that the heathen Greeks used it for members of a corporation, and the same thing appears from Clement of Alexandria's use of the title (Bible Studies, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1901, p. 154 f.) that the Christians of Asia Minor may have adopted the term, not from the Jews, but from the Greeks. For a Greek inscription in which he thought he had seen force at an earlier time. This theory, however, is very doubtful (for Robinson's earlier view see his Com. on Ephesians, London, 1904, p. 98 ff.).

The function of the itinerant ministry was evangelistic. (cf. 1 Th 2:7, 1 Ti 2:1). The itinerants might settle for a time at a place, as Timothy settled at Ephesus, Titus at Crete, and St. Paul himself at various places where he founded churches; but this was not their normal work. In the Didache it is recognized that a prophet may settle in a place (§ 12 f. 11). 'The local ministry.—Under this heading are included in the NT 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' and 'deacons.' For other names of these officials see § 2. The functions of the local ministry were administrative and pastoral. Thus baptism seems to have been specially entrusted to it (cf. 1 Co 1:14 and perhaps Apo 18; et v. 9). In the beautiful story of St. John and the young robber related by Clement of Alexandria (Quis divae, 42), the apostle does not himself baptize the young man, but gives him over to the local bishop-priest to baptize (see below).

(a) Bishops.—During the period covered by the NT, we read of this name being given to Christian ministers only in Gentile churches at Philippi (Ph 1), at Ephesus (Ac 19:16, 1 Ti 3:1), in Crete (Tit 1:6). So St. Peter, writing to the churches in most of the provinces of Asia Minor, used the term πρεσβύτερον, 'exercising the bishop's office' (1 P 5). That the 'bishops' are the same as 'presbyters' in the Apostolic Age seems to follow from a comparison of Ac 15:21 with 20:17, where the same persons are mentioned, together with 'elders' (see below). The title, therefore, must therefore be meant. Hort (p. 165) gives good reasons for thinking that here (not in 41) the same persons are meant, both the presbyters were probably prophets, though all the Christian prophets were not apostles.
that the Seven were the prototypes both of the deaconate and of the presbyterate, and that at some time, after St. Stephen, the office was divided into those two branches. Another view is that the appointment of the Seventy (or Seventy-two) in Lk 10 was the foundation of the presbyterate. The Seventy (or Seventy-two) were appointed in the first instance for the administration of relief (v. c.), but that they were also preachers of the gospel is seen from the history of Stephen and Philip, who were both deacons before their solemn ordination with prayer and laying on of hands.

iii. The Position of James the Lord's Brother at Jerusalem.—Christian antiquity agrees in giving St. James a local ministry at Jerusalem, and yet in making him a real saned equal to the Twelve, and in ascribing to him rule or presidency over the presbyters, though nothing is said of any autocratic powers possessed by him. This account of his position is borne out by the NT writers. In Ac 12 Peter bids those who are assembled in Mary's house tell of his escape "unto James and to the brethren." In 15-18 James presides over, or at least takes a leading part in, the apostolic council, and gives the decision, i.e., interprets the evident sense of the assembly. In 21 Paul and his companions visit him assembled with the presbyters in a formal meeting (see below, p. 198); he is named by the apostle (see also § 1); he and Cephas are visited by Paul at Jerusalem. In 20 he is named before Cephas and John, and the three are "reputed to be pillars." In 2 the Jewish Christians who come from Jerusalem to Antioch are said to come "from James." Of the Fathers the earliest to bear witness to St. James's position in Jerusalem is Hegesippus, known as the father of Church history (d. 180), who chose in the latter part of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the apostles (Eus. HE ii. 23); he describes the appointment of St. Peter as "the head of the Lord," and "the next bishop" (iv. 22). So Eusebius, who depends on Hegesippus, says (iii. 11) that they pronounced Symeon to be worthy of the throne of that diocese (συμβουλευόμενοι), and (iii. 32) that Symeon was the second bishop of the Church of Jerusalem; in the former passage he says that there was a second Apostolic Council on the occasion of Symeon's election. The last statement is very doubtful; but the tradition passed on by Eusebius, and also by Irenaeus, is the act of the diocesan Church Orders, which assign all sorts of directions to the apostles. The same supposed council has been thought by some to have decreed the establishment of diocesan episcopacy; but the latter was probably of gradual growth rather than the result of an enactment of a formal council (see below, § 4). The position of James is also spoken of by Clement of Alexandria (Hypotyposes, bk. vi. quoted by Eus. HE ii. 1): 1 Peter, James, and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, as it also preferred by our Lord, strove not after honour, but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem. The Lord after His resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John and Peter, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the Seventy, of whom Barnabas was one.

The phrase about imparting knowledge to James may probably be a reference to 1 Co 15. The description of him as 'bishop of Jerusalem' is an anachronism of nomenclature, but it roughly describes his position. His office at Jerusalem is a favourite theme in the 'Clementine' literature, but the date of these works is uncertain.

iv. Angels in the Apocalypse.—The 'angels' in Rev 19-22 have been taken by some to be the chief ministers of the Church in the province of Asia Minor, and by others that the office of 'the spiritual' (των ἀγγέλων τῆς λαοῦ) of the church was not to grow old (I. 30). Pseudo- Dionysius (4th cent.) in the Life of Polycarp (§ 17; Lightfoot, Apos
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Fathers, pt. ii., ' Ignatius and Polycarp,' iii. 447 f.) unhistorically makes Polycarp to be an old man before he is ordained presbyter. So perhaps Hermas, Vol. ii. 4 (2nd cent.), where the presbyters are the officials of the ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (aged woman), who is interpreted as the Church. Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xii. 11, 4th cent.) says the presbyters being 'honoured for years and wisdom.'

(c) The name 'deacon.'—In addition to the use of the word ἅγιος in the non-ecclesiastical sense of 'saint,' the Church uses 'deacon' in 3 Macc. 9:27; 13:7. The O.T. use of ἅγιος in 3 Macc. 9:27; 13:7. The O.T. use of ἅγιος (cf. Lev. 21:10) here adopted throughout, and if we were born in mind how often ἁγιορεῖον and ἁγιορεῖον are used in the NT, always in the non-technical sense of 'service' and to that service.

(d) St. Paul's list of the ministry show a great fluidity of nomenclature. But they do not give technical names to the various classes of the ministry. In 1 Cor 12 we have: apostles, prophets, teachers, pastors, evangelists, deacons, bishops, elders, ministers of the body, and shepherds. In 1 Tim 3:1 we find the names: presbyters, bishops, and deacons are mentioned in 2 Cor 11:18. This fluidity of expression would be realized by the English reader if the term 'deacon' (instead of 'minister') were adopted throughout, and if we were born in mind how often ἁγιορεῖον and ἁγιορεῖον are used in the NT, always in the non-technical sense of 'service' and to that service.

(e) Fluidity of 'hieratic' language.—In the NT and the sub-apostolic writers the word ἁγιορεῖον is not used of a Christian minister, though Christians as a body are called 'priests' and 'a priesthood' (τελεστήριον) in 1 Pt 2:9; Rev 1:6 (cf. Rev 3:22, 59), just as all Israel had been 'priests' (Ex 19). Our Lord Himself is called a 'priest' or 'high priest' (ἀρχεψετής) in Heb 3:2, 7, 19, 104, etc. Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Irenaeus do not use 'hieratic' language. Furthermore, the Didache 1:1 says the Church of the Christian prophets: 'they are your high priests' (13). Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, c. A.D. 190, says (quoted by Eus. ἩΕ v. 24) that St. John was a priest, wearing the mitre (or 'golden crown,' ἅγια), but the meaning is not clear. Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 150) calls the Christian body 'the true high-priestly race of God' (Dial. 116). Tertullian at the end of the century speaks of the bishop ('high-priests') and 'priests' (De bapt. 17), and, in reference to the Christian ministry, speaks of 'functions of priesthood' ('sacerdotalia munera,' de Pescr. 41). Hippolytus, who is called 'saints,' the teachers of the Christian Church, and who is in early in the Church, uses the term ἅγιος (Paul. Hymn. i. pref.): 'We being their (the apostles') successors and participators in this grace of high-priesthood,' etc. In Cyprian the bishop is frequently called 'sacerdos,' and his office 'sacerdotium.' The Older Didascalia (3rd cent.) calls the bishops 'high-priests' (Funk, Didasc. et Const. Apest., Faderborn, 1905, i. 102), and says that the Jewish priests and levites now correspond to the deacons, presbyters, and elders, and orphans. The names 'high-priest' for the bishop, and 'priests' and 'levites' for the presbyters and deacons respectively, were frequently used in the 4th cent. and onwards, and the translation Orders (for references see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 67, n.). In the ordination prayer for a presbyter in the Apest. Const. viii. 18 (c. A.D. 375) and in the Epitome of Hippolytus known as Constitutions throughout the whole world (Funk, ii. 80), his functions are called ἀρχεψετής, 'priestly duties.' Of other 4th cent. writers we may take as an example Epiphanius, who uses ἅγιος for a Christian priest (Exp. Piae Lit. 21), and who speaks of those 'priests' (mgs. ἁγιορεῖον), but not readers (ib.). Jerome calls his famous treatise on the ministry 'Concerning priesthood' (Epist leporem). At the Council of Laodicea (c. A.D. 320, can. 27, 30), 'hieratics' (ἐπαρχιάται) are the bishops, priests, and deacons, as opposed to the 'clerics' (ἐκκλησιαστικοί), who include the minor orders. In Apest. Const. iii. 15, and in the Apest. Canons, 63 (c. A.D. 400), the minor orders are included among the 'hieratics.' In the Syriac-speaking Churches the word καθούθα (which is the translation of leporemoi) is used for all orders of the ministry.

The use of this language did not mean that a new conception of the ministry was entertained by those in whose writings it is first found. It was not likely to be used as long as any Jewish priests or levites were in the ranks of the Christian ministry. As we have seen, the 2nd cent. Christian Church, it was a new nomenclature, but did not imply any new functions. It is a fallacy to describe some 2nd cent. Christian writers as unsacerdotal, and some as sacerdotal. The use of 'hieratic' language meant that the writers who employed it adhered to Christian official the ministry delivered by the Great, and in the strictest sense the Only, High Priest, our Lord Himself. The writers like Ignatius who do not use 'hieratic' language are even more emphatic about the authority of the ministry than those who do.

3. Charismatic ministry.—This term properly indicates those who are endowed with any spiritual gifts, called ἅγιορατα (gifts) in 1 Co 12:4 (or sometimes ἅγιορατομοι) (spiritual things) in 12:14, which is a word of our Lord,' in the A.D. 200, V. 25 (cf. 1 1 Pt 3:24, 105-14). It was often applied to bishop, later writers (cf. Zech. Const. II. 2). The verb ἀγιοραταω is used of the Christian ministry in 5 Ma 23, Ac 14:23, 1 Th 5:23; and belonged to the higher orders of the church. As long as extraordinary charismata continued, the two went on side by side. Yet the same person might be of
both ministries; thus St. Paul was an apostle, and you spoke with tongues not speaking hieratic (1 Ti 14:14). The charisma enumerated in 1 Co 12:8-11 include wisdom, knowledge, faith, healings, miracles, prophecy, discriming of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues. Clement of Rome (c. A.D. 95) is the only one of the bishops to refer to a bishop at Corinth when writing to the Corinthians. It is, of course, possible that the office at Philippi and Corinth was vacant at the dates of the letters but the evidence cannot be proved, and the deduction has usually been made that the diaconate was not established in these two places so soon as elsewhere. The position at Rome at the end of the 1st cent. has been various. Clement writes in the name of his Church (not of the presbyters), but he does not call himself its bishop, nor does he name himself at all; we have to gather information about the authorship of this Epistle from subsequent writers. Clement obviously held a prominent position in the Roman Church; and, though nomenclature and organization matured themselves more slowly at Rome than elsewhere, the testimony of all antiquity must be taken as showing that he held the first place in it. Thus Irenaeus makes Clement the third bishop of Rome, the list which gives of bishops of that city up to his own time (Hist. iii. 3. 5). He says that Linus, the first bishop, received the office from the apostles Peter and Paul, and that Anacletus succeeded him, and was in his turn succeeded by Crescens, who was succeeded by Hermas, and Hegesippus had already made a list of the bishops of Rome, as all the Greek MSS and the Syriac versions of Eus. HE iv. 22 assert (see Lightfoot, Apost. Patr., pt. i. 'Clement,' i. 154). The alternative (rejected by Lightfoot but accepted by Harnack) of παρακαταρτος for παρακατατηρημα is a conjecture based on the loose paraphrase of Runus. But, as Hegesippus's list is not exact, the question is one where it began. We notice that Ignatius, in writing to Rome, mentions no bishop there, and that, as G. Salmon remarks ('Introductory to the NT,' London, 1882, p. 519, n.), all through the first two centuries the importance of the bishop of Rome was merged in the importance of his Church. Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 170) writes to the Church of Rome, not to Soter its bishop, though he mentions him in the third person. Long before the end of the 2nd cent. the diocesan episcopate was universal, so much so that writers like Clement of Alexandria, as we have seen, did not know that there could be any other rank than that of the same as the presbyters. It is therefore unnecessary to carry further an investigation into the spread of the system in the 2nd century (for detailed information reference may be made to Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' in his Philippians). But it is desirable to refer to the concession of the episcopate which we find in the works of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the middle of the 3rd century. Ignatius and Irenaeus had described the bishop as a centre of unity, and Cyprian emphasizes this still more in his treatise de Unitate Ecclesiae and in his Epistles. In this connexion he dwells strongly on the idea of the bishop as the visible unity symbolized and guarded by the bishop. It has been said that 'he magnified his office,' and extended its claims to autocracy; yet no one emphasizes more than he the necessity of constitutional action on the part of the bishop, and his obligation to carry his clergy and laity with him (see below (6)). He also dwells on the election of the bishops by the people (see art. LESE, p. 64). It is on John (Joseph?) that our author. And the MuratorianFragment (c. A.D. 180?) says that John was exalted by 'his brother bishops and disciples' to write his Gospel. Ignatius speaks of bishops being established all over the world (Eph. 3). But we do not find the diocesan episcopate established in all places at an equally early date. Thus Ignatius writes to the Philippians, but makes no mention of their bishop. (Clement of Rome, cf. above §1, 22.) The first chapter of the Didache is addressed to a presbyter and to a bishop (c. A.D. 95), but there is no mention of the diocesan episcopate. Clement, it is true, alludes to the diocesan episcopate when he speaks of the 'archbishop or bishop' of the Church and to the 'prophets, though they may have done so in another capacity. It is recognized that any one might receive a revelation, and so be a 'prophet' (cf. 1 Co 14:30). Thus those whom we should call 'laymen,' as not being of the official ministry, spoke in the Christian assemblies (ibid.). But women were not allowed to do so (v. 28), though they might be prophetesses (Ac 21:11). In 1 Co 14 the charisma of tongues is somewhat disparaged as compared with prophecy.

Prophecy long continued. For the prophets in the Didache see above, § 1. Quadratus, early in the 2nd cent., was renowned for his prophetic gifts (Eus. HE iii. 37). Polycepyr is called in the letter written by the Smyrneans 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher' (Mart. Pol. 16; A.D. 155 or 156). Hermas received revelations, and his Shepherd (c. A.D. 150) is a professed prophetic writing. Even in the 4th cent. the Church Orders speak of charismata, and in particular of revelations, being expected; e.g., the Test. of our Lord speaks of the Church (in the list which gives of bishops of that city up to his own time) there was an order of bishops and presbyters, and by any Christians (i. 21, 23, 29, 31 f., 40); gifts of healing or of knowledge or of tongues are referred to as being a possible endowment of any Christian (i. 47). Such a one was not to be ordained ('a hand is not laid on him'), but to be had in honour (ibid.). See also below, §§ 6-8.

The term 'charismatic ministry' is capable of being misunderstood, as if the office or ministry considered a purely mechanical one, and only of human appointment. But St. Paul clearly recognizes the official ministry as charismatic in another sense. Timothy had the charisma in virtue of his ordination (1 Ti 4:6). The official ministry had the 'spiritual gift,' though it was not of the same nature as that of those who had extraordinary endowments; and the two ministries, as we have seen, might overlap.

4. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons from the 2nd cent. onwards.—(a) Bishops.—In the Epistles of Ignatius (c. A.D. 110) we find bishops in the later sense of the word. But we may hope to make an endeavour to collect the facts with regard to the diocesan episcopate, postponing a statement of the details that have been advanced as to its origin. The phrase 'diocesan episcopate' is perhaps the best that we can use, as it begins no question as to the relation of the bishop to the presbytery; the phrase 'monarchical episcopate,' which is used by many writers, is open to this objection. The establishment of bishops in the later sense in the Churches of the province of Asia and elsewhere is ascribed by a steady tradition to John the Apostle. Clement of Alexandria (Quis divina, 42) says that 'the last Jew, the last of the apostles, John, returned to Ephesus from the island of Patmos, and went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, there to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole Churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit.' Tertullian similarly says (adv. Marc. iv. 5) that 'the order of the bishops' (of the Seven Churches of Asia, or of all the Churches of the province) 'who were the first to ordain' (1 Co 14:14) 'first' says John to their author.' And the Muratorian Fragment (c. A.D. 180?) says that John was exalted by 'his disciples and bishops' to write his Gospel.
established before Cyprian's time, and was due to his dispute with Novatian (Organization of the Early Christian Church, p. 153; for an account of the dispute and of the ministry reference may be made to Gose, The Church and the Ministry, pp. 151-156, with his quotations in the footnote).

It would seem that at the first primary object of the bishop is 'ordained,' and thus the Didache, immediately after mentioning the Sunday worship (§ 14), continues: ‘Appoint (καισορωπαρη) for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons. And in the succeeding age, one of the principal functions of the diocesan bishop was to celebrate the Eucharist. In the Church Orders of the 4th and 5th centuries the newly consecrated bishop himself begins to exercise his functions by doing so, rather than the principal consecrator, as in modern times. The same idea underlies the ancient practice, still preserved in some parts of Christendom, of consecration, that is, of the newly-ordained presbyters joining aloud with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. (In the early ages consecration was not confined to ordinations.)

We may compare the custom, which also survives of a newly-ordained deacon reading the liturgical gospel, that being one of his functions which he immediately begins to discharge. In this connexion, the new bishop and the presbyter were the only persons allowed to celebrate the Eucharist (see art. LATTY, § 5 (a)).

The Council of Nicea enacted that bishops were not to be consecrated from one bishop to another (can. 15; A.D. 325). But this rule was almost immediately disregarded (see Athanasius, Apol. c. Ariam. 25). The Nicene Council applied it also to presbyters and deacons.

(9) Presbyters.—In early Christian literature the presbyters are frequently recognized as the councillors of the bishop. Ignatius, who says that the presbyters are the bond of the bishop to the Church, that is, the bond of the bishop to the people (Eph. 4), bids the people submit to the bishop and presbyters (Eph. 2, 20, Trall. 13), and do nothing without them (Magn. 7, Trall. 21, f., 7); he speaks of ‘the bishop presiding (συνέπεπτον) after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council (συνεκληρον) of the apostles;’ (Magn. 6); in Smyrn. 8, the bishop is compared to our Lord, and the presbyters to the apostles (cf. Magn. 13). But Ignatius and later, Cyprian speaks of the presbyters as ‘your reverend bishop and with the fifty-wreathed spiritual circlet of your presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God’). In the same way, more than a century later, Cyprian says (Eps. xiv. [v.] 4, ‘To the presbyters and deacons’) that he had determined from the beginning of his episcopate to do nothing without the advice (consilium) of the presbyters, and the concurring feeling (consensum) of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as councillors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in Ep. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 1 (‘To the presbyters, deacons, and people’), where Cyprian speaks of consulting them all before he ordained clergy. This is the equivalent of the more modern Si quis or public intimation of a proposed ordination. Origen likewise compares the councillors and ‘rule’ of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (Cels. li. 30). A similar state of things is seen in the Oder Didasc. (ii. 28, 3rd edn. Funk, ii. 108), where it is said that the presbyters are ‘honoured as apostles and councilors of the bishop, and the crown of the Church, for they are the council and court of the Church.’ The first red. post. Const. (ii. 28) use nearly the same language.

It is for this reason that the bishop had his throne in the church with the presbyters sitting round him on either side. Thus in the Apol. Ch. Ord. (c. A.D. 309; for the Syriac text and tr, see JThES iii. [1901] 59) the presbyters are appointed by the bishop, and sit on either side of him, excited on the right being the regulators of the service of the altar, those on the left the regulators of the people; and the presbyters are ‘sharers in the mysteries’ with the ‘shepherd’ (the bishop; see above, § 2). In the Older Didasc. (ii. 57; Funk, ii. 158), the Apol. Const. (ii. 57), and the Test. of our Lord (1, 19) the same arrangement is found. In the last-mentioned manuscript, excited and honoured presbyters, who ‘labour in the word,’ sit on the right, and ‘those of middle age’ (i.e. the younger ones; see above, § 28) (for the association of the presbyterate and old age) sit on the left. For an ambiguity as to the position of the bishop and presbyters when ministering at the altar, see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 37.

The presbyters were charged with celebrating the Eucharist, at least when the bishop was absent (see above), and with pastoral duties to the flock. In the 4th cent. the Apol. Const. thus sum up the functions (§ 12): ‘The bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing; he lays on hands (καισορωπαρη), ordains (καισορωπαρη), offers (the Eucharist), receives the blessing from bishops: the bishop presides; the presbyters; the bishop exercises discipline (κατοποιησις) over every one, who does disobedience to a bishop, or presbyter, for he cannot (ἔχει) do this. The presbyter blesses, but does not receive the blessing except from a bishop or fellow-presbyter, and so he gives it to a presbyter or to a deacon; he lays on hands, but does not ordain; he does not exercise discipline, but he separates those inferior to him, etc.

An interesting feature is that the presbyter is allowed to confirm, for this seems here to be the meaning of καισορωπαρη, blessing and ordaining being mentioned as different actions. Ordinarily the presbyter baptized, and brought the neophyte to the bishop for confirmation; this is the regular practice in the Church Orders and was the earlier custom in both East and West. In the East the presbyters have for many centuries confirmed, both in the Orthodox and in the Separated communions, but he uses chrism consecrated by the bishop. The same thing is also found in the West, but only in exceptional cases. Innocent i. in his Epistle to Deceanglices (§ 2; A.D. 416) shows that Western presbyters had the power by custom, though he did not approve of their exercising it. The Council of Orange (A.D. 441) says (can. 1, 2) that in the absence of a bishop a presbyter may confirm heretics, marking them with the chrism and benediction, i.e. (apparently) confirming them. Still earlier the first Council of Toledo (A.D. 400) shows the same thing by implication. It forbids (can. 39) a presbyter to consecrate the chrism, and allows only a bishop to do so, but says that deacons or subdeacons shall fetch the chrism from the bishop before Easter. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 390 (can. 3), also forbids presbyters to consecrate the chrism. This implies a regular practice of confirming by presbyters (for further references see Duchene, Christian Worship, p. 358, n. 4). For Egypt we have the evidence of the writer known as Ambrosiaster (in Eph. iv. 12), who says that in that country the presbyters ‘signs’ (consignat) if the bishop be not present; and we read the same in Quast. Hist. der Nat. Test. § 11. In the appendix to vol. iii. of the Benedictine ed. of Augustine (another reading there has ‘consecrate,’ i.e. consecrate the Eucharist). Lightfoot (‘Diserta-
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and is often the almoner of the Church (Older Didasc. ii. 57; Apost. Const. iii. 19). In the Council of Antioch, A.D. 251 (the letter is given by Eus. H.E. vi. 43), enumerates the various orders and classes at Rome as follows: one bishop (about this he is outspoken), 46 (cfr. text) presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 40 acolytes, 22 exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers, and more than 1500 widows and persons in distress (for the minor orders see below, § 6). But in unimportant places the clergy were much fewer. On the Apost. Conc. ii. 39 (can. 69) there were: one bishop, 3 presbyters, 3 deacons (so the Syriac, one (?) reader, 3 widows. In the Test. of our Lord (c. A.D. 350?) we have (i. 34, besides the bishop, 12 subdeacons, 32 deacons, 2 acolytes, 13 widows who preside' (the Greek original no doubt had προκαθήμενοι). Seven was a very ordinary number for the deacons, because of the Seven in Ac 6. Sozomen says (H.E. vi. 19) that even in his day (5th cent.), in some provinces, one deacon was enough, though in other Churches the number of deacons is a matter of indifference. The Council of Neo-

Cæsarea, appealing to Acts, says that even in the largest towns there are not to be more than 7 deacons (can. 15; c. A.D. 314, or perhaps a little later). The number twelve for the presbyters in the Test. of our Lord may be due to the comparison of their order to the apostles (cfr. H.E. iii. 10), describes Alexandria in old days as having had twelve presbyters; but his evidence is quite untrustworthy (see below, § 8 (d)).

(c) Age of ordination.—At 3 Cæsarea it was enacted (can. 11) that no one was to be ordained presbyter before he was thirty years of age, because our Lord then began to teach. This became the general rule for many centuries. There was no similar rule about bishops, but the 2nd can. of Nicea says that no novice in the faith is to be ordained presbyter or bishop. The minimum age for deacons seems to have been twenty-five. The Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) says that no one is to be ordained at all under that age (can. 11); but this rule can hardly have applied to the minor orders, for the same Council (can. 18) speaks of readers who are appointed as quite young boys. So Cyril (Ep. lxxxviii. [lxxxv.] 1) and Sozomen (H.E. vii. 41) speak of very young readers. The Galli-

can Statutes (c. A.D. 500; see below, § 6 (c)) say that a bishop must be of the 'prescribed age,' but does not say what this age is.

It may be convenient to note here some later rules as to age of ordination. The Cèzanne rule is that a presbyter must be over 30, for the readers and deacons. "(Nestorius, Con-

cili, Würzburg, 1869-64, ii. 145), and a deacon must be over 21 (lit. 152). The East Syrian or Nestorian Synodical, or 'Book of Canon Law' (Vt. iv. 2; Maclean and W. H. Brown, Catholics of the East, London, 1913, p. 201), says that readers must not be ordained till past boyhood. Hence this limit is very close. The deinon age and the one for deacons a little lower, presbyters about 18, though (it looks) the ancient age was 30. (cfr. 1 Pet. v. 2, for presbyters 34, for bishops 39, and this is the usual Western custom; some relaxation of the rule has rarely been made in the case of deacons.

5. Development of the supervisory offices.—(a)

The present writer can find no good instance of 'consignare' or its Greek equivalent ἐπισήμα, or its substantive, being applied to ordination. The Greek ἐπισήμα and its oriental equivalents usually refer to baptism or confirmation, or both, or to the sign of the cross; by analogy Tertullian (adv. Valentin. 1) uses 'consignation' of admission to the Eucharistic mysteries (see also Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, pt. 1, Ch. 1. Eusebius, 220, n. 5; Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 109). In the Verona Letter (cfr. J.H. Harper, p. 119) 'consignation' is used in contradistinction to ordination, for the part played by the presbyter as a presbyter's ordination (see below, § 8 (a)).

The presbyter at the ordination (ordinatio) of a presbytery signum (consignation) when the bishop ordinates episcoporum ordinandos."

Therefore traces in our period of a very close

312 (Joest, 1856-57), gives no instance of consignation meaning 'ordination,' though he gives instances of its meaning 'confirmation.'

312 (Trümmel, 1859-69) gives one instance from pseudo-

Dionysius Areopagita (Eccl. H., v. p. 312 [PG iii. 809]) of ἐπισήμα, which our reader

2 It has been suggested that 'the young men' of Ac 5:26-29 were the six 'young' who 'died in the 1st century' (as such the names are the paradigms of the deacons). In this respect, for the epigrams, or grave-diggers (mentioned by Epiphanius, Epp. Fid. 31), and for the paradigms of the dead (see J. Wordsworth, History of Grace, p. 106.).

5:26-29, for presbyters 24, for bishops 39, and this is the usual Western custom; some relaxation of the rule has rarely been made in the case of deacons.
Metropolitans.—The name is first found in the 4th cent., before which there is no certain trace of provincial organization, the 'eparchy' in the Apos. Th. Ord. being apparently the civil province. Nicene metropolitans are mentioned by that name (can. 4, 6), and the word 'eparchy' is apparently used of an ecclesiastical province, though, as the civil province is commonly coincident, this is not quite certain. At the Council of Antioch in Eunomius (A.D. 341) metropolitans are recognized in effect, though the name is not given to them (can. 9, 19); 'the bishop presiding in the metropolis' (i.e. in the civil capital) is the phrase used, and the corresponding verb is employed in can. 19. The word 'metropolitan' is used at Laodicea (can. 12; c. A.D. 380). On the other hand, there is no mention of a metropolis in the Church Orders, and this is a cogent argument against their being dated later than the 4th cent., and for their not being assigned to any of the great centres like Alexandria or Antioch. In these manuals the neighbouring bishops come together for the election of a bishop, and the whole assembly of bishops, clergy, and laity elect, just as they do in Cyprian (Ep. liv. 9, 25) and the clergy, and the clergy alone (in Spain?); but there is no metropolitan. The title is perhaps but a faint trace of a primacy in Apos. Const. viii. 4, which speaks of 'one of the first bishops' saying the ordination prayer of a bishop; and so in the West, the Bp. of Rome is styled 'the first bishop among them'. But this is all. A rather stronger trace is to be seen in the Apos. Canons (can. 35 [also numbered 34 or 35]; c. A.D. 400). After the first bishops without metropolitans became practically universal.

Although there was no regular organization of provinces before the 4th cent., yet bishops of certain importance, e.g. the Bishops of Amasea, Vide Epp. Epiph., Antioch, wielded great influence over the neighbouring bishops. We see this in the case of Cyprian. At Nicæa the authority of the bishops of Alexandria and Rome is spoken of as an ancient custom, and no one is made bishop without the metropolitan (can. 6). Alexandria is to have, as before, authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, i.e. over more than one civil province (ib.).

The growth of this influence was promoted by the holding of synods, when external circumstances permitted. Synods would ordinarily be held in the 'metropolis' (chief town) of the civil province of the bishops whose jurisdiction city would naturally preside. So the civil metropolis tended to become the ecclesiastical metropolis. But this was not always the case with synods. At that of the bishops of Pontus held to consider the Paschal question, Palmus as the oldest [bishop] presided (Eus. HE v. 23). Palmus was bishop of Amaseia (iv. 28). At the end of the 4th cent. the Council of Hippo decreed that a bishop of a principal see (prima sedes) was not to be called 'princeps sacerdotum' or 'summus sacerdos,' but simply 'princeps sedis episcopus' (can. 25). Thus the name 'metropolitan' was apparently not in use in the province Africa; and Hefele thinks that, except at Carthage, the metropolitan right went to the eldest bishop of the province, and that the same thing held good in Spain before Constantine's time (Hist. of the Concils, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1872, i. 165). At Carthage, the metropolitan right went to the eldest bishop of the province, and that the same thing held good in Spain before Constantine's time (Hist. of the Concils, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1872, i. 165).

In spite of his position at Carthage, Hefele affirms that all bishops are equal. Thus in de Unitate, 5, he says that the episcopate is one and that his authority is derived from it with joint and several responsibility; for this is the meaning of his phrase 'cum suis in singulis in solidum pars potestas.' So in Ep. lv. (iv. 21), 'ad Antonianum,' the bishops thus. every bishop disposes and directs his own acts, and will have to give an account that this purpose to the Lord. Cf. also Epp. vili. (iii.) 5, lix. (iv.) 14, both to Cornelius; Cyprian says that appeals are not to be carried outside the province in which the cause began.

The custom that the pallium to metropolitan hardly falls within the limits of this article (see DCA ii. 1174).

(6) Patriarchs.—The name 'patriarch' was probably borrowed from the Jews. In the LXX of 1 Ch 27:2 it is used for the head of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe. In the NT it is used of David (Ac 2:21), the sons of Jacob (7:12), and Abraham (He 7:4). In 4 Mac 22:22 (ed. W. R. Churton, Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures, London, 1884) it is used of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others. In the early centuries of our era a Jewish 'patriarch,' or representative of the nation, is several times mentioned—e.g., by Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. xii. 17; a. D. 348), who speaks of the Jews' 'recent measures relative to their patriarchs as they now call them.' The Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 1541) refers to the Jewish patriarch in his letter to the consul Servianus about religion in Alexandria (see Lightfoot, 'Discussion,' p. 255). Hadrian visited Egypt A.D. 120. In Christian literature we find references to 'patriarchs' in the East and to Christians—Basil seems to use it as equivalent to 'bishop' when he says (Ep. cxlix. to Greg.) that the deacon Glycerius assumed the title of 'patriarch.' An example is Gregory of Nyssa's Funeral Oration on Melitius, bishop of Antioch († A.D. 381), where he exhales 'Behold these your patriarchs,' is perhaps purely metaphorical; he is referring to the bishops who attended the second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople. Gregory of Nazianzus explicitly uses the term of senior bishops (Orat. xii. 23): 'aged bishops or, as we say, Ga'ba.' But it came to be used of the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; though not by canons of councils till long after our period—not before the 9th cent. the whole subject is treated in detail by Hatch in DCA ii. 1573 (art. 'Patriarch'). The growth of the authority of these sees is shown by the 6th can. of Nicea, the 28th of Chalcedon; the latter was rejected by the bishop of Rome. The ultimate result was the joining together of several provinces or eparchies, each of which was governed by its own metropolitan, under a single patriarch, who presides over the union, just in the same way as in civil affairs several 'eparchies' were grouped together into one diocese, which was a very different thing from our 'diocese.'

(c) Archbishops.—This term, which in the West became the customary title of metropolitans, was not so used in the East. It was a title of honour conferred on bishops of some of the greatest sees, though its application was not always uniform. In the 4th cent. Epiphanius uses the term (Her. lxxiv. 3) of Meletius, bishop of the Thebaïs, and (lviii. 1) of the bishop of Alexandria. At Chalcedon (A.D. 431) it is applied to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome (cass. 28, 30; the last is not considered to be a canon proper; see Hefele, iii. 422).

(d) Chorepiscopi.—These 'country-bishops' were assistants to the bishop of a diocese, and resided in the rural districts. In the Greek-speaking Churches and in the West they were, at least normally, bishops—such is the trend of the evidence, although Chrysostom denies it in the Syriac-speaking Churches, at a later date, they were often confused with the episkopoi, or 'visitors,' and were prebendaries. They somewhat resembled the assistant ('suffragan') and conductor bishop of the present day and that they worked under the direction of the diocesan bishop, though their
functions were not entirely the same. They are first mentioned at Ancyra (can. 13 [see below, § 8]; c. A.D. 40; or a little later), Nicæa (can. 8; A.D. 325). From the 10th can. of the Council of Antioch in Encaemia (A.D. 341) we may perhaps gather that not all clergy bore the title of bishop in the sense of the episcopal office "even if they have received consecration as bishops." They are also mentioned by Athanasius (Apol. c. Arius, 85, Basil (Ep. xxiv. etc.), and other 4th cent. bishops. But they are not referred to in the Church Orders, and it is probable that they were to be found only in the busy centres, from which, as we have seen above (a), these manuals did not come. In the Edessene Canons, i.e., the Syriac Teaching of the Apostles (see Antioch. Chr. Lib., "Syriae Documents," p. 42 f.), a "ruler" is to be appointed as head over the village presbyters; and these "rulers" must have been itinerant visitors, for a reference is made to Samuel also making visits from place to place and ruling (can. 24; c. A.D. 350). The Council of Sardica in Illyricum (c. A.D. 347, or earlier) does not appear to recognize the existence of choropisci. The 6th can. says that a bishop is not to be ordained in a village or small town for which one presbyter suffices, for it is not necessary there that a bishop should be made, lest the name of a bishop and his authority become cheap (the authenticity of these canons is disputed).

Among the functions of the choropisci were the appointment and ordination of minor orders, but not as a rule of deacons and presbyters. To ordain these he must have the explicit consent of the diocesan bishop who had appointed him (Antioch in Encaemia, can. 10). He could also confirm; see the 2nd can. of the Council of Riez or Regnum in Provençe (Hefele, iii. 157; c. A.D. 430). Schismatic bishops when reconciled were sometimes made choropisci, as there could not be more than one diocesan bishop in each see (Nicæa, can. 8; Socrates, HE II. 19; Riez, can. 9). Light-foot ("Dissertation," p. 233, n.) looks upon choropisci as a survival of the "presbyter-bishops" which his theory of the origin of the diocesan episcopate postulates (see below, § 10); but there is absolutely no evidence for this survival, and indeed it is very unlikely that choropisci existed before the 4th century. A schismatic exarch was made towards the end of that century to abolish the office. The Council of Laodicea (can. 57; c. A.D. 380) forbids their appointment for the future, and says that there are to be only peristerae (apparently presbyters), while choropisci who had already been appointed were to act only with the consent of the diocesan bishop (this points to a certain self-assertiveness on the part of the choropisci). But this can did not put an end to the office. Choropisci are found frequently in the Far East (see below), and were revived in the West for a time (Hefele, i. 18). There were some of this order present at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, but not at that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

In the East Syrian Syriac Sunhdiāus (vi. 1) there are three orders of the ministry, each with three subdivisions. In the second order (the presbyterate), choropisci or peristerae (both these names are transliterated into Syriac) form the first subdivision, and seem to be identical. Their duties were to visit the villages and monasteries as representatives of the bishop (Maclean-Brown, Catholicos of the East, p. 182). They were not specially ordained, for the Sunhdiāus says that bishops ordain all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters, but do not ordain, and say a prayer over archdeacons (ibid.).

Archdeacons.—Neither the name nor the office of an archdeacon is found before the end of the 4th century. The name is found in the Purgatorium of St. Basil (47), c. A.D. 335, and has been assigned to that date, though some place it later; but even there it is not the name of a distinct office. Neither the name nor the distinct office is found in the Church Orders. The Excerpta from the Text, of Our Lord the principal deacon has certain duties assigned to him. Some writers at the end of, or later than, the 4th cent., give to certain famous deacons the title of archdeacon; Augustine calls Laurence by that title (Serm. de diversis, cxi. [ed. Ben. ccl.] 8); so Theodoret (HE II. 25) calls Athanasius the 'leader of the chorus of deacons, though a young man.' There is no archdeacon in Concinus's list of Roman officials (above, § 4 (d)). Jerome (Ep. exvii., "ad Evagriam") mentions archdeacons as an order, and after his time they were common in both East and West. In the Ordinances of Præside the archdeacon plays a very important part in the eucharistic liturgy at Rome (e.g., §§ 18, 20, ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, London, 1915). But this work is probably of the 6th cent., though founded on a similar document of the 6th (Atchley, p. 7). The archdeacon was at first a deacon, and in some cases the senior deacon succeeded automatically to the office; but Sozomen (HE VIII. 9) speaks of Chrysostom appointing Sarapion as archdeacon, and therefore he could not have succeeded automatically. There was only one in each diocese in the time of Jerome (loc. cit.). For the later development of this office see DOA I. 126.

In the East Syrian Church the archdeaconate is the middle subdivision of the second order, i.e., of the presbyterate (see above). The office is still used in that Church as an honorary, and an influential presbyter is appointed "archdeacon," or archdeacon. In the West the office is in frequent use, and in most Western countries each bishop has at least one archdeacon, called the 'eye of the bishop.' The archdeacon is a senior presbyter, deputed to relieve the bishop of some of his minor functions.

6. Development of the lesser offices.—At an early date we find the existence of some orders of the ministry lower than those of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. We read at various times of subdeacons, readers, singers, interpreters, doorkeepers, acolytes, exorcists. There was also a ministry of "women—widows and deaconesses. It must be noted, however, that some of these offices were not always and in all places reckoned as orders; e.g., exorcists were long considered to exercise a charismatic ministry, and were reckoned as being outside the ordinary roll of the clergy.

(a) Readers (ἀρχιευγέτης, lectoris).—This is probably the oldest of the minor orders. In Justin Martyr's description of the Euchairist (Apol. i. 87; c. A.D. 150) the reader of the lections plays an important part, though Justin may not mean that he was of a separate order in the ministry. In the Apost. C Hippolyt. (§ 19; c. A.D. 300) he is reckoned before the deacon, and Harnack thinks (Sources of the Apost. Canons, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 71 f.) that his office was at first a charismatic one, and that he was not originally included among the clergy. Stress is laid in the manual just named on the necessity of the reader being learned. He must be 'able to instruct' or 'narrate' (διδάσκων, and he 'fills the place of an evangelist.' This qualification is not always insisted on in the case of a bishop; this Church Order says (§ 16) that, if a bishop does not know letters, at least he is to be meek. The Text, of Our Lord also insists that the reader must have learned, according to our experience (i. 45). Probably he had, at first, the duty of expounding what he read; but, when he
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... was limited to the mere reading of the lessons, his position fell, as it did at Rome in the middle of the 3rd century (see above, § 4 (d)), where the readers are classed with the deacons and doorkeepers, below the acolytes. In the other Church Orders the reader comes, sometimes before, and sometimes after, the deacon. In Sarapion’s Sacramentary (§ 25; c. A.D. 350) the minor orders are not mentioned. There are indications in some of the authorities that readers were not numerous. The Older Didasc. and the Apost. Const. (ii. 28; Funk, i. 108[1]) suggest that it is probable that a church in Egypt at the time of Sarapion’s Sacramentary (§ 25), in the Church Orders (but not in the Apost. Ch. Ord.), at Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia (canon 10; A.D. 314 or later), at Antioch in Iconium (canon 10; A.D. 341), at Laodicea (canon 20—22, 25; c. A.D. 350), and in Athanasius (Hist. Ar. in Monachos, 60; A.D. 398), At Neo-Caesarea and Laodicea, and in the Apost. Const. ii. 11, and elsewhere, the subdeacon is called ἐραστής, or ‘minister.’ The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the Didascalia, where they are mentioned, is ante-Nicene; though not rejected in the Latin versions, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HE vi. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution uncertain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐραστεῖς) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the prisons were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (canon xxii. [ed. Achelis, § 217]) they are mentioned together with presbyters and readers, in a passage where deacons are omitted; but this may be due to the present (4th cent.) form of the Canons, and the omission of deacons may be a mere clerical error.

(c) Acolytes, or collats (ἐκδωροῦν, acolythi, acoliti).

These are first mentioned by Cornelius (above, § 4), and by Cyprian, loc. cit. They are also mentioned in the Gallican Statutes (as J. Wordsworth has conveniently named them [Ministry of Grace, p. 285] or Statuta Ecclesiae antigya, a collection of canons which used to be described as the so-called ‘Fourth Council of Carthage’ (canon 6; Hefele, ii. 410; their real date is c. A.D. 500). Acolytes assisted at the Eucharist, and performed various tasks associated with the priests and deacons. They are found only in the West, where they became very numerous. Cornelius says that there were 49 at Rome in the 3rd century. As there were 14 regions in that city, there would be one deacon or subdeacon and three acolytes for each region (Harnack, Sources of the Church, p. 95). The acolyte was sent by Cornelius as a messenger (Cyprian, Ep. xlix. [xxv. 3]).

(d) Singers (φάντασμα, φάντασμα, ἀντιστρατηγός, psaltes). In the earlier Church Orders singers are mentioned, but not as a separate order. There were indications in some of the authorities that readers were not numerous. The Older Didasc. and the Apost. Const. (ii. 28; Funk, i. 108[1]) suggest that it is probable that a church in Egypt at the time of Sarapion’s Sacramentary (§ 25), in the Church Orders (but not in the Apost. Ch. Ord.), at Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia (canon 10; A.D. 314 or later), at Antioch in Iconium (canon 10; A.D. 341), at Laodicea (canon 20—22, 25; c. A.D. 350), and in Athanasius (Hist. Ar. in Monachos, 60; A.D. 398), At Neo-Caesarea and Laodicea, and in the Apost. Const. ii. 11, and elsewhere, the subdeacon is called ἐραστής, or ‘minister.’ The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the Didascalia, where they are mentioned, is ante-Nicene; though not rejected in the Latin versions, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HE vi. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution uncertain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐραστεῖς) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the prisons were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (canon xxii. [ed. Achelis, § 217]) they are mentioned together with presbyters and readers, in a passage where deacons are omitted; but this may be due to the present (4th cent.) form of the Canons, and the omission of deacons may be a mere clerical error.

(e) Interpreters (ἐραστής, ἐραστηκρατης, interpreters).

These are not mentioned in the Church Orders. They naturally are found only in bilingual countries. Eusebius mentions them in Palestine (Mart. Palest., long. version, § i. 1, tr. A. C. McGiffers, p. 342 [Nie. and Post-Nic. Fathers]); he says that Propocius was a reader, interpreter, and exorcist. Sarapion (§ 25) mentions them in Egypt, Epiphanius (Ep. Vind. 21) in Syria and Palestine, the Ep. Hieronymi ad Silvia (‘Etheria’) we know (vi. 5) that at Jerusalem some spoke Greek only, and some Syriac only, and that, as the bishop, though he knew Syriac, yet spoke only in Greek, a presbytery stood by (Lat. Patriarches, § 1). Grace, Laodicea, and elsewhere, the deacon is called ἐραστής, or ‘minister.’ In the Apost. Const. ii. 11, and elsewhere, the subdeacon is called ἐραστής, or ‘minister.’ The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the Didascalia, where they are mentioned, is ante-Nicene; though not rejected in the Latin versions, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HE vi. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution uncertain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐραστεῖς) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the prisons were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (canon xxii. [ed. Achelis, § 217]) they are mentioned together with presbyters and readers, in a passage where deacons are omitted; but this may be due to the present (4th cent.) form of the Canons, and the omission of deacons may be a mere clerical error.

(f) Doorkeepers (ἐμπυγονος, eumpygono, doorkeepers).—These are mentioned in Cornelius’s list, and in the Apost. Const. ii. 58; elsewhere, the deacon is called ἐραστής, or ‘minister.’ The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the Didascalia, where they are mentioned, is ante-Nicene; though not rejected in the Latin versions, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HE vi. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution uncertain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐραστεῖς) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the prisons were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (canon xxii. [ed. Achelis, § 217]) they are mentioned together with presbyters and readers, in a passage where deacons are omitted; but this may be due to the present (4th cent.) form of the Canons, and the omission of deacons may be a mere clerical error.

(g) Exorcists (ἐραστηκρατης, interpreters).—

Jewish exorcists are mentioned in Lk 11 (where ‘your sons’ can hardly mean the disciples, but must be the Jews), Ac 19, and Jas. Ant. viii. 5 (he is speaking of the time of Solomon). Christian exorcists are mentioned in Lk 10, and by Filmyr, who in his letter to Cyprian speaks of exorcists in Cappadocia twenty-two years before his time (Cyprian, Ep. lvii. [xxxiv.] 10). But the Christian exorcist of demons is mentioned by Justin (Dial. 85, Apol. ii. 6), Tertullian (de Idol. 11, de Præser. 41), Origen (c. Celio, vii. 4). On the other hand, candidates for baptism were exorcised by the bishop before Easter (Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 97; T. Thompson, Office of Baptism and Confirmation, Cambridge, 1914, p. 28). The Council of Laodicea (canon 26) says that no one may exorcise in churches or houses unless authorized by the bishop. The office of an exorcist was at first entirely charismatonic, and he was not originally one of the clergy (see below, § 5 (g)). We can well understand the exorcist and the demonologists, and the exorcists of demons became a separate order, but that exorcists needed stringent regulations.

(h) Ministry of women.—It is not very easy to distinguish between the ‘widows’ who were on the Church roll for relief and those who were, in some sort, in the ministry. The widows in Ac 6 come under the former category; those of 1 Ti 5.2—perhaps underjots, ep. v. 3—seem to be engaging in ministering. A deaconess, Phoebe, is mentioned in Ro 16, though Hort (Christian Ecclesiast, p. 208)
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thinks that διάκονος (fem.) is here used in a non-technical sense, and merely means that Pheobe ministered to the needs of the Church. Many things 'done' by her (as by her confession (5.1. with the following article) means deaconesses; note the qualifications for deacons which precede and follow.1 We also read of Prisca (Priscilla) joining with Aquila in his bishopric at Rome. There is no doubt that, in private teaching, as St. Paul forbids a woman to speak in church (1 Co 142d, 1 Ti 224),. In the Christian literature after the NT we find frequent mention of the Apost. Ch. Ord. 1, the Apost. Ch. Ord., one of the 'twins' is to visit the sick, while the other two are to pray and receive spiritual revelations (see above, § 3). In the Test. of our Lord the 'twins who preside' (συμπροεδροῦσιν) are an important order; they are also called 'presbyterses,' as corresponding to presbyters, while deaconesses are mentioned as corresponding to deacons: deaconesses carry the Eucharist to a sick woman (II 20), just as a deacon does to a sick man (cf. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 65).

At Laodicea presbyterses (συμπροεδροῦσιν) are identified with those who preside (can. 11); and their spiritual duties and function in the Church is in question, though the interpretation is not quite clear. In early times, however, deacons were employed especially in the baptism of women. The deacon is sometimes called ἄρσης (Ro 163, 1 Cor. 19; Apol. Const. viii. 19; Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. 21). For further details see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 831; J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, ch. v. It may be interesting to give here Epiphanius's list of clergy and other classes of Christians in Exp. Fid. 21. He mentions bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, virgins, monks, ascetics, widows, 'those who marry honestly,' deaconesses (especially for baptism), exorcists, interpreters, grave-diggers (or copsiti), see above, § 4 (a), deaconesses; and he adds: καὶ τὰ γένεσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.

Promotion.—It is a common, and in the West the usual, thing for a deacon and the lower officials to be in due course promoted; but it is doubtful if this was often the case in the first three centuries. The 'good step' (σαλπυγία) see § 8 (g)) of 1 Ti 314 has been interpreted by Ambrose, Jerome, and some moderns, of promotion, though this is not very probable, and does not well suit the rest of the verse. The only instance of such a course in the 1st cent. is perhaps Philip, who in Ac 6 is one of the Seven, without authority to lay on hands, but in Ac 213 is called 'the Evangelist,' that is (probably) one of the 'apostolic men' like Timothy and Titus, though not apostolic. But the apostolic office (above, § 1 (d)). But at any rate from the 4th cent., perhaps earlier, promotion from the lower to the higher offices became common. Those of readers and subdeacons are referred to in the Apost. of the Lord (I. 441), Apol. Const. (viii. 22, readers), and are implied by Basil (Ep. cannon. tert. cvxxvii. 69). Cyprian (Ep. xxxix. [xxxiiij. 5, 'To the clergy and people') speaks of promoting readers to the presbytery,—this was because they had been confessors (cf. § 7 below). The promotion of deacons is mentioned in the Apost. Ch. Ord. 29 (to the episcopate), Apost. Const. viii. 171, Ithopen. Ch. Ord. 24, and probably in the Test. i. 38; ex-oligarchy also in the Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africana (can. 31); Hefele, ii. 470. Palympis is said by the 4th cent. pseudo-Pimenius (as above, § 15 (b)) to have been consecrated deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§§ 1, 17, 23); and the Council of Sardica (can. 10, if genuine) says that a bishop must have been a deacon, deacon, and presbyter, some time before becoming bishop.

Honourable offices. It appears from the Church Orders that confessors, i.e., those who had been apprehended in the persecutions and had con-}

fessed their religion, but had escaped martyrdom, enjoyed an honorary presbyterate. A confessor (διάκονον) had 'the honour of the presbyterate but not that of the bishop' (Eusebius, Hist. Ch. Ord. 34; EUSEB. Ch. Ord. 23; Canons of Hippolytus, vi. [ed. Achelis, 43–47], Test. of our Lord, i. 39). It is, however, enacted in these manuals that, if a confessor is chosen for a bishop, he must receive the laying on of hands, or ordination. There is no evidence that confessors were ever allowed to minister, or to celebrate the Eucharist, without ordination. Indeed the Council of Chalcedon (e. cit.) say that a confessor has not got the form of the presbyterate, but he has obtained its spirit. An honorary presbyterate was possible, as there were many presbyters in each place; but an honorary episcopate was not possible, both because there was only one bishop in each see and because the bishop had the duty of ordaining others, which an unordained person could not do. It is noteworthy, and a sign of the earlier date of the Church Orders above mentioned, that the Apost. Const. (vii. 23; c. A.D. 375), while giving honour to confessors, yet repress their undue claims. This work says that confessors, when consecrated are not to be ordained unless wanted as bishops, priests, or deacons, in which case they are to be ordained. It says nothing about the honorary presbyterate.

That confessors were in some cases entitled to an honorary office is not the same thing as saying that confessors were preferred to others for the higher offices of the Church when they became vacated. Tortullian (ad. Valentin. 4) tells us that Valentinus was indignant, when he expected to become a bishop, because another was preferred before him on account of a claim which confessorship (σταυρομανία) had given him. It is not said that the confessor who was preferred was made bishop without being ordained. Eusebius (II E v. 28), quoting an unnamed writer about the heresy of Artemon, mentions a confessor Natalius who was chosen by the heretics as their bishop, apparently because of his confessorship (early 3rd cent.). Hippolytus (Har. ix. 7) relates how Callistas, having been imprisoned in Sardina, succeeded Zephyrinus as Bishop of Rome. Asclepiades, a confessor, became bishop of Antioch (Eus. II E vi. 11). But these and other instances prove nothing as to confessors becoming bishops without ordination.

8. Transmission of the ministry.—In this section we enter on the consideration of a series of facts whose significance is much disputed. An endeavour will be made to state the whole of the facts as far as they are relevant to the early period with which this article deals. For a description of rites used in transmitting the ministry see art. ORDAINATION.

(a) In the NT we find, in the case of the Seven (Ac 64), that the people 'elect' (w. ἐκλέγοντα) while the apostles appoint (v. 3 εκλέγοντες) and set apart by prayer and imposition of hands (v. 5). In 14 Paul and Barnabas 'ordain' (εὐαγγελισταὶ) presbyters 'for' the people of Pisdian Antioch, Iconium, etc. The word used is a general one, and does not necessarily imply laying on of hands. It is used for election to a presbyterate (or here) simply for appointing. In the case of the elders (presbyters) at Ephesus, Hort (Christian Ecclesiæ, p. 90) remarks that there is no indication that St. Paul appointed them. Yet the phrase 'the Holy Ghost hath set thee' may avouch that he cannot be pressed to mean a direct authority of the presbyters received from God without human intervention, such as St. Paul himself had (Gal 1). God works through those as apostles, in which case the terminology of 6th 14th will lead us to suppose that, though
the people probably elected their presbyters. St. Paul appointed them. St. Luke is not accustomed to repeat details of this nature. In 1 Ti 4:4 the presbytery are said to have laid hands on Timothy, and in 2 Ti 1:6 St. Paul is said to have done so; probably they there have laid hands on the custom which is found in later ages of the presbyters and bishop joining in the ordination of a presbyter (see below). In 1 Ti 5:25 Timothy lays on hands, though in is done in a different manner: he is referred to. In Tit 1:6 Titus ‘appoints’ (xenarizes) presbyters in every city in Crete. We may notice, by way of analogy, another laying on of hands in Ac 10:9, which is not ordination; this is reserved for the apostles in those passages, though ordinarily they did not baptize (S^2 104^h 19°, 1 Co 11:2). For the sub-apostolic period we have very little evidence on the point which we are now considering. But Clement of Rome describes in general terms how the ministry was appointed.

*[The apostles] preaching everywhere in country and town, showed them their first-fruits, when they had proved them to be of the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons. . . . They appointed (xenarizes) the aforesaid persons § 4 in laying on hands and ordination; afterwards they provided a constancy, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministries. This was therefore done by the apostles, or afterward by other distinguished (bapto) men whose office is called presbyters. Hence these men we must consider to be unjudged thrust out from their ministries’ (Clement, Ch. 45, 4).

We have no popular election, and ‘appointment’ (xenarizes); for this word see act. ORDINATION by ‘distinguished men,’ i.e., not by the ‘bishops and deacons,’ but by such viri apostolici as Timothy and Titus.

For the 3rd cent. we have evidence that only bishops (in the later sense) could then ordain; for Novatian had to get, by a disputable trick, three bishops to ordain him (see below, § 4 in laying on hands and ordination). Firmilian of Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian about the re-baptism of heretics (Cyprian, Ep. lxxv. [lxxviii.] 71), denies that heretics can baptize, and says that ‘all powers and graces are established in the Church where the presbyters preside who possess the powers both of baptizing and of imposing of hands and of ordaining.’ Then, referring to St. Paul’s having baptized (sic) John Baptist’s disciples again, and having laid hands on them that they might receive the Holy Ghost, Firmilian goes on to say that the ‘bishops of these times’ can by imposition of hands alone give the Holy Spirit (i.e. baptism), provided his arguments against adorning heretics without re-baptism, because of St. Paul’s action in Ac 19; but his words necessarily mean that none in his day but bishops could receive heretics into communion. With regard to the words which he uses in the earlier part of the paragraph, we may remark that by ‘presiding presbyters’ he must, being himself a bishop in the later sense of the word, mean bishops, even if he alludes to the custom of the presbyters joining in the ordination of a presbyter (see below); and it is significant that Cyprian translates Firmilian’s μπερσηερεσ by ‘maiores natu’ and ‘seniores,’ not by ‘presbyters’ of the MSS. He says in Epist. 84 to Eusebius: ‘we the presbyters and prelates.’ We notice here another instance, besides those mentioned above in § 4 (b), of bishops being still called μπερσηεερεσ.

At least from these 3rd centuries onwards we find explicitly stated the rule that only a bishop can ordain; possible exceptions will be noted below. As the Canons of Hippolytus, though not in their present form of the 3rd century, refer once very faithfully the language of their source, which probably goes back to Hippolytus’s time, and may even have been written by him, it seems likely that this explicit rule also goes back to Hippolytus’s time. It is at least (see iv. [ed. Achelis. § 32]: ‘the power of ordaining is not given to [a presbyter]’).

And in and after the 4th cent. we have no earlier evidence on the ordination of a presbyter. For the 5th cent. it is still prevalent in the West, that at the ordination of a presbyter the presbyters should lay on hands together with the bishop, though he alone says the prayer of ordination is found in the Egyptian Ch. Ord. (§ 32), the Ethiopian, Ch. Ord. (§ 22), the Test. of our Lord (I. 30), the Gallician Statutes (§ 3); Hefele, ii. 411, and the Verona Latin Fragments (Haufer, pp. 108-110). These manuscripts emphasize the fact that the bishop acts as a presbyter as well as a deacon. This (as the last manual says) is because the deacon is ordained for the service of the bishop, and does not take part in council with the clergy, while ‘on a presbyter the presbyters also lay (their) hands, because of the common and like spirit of the clergy (cleri); for a presbyter can only receive, he cannot give [this spirit], and therefore he does not ordain in the clergy, but at the ordination of a presbyter he signs when the bishop ordains’ (see above, § 4 (b)).

The custom of presbyters joining in the laying on of hands when a presbyter is ordained is found in the Syriac ordination of the writer of the Apost. Const. He says (vili. 16): ‘When thou ordainest a presbyter, O bishop, lay thy hand upon his head in the presence of the presbyters and deacons, and pray, etc. He uses almost exactly the same words about the ordination of a deacon, while elsewhere he does not, as the other clergy do, emphasize the fact that a bishop acts alone in ordaining a deacon. So in other MSS (one, which is almost a like reading, for deacons were never ordained by the bishop and presbyters jointly, and moreover ‘clerics’ must here mean the minor orders. See above, § 4 (b)).

The limitation of the power of ordaining to bishops is found in a large number of writers. For the Canons of Hippolytus see above. Jerome, who energetically enunciates the closeness of relation between bishop and presbyter, yet denies that the latter can ordain: ‘What does a bishop,’ he writes, ‘that a presbyter does not except ordination’? (Ep. ci. 1, ad Evangelium). The case of Icyshyas, which happened early in the 4th cent., is important in this connexion, and is related by Athanasius (Apoll. c. Arias. 111, 76). Icyshyas had been ordained presbyter by Collihus, who was, Athanasius tells us, not a presbyter but a presbyter. When after the Meleian schism in Egypt at the beginning of the 4th cent. Alexander (bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 313-326) admitted the presbyters who had been ordained by Meletius (bishop of Ly操), Icyshyas was not even numbered among them, and therefore he did not receive ordination in that quarter (§ 11); but he was ordained presbyter by Collihus, and all ordained by that man were, after the schism, reduced to the rank of laymen; and, Athanasius adds, no one doubts it (§ 12). The same writer quotes (§ 16) a letter of the clergy of Marseots (in Egypt) saying that Icyshyas was no presbyter; that he had been ordained by Collihus who pretended to the episcopate (this is significant for the point of view of the clergy of Marseots); and that they did not ordain (since Collihus resuscitated entirely the schism) the same rank that they had before, and so Icyshyas proved to be a layman. Alexander himself, in a letter quoted by Theodoret (HE i. 3), accused Collihus of ‘making a schism for lucre,’ and says that he set up his sect before Arius’s separation. Collihus was declared by the Council of Alexandria (A.D. 323) to be only a presbyter. We must notice that the refusal to
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recognize Ischiyrus' ordination was not due to the fact that Callithus was in schism (as also Meletius was), but to the fact that he was only a presbyter, and therefore could not ordain (on Callithus see also Eutychian Epitome 7). We may now consider certain possible exceptions to the above-named rule.

(b) The 13th canon of Ancyra (A.D. 314). — This canon, according to the reading, seems to say that under certain circumstances a presbyter was allowed in Galatia to ordain. It runs thus:

'It is not permitted to chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters and deacons, unless permission be given by the bishops in writing in every (ecc. lect. another) parish' [i.e. diocese].

The words left untranslated are uncertain both as to the reading and as to their signification. The dative πρεσβηρίον is adopted by Lightfoot, who translates 'nor even to city presbyters, except permission be given in each parish by the bishop in writing.' This would recognize that city presbyters might, if allowed by the bishop, ordain. On the other hand, Routh, Gore, and Ruckham read the accusative, and the last writer has gone into the readings with great care (in Studia Biblic. et Patr. Coloniae Agrippinae, iii. 577). This would forbid chorepiscopi to ordain city-presbyters without leave. If so, there is still a doubt as to the meaning of διάκονος μηδὲ μηδέν. Routh renders 'much less a deacon'; Gore follows Lightfoot here and translates 'not even' — he takes the middle clause as a parenthesis, and understands the canon to say that chorepiscopi may not ordain presbyters and deacons in another parish, not even when they ordain town-presbyters (in their own parish) without the bishop's permission. On the whole, the readings of this canon are so uncertain that no argument can safely be built upon it. It is a decided objection to Lightfoot's general interpretation that, if it were the true one, this canon would stand absolutely alone in 4th. century literature; the Alexandrian case (see below) is quite different. Another objection is that it would place the city-presbyters on a higher level as to powers of ordination (cf. 'not even') than the chorepiscopi, who at any rate were normally bishops. For detailed discussions on this canon see Lightfoot, 'Disputationes'; Gore, 'Church and Ministry,' note D., p. 333.

(c) The Canons of Hippolytus say (ii. 26. 10) with regard to the ordination of a new bishop that 'one who lays his hand on his head' is to say the ordination prayer. This canon has sometimes been quoted as if it said that 'one of the bishops or presbyters' is to do so. As we have seen, the Canons say that a presbyter cannot ordain, and therefore this is clearly not a permissible interpretation. But what does the canon mean? Gore (p. 132, n. 5) supposes that in the original (we have the Canons only in a translation of a translation) the direction was that one bishop and one presbyter were to lay on hands and to say the prayer. This would be in accordance with the close relation between these orders elsewhere hinted at in the Canons (see above, § 4 (b)). Yet this explanation does violence to the grammar of the text as we have it; for all the verbs are in the singular. Another explanation may therefore be preferred, that ' unus ex episcopis et presbyteris' means 'one who has both the episcopate and the presbyterate,' for we have already seen (in § 4 (b)) that a bishop was not considered to cease to be a presbyter when he became bishop. The rendition of the Canons make it precarious to fix certainly on any one translation of the words; but they cannot be adduced as an exception to the rule which we are considering.

(d) The succession at Alexandria. — Much more important than the above is a peculiarity said to have existed at Alexandria in the earliest ages. (The matter is full of difficulties and may be studied in detail in Eutychian Epitome 7.)

It is said that the bishop of Alexandria till the middle of the 3rd century took his bishops nominated (nominant) as bishop one of their own number, and placed him in a higher grade, as if an army were to appoint (faciat) a general, or deacons were to choose from among their number the one who knew to be diligent, and to call him archdeacon. He then goes on to deny that a presbyter can ordain, in the words cited above (a). Somewhat similarly, Severus, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch in the 8th cent. (we have his letter only in a Syriac translation), says that the bishop of Alexandria used in former days to be appointed (the Greek verb was doublet καταφέρεσθαι) by presbyters, but 'afterwards the solemn (or mystical?) institution of their bishops has come to be performed by bishops.' The word rendered 'institution,' μεταφέρεσθαι, may mean either 'election' or 'ordination' (cf. Euth. Epitome 7). This would have forbidden chorepiscopi to ordain city-presbyters without leave. If so, there is still a doubt as to the meaning of διάκονος μηδὲ μηδέν. Routh renders 'much less a deacon'; Gore follows Lightfoot here and translates 'not even' — he takes the middle clause as a parenthesis, and understands the canon to say that chorepiscopi may not ordain presbyters and deacons in another parish, not even when they ordain town-presbyters (in their own parish) without the bishop's permission. On the whole, the readings of this canon are so uncertain that no argument can safely be built upon it. It is a decided objection to Lightfoot's general interpretation that, if it were the true one, this canon would stand absolutely alone in 4th. century literature; the Alexandrian case (see below) is quite different. Another objection is that it would place the city-presbyters on a higher level as to powers of ordination (cf. 'not even') than the chorepiscopi, who at any rate were normally bishops. For detailed discussions on this canon see Lightfoot, 'Disputationes'; Gore, 'Church and Ministry,' note D., p. 333.

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The third writer is Eutychius, an Arab patriarch of Alexandria in the 10th cent., who says that the twelve presbyters of Alexandria, when the patriarchate was vacant, chose one of their number, and the remaining eleven laid their hands on him, and blessed him, and created him patriarch, and that this lasted till the time of Bishop Athanasius (A.D. 313—336). Those who are familiar with the late ecclesiastical histories of the Eastern Churches, which are full of fables and of impossible statements, will hesitate to accept Eutychius' testimony as an independent confirmation of Jerome. He probably depends on Jerome at third or fourth hand, and it is not surprising that he flatly contradicts him.

We are, then, met with a perplexing series of contradictory statements. But they can hardly be all dismissed as entirely devoid of truth. Probably there was at Alexandria in very early times some peculiarity in the appointment or in the
ordination of bishops, whether it took the form of the presbyters electing him or of their ordaining him. A great difficulty in the way of the latter supposition is the fact that Jerome makes the church of Alexandria place bishops outside of the See of Origen. Yet Origen, who suffered much from the autocratic authority of the bishops of Egypt, and especially of the bishop of Alexandria, and who was prompt to castigate bishops for going beyond their powers, gives it as his dogma in his novella (Duchesne, p. 127 f.) that he himself never had a great clergy which he was taking place by which the Alexandrian presbyters were being deprived of their rights (on this point see, further, Gore, Church and Ministry, p. 127 f.). On the whole, the remark of C. H. Turner (JThSt ii. 618) seems just, that 'it becomes harder than ever to discover the history and character of this exceptional system in detail.'

(f) Some other exceptions which have been alleged are due to a misapprehension. Thus Paphnoutius, a presbyter and hermit in the Scetic desert in Egypt in the 4th cent., is said by his younger contemporary Chrysostom, the historian of Oriental hermits (Conferences, iv. 1), to have 'promoted' a certain Daniel to the diaconate and presbyterate. The meaning here must certainly be 'to promote,' as is often the case even with the worst constitutiorum, 'ordinaire,' and the like. We read, e.g., of kings 'ordinating' their wives to sacred function (see Constat (27)). To suppose that at the end of the 4th cent., a presbyter in Egypt laid on hands that one who made use of them elsewhere in the 5th cent., mentioned it without surprise, would indeed be an anachronism. Another instance is the statement by Cyril that Novatian ordained a presbyter in Egypt in the 3rd cent. (see Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, iii; appointed (constitutus) Policellus deacon (Ep. iii, xxviii.) at this period. Such a practice here must be one of being tested; few lines later on Cyril says that Novatian, who had 'made' (constituit) a deacon, made 'Novatianus' a bishop. But Cornelius tells us (Nos. IV. 43), that Novatian was the bishop of three presbyteri, from a remote part of Italy to Rome, and when they were drunk to ordain him through a counterfeit and vain imposition of hands. Thus 'making' a deacon or bishop here means 'getting him ordained.' (Ruske also calls Novatian 'Novatianus.' Dcin. 43, 109, iv; History of Aulian, p. 56.) Outside our period, but it may be here briefly referred to. Bede says (Ep. i. 2) that the kings of Iona, Loct, or East, made, 'ordinating' (ordinantes) Aulian bishop, sent him to their friend King Oswald to preach the gospel. Here 'ordinating' can only mean 'procuring the ordination of.' We know that the Irish and Columban monks had a bishop with them for episcopal acts, though they had no system of episcopal episcopacy. But in any case it is impossible to believe that Bede, the ardent upholder of the customs of Rome, would have accepted (as in fact he did accept) a bishop who had been ordained by presbyters only.

(g) Bishops ordained by not fewer than three bishops.—The earliest example of this rule, as a definite enactment, is at the Council of Arles in Gaul (A.D. 314), which says that ordinarily seven, but at any rate not fewer than three, bishops are to take part in the ordination of a bishop (can. 29). The Council of Nicæa says that the bishop is to be appointed (sacerdotus) by all the bishops of the eparchy (province); at any rate at least three shall meet and ordain, the other bishops giving their assent in writing. The Apatost. Const. (iii. 28) says that a bishop is to be ordained (episcopovcrêt) by three bishops, or at least by two, and is not to be appointed (sacerdotas) by one; see Apatost. Conciones, § 16. But this rule must have been in force long before the 4th cent. Cornelius was ordained by 16 bishops (Cyprian, Ep. iv. [ii.], § 24, 'ad Antonianum'). Novatian was ordained, as we have seen (e), by three; had the rule been in force, he could have been content with getting a single bishop to ordain him. Must stress is laid by Athanasius on the number of bishops who took part in his own election (see acta. 82). At the third chapter of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) it was proposed that twelve bishops should be the minimum; but this proposal was not carried (Hefele, ii. 408).

An exception to the rule is found at Rome, where, at least from the 6th cent. onwards, the pope acted alone in consecrating bishops (Duchesne, p. 361). And in the Celtic Church it was common for a bishop to be consecrated by a single bishop.

The object of the rule seems to have been to secure the assent of the comprovincial bishops to the election. But in the ordination itself there is a variety of usage as to what part the bishops took (see art. Ordination).

3. Apointments of minor orders.—In the 4th cent., when minor orders were developed, there was a certain discrepancy of usage as to whether certain classes of persons were 'ordained' at all, i.e. set apart by some solemn ceremony; and also a distinction was frequently made between ordination and ordination without, laying on of hands. Basil distinguishes the ministers who were ordained without it from those 'in orders' (τως ἐνστασις, Ἐπ. ευαγ. τερ. εκκλ. 31). So the Apatost. Conciones (82 [81]) speak of the χειροτονία βασίλειος, meaning 'ordination to the higher ministry.'

In the Text of our Lord (I. i. 41 f.), Canons of Hippolytus (vii. [ed. Achelis, § 48 f.], Epip. Ch. Ord. 35 f.), Ethiop. Ch. Ord. 27, subdeacons and readers are ordained without imposition of hands; and so the reader in the Const. through Hippolytus (14); and the subdeacon in the Gallican Statutes (§ 5), which take the same thing for granted in the case of the ordination of an acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper (§§ 6-9). On the other hand, the Apatost. Const. (viii. 21 f.) press the laying on of hands, and appoint it (an ordination of honor) for reader, exorcist, and reader. The Const. through Hippolytus appoint it for a subdeacon (11), but not for a reader.

In many of these manuals persons holding charismatic offices are not ordained at all, and confusion between confessor, virgin, ascetic, and exorcist. But there are exceptions, in which some of these classes receive an ordination of some sort, though without imposition of hands. In the Texts (Δημοτα), 'who preside' are ordained (i. 41); in the Canons of Hippolytus (viii. [ed. Achelis, § 53 f.]) one who wishes to be ordained because he has the gift of healing is not to be ordained until it is made clear that the gift is of God (other manuals say that one who has a charisma is not to be ordained, i.e. merely for that reason); in the Gallican Statutes (§ 7) an exorcist is ordained, and a book is given him in which the exorcisms are written. Virgins (ascetics) receive a blessing on their profession, not from presbyters, but only from the bishop, in Gallican Statutes (§ 11) and the 3rd canon of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397.

9. The institution of a ministry by our Lord.—

We now enter upon the consideration of theories as to the origin and development of the ministry.

There are two main theories, and an attempt will be made to summarize them, without going into questions of detail, and without going beyond general principles.

(a) It is held that our Lord founded a ministry to be a means of bestowing grace on the Church and for its government. For this purpose He founded an apostolate, and gave it to us a commission apart from the Church at large. It is clear from Acts, and to a certain extent from the Epistles, that the apostles exercised an authority over the Church, and it is difficult to conceive that that authority was due to delegation from the people themselves. It could have been content with getting a single bishop to ordain him. Much stress is laid by Athanasius on the number of bishops who took part in his own election (see acta. 82). At the third chapter of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) it was proposed that twelve bishops should be the minimum; but this proposal was not carried (Hefele, ii. 408).

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For subdeacon see § 6 (5). The text is used in Kus. HS III. 21 and at the Council of Ephesus (can. 1, A.D. 431) in the sense of the "position" or "order" of bishops.
passage about giving the keys of the kingdom of heaven carries a commission of binding and loosening, i.e. dispensing with guilt, a commission then given, but a promise that it will be given; and the promise was fulfilled after the Resurrection. The commission is, however, not here promised to the Twelve individually but to them as a body. At 1874 the Church (κολλεσαῖα) is spoken of as exercising discipline, and our Lord then gives (apparently to the Twelve, but this is disputed) that promise of binding and loosening which had already been given to Peter. The commission given to the apostles, the authority does inhere in the Church as a body, but the Church has (not by her own but by Christ's authority) executive officers, and it is through them that her judicial power is put into effect (Gore, Church and Ministry, p. 207). A distinct stewardship, however, apart from the powers promised to the whole flock, is foretold in the parable of Lk 19:12-26. This parable, as F. Godet remarks (Comm. 4, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1887, ii. 108), assumes that the apostolate will be perpetuated till Christ returns, a ministry of the word established by Christ. The same writer adds that the theory which makes the pastorate emanate from the Church as its representative is not Biblical; this office is rather an emanation from the apostolate, and therefore mediately an institution of Jesus himself, directly an institution of the Church. Whatever the power, the stewardship is appointed by the Lord (note the future: 'shall set over his household'), in order that the household may be fed, and that it will last until the Lord comes.

The ministerial commission was given after the Resurrection, but it is disputed whether it was given to the apostles or to the Church at large. The commission in Mt 20:27-28 receives the gift of the Holy Ghost (i.e. ἐξεστὶ ὑμών without the article) and the power of binding and loosening, was given on the evening of Easter Day, when only ten of the apostles were present, Thomas being absent (v. 28). It was distinctly a mission: 'As the Father hath commissioned (ἀνεστάλεξε) me, I also send (ἐστῇ) you.' But it is uncertain whether others were present on this occasion besides the Ten. 'The disciples' are mentioned (v. 4), but this often means the apostles. In the description in Lk 24:47, which seems to refer to the same appearance of our Lord, we read of 'the Eleven and them that were with them.' The whole is a general way of speaking, for Thomas was not present; in this passage there is no word of any commission. Putting the passages together, we may conclude that it is probable that others besides the Ten were present, but the indications point to the commission having been given only to the apostles. That Thomas had the commission given to him at another time can only be conjectured. In the First Gospel the commission is given when the 'eleven disciples' are assembled on the mountain in Galilee: 'All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, etc.' It has been suggested by H. Alford that others besides the Eleven were then present, because 'some doubted.' But this against the grammar. The 'some' must have been certain of the Eleven, for it is at all improbable that the apostles, or some of them, though they believed on Easter Day, yet allowed doubts to assail them afterwards. This hesitating faith was characteristic; it was finally confirmed only by the Pentecostal gift. We do not know what accounts St. Mark gave of the ministerial commission; but the author of the Appendix certainly conceived the commission as having been given to the Eleven ('Mark 16:17').

The more probable conclusion seems to be that the special ministerial commission was given to the apostles to the last generation, although the Church at large was given a supernatural authority to be exercised by divinely appointed ministers. For a fuller exposition of this view see, e.g., op. cit., ch. iv. and (in the later editions) note M.

(b) A very different view is taken by Hatch (Organization of the Early Christian Church) and Hort (The Christian Ecclesia). Hort holds that the commission was given to the Church as a whole, and that the Church as a whole appointed the apostles, whose authority was due to the spontaneous homage of the Christians in Judaea. He thinks that the apostles were not commissioned by our Lord to govern the Church, but only to be witnesses of His resurrection; that they were not, strictly speaking, officers of the Church as the Seven were (p. 230). He doubts if they had any authority outside Judaea. An indefinite authority grew up round them because they were personal witnesses. 'The Ecclesia itself, i.e. apparently the sum of all its male adult members, is the primary body, and, it would seem, even the primary authority' (p. 229). With regard to the commission in Jn 20, Hort thinks that others besides the apostles were probably present, and that, though put in the plural, the word 'apostles' was principally spoken to the apostles, yet it was spoken to them as representing the whole community (p. 324). [There is no scriptural authority for Hort's addition of 'adult male' to the narrative.]

On these various views it may be remarked that it is common ground that the apostles were the commission as representing the Church. The principal point in dispute is whether they received a commission from our Lord direct, distinct from the Church, i.e. whether they derived their authority from Him immediately or from the people to whom they were to minister.

10. The origin of the diocesan episcopate.—We may in conclusion state very briefly the main theories which have been advanced to account for the universal existence of the diocesan episcopate from the 2nd cent. onwards. (a) The first view is that the diocesan episcopate is the successor to the apostolate, but localized. The old local bishop 'Ponten' is only one of the presbyters and deacons of the later period; and the supervisory ministry of the apostles, which was formerly itinerant, by the bishops who were now settled in one place. In this view the complete commission, which was held at first by the apostles, was given to certain viri apostolici and then to bishops (in the later sense) only, and presbyters and deacons never from the first possessed the commission to hand on the ministry to others. This was the more usual patristic view. For an able statement of it reference may be made to Gore, The Church and the Ministry.

(b) The second view is that the diocesan episcopate was evolved, by apostolic direction, from the presbyterate; or, to speak more accurately, from the body of presbyter-bishops. This evolution was effected by one of the members of this body being given certain sole powers, notably that of ordaining. In this view the old presbyter-bishops had the complete ministerial commission, even as the apostles had it, but the complete commission was restricted at an early date to one of their number. This is the view of Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and some other Fathers. It may be studied in J. B. Lightfoot's 'Dissertation,' which uphold it. It is clear that either of these views is compatible with either of those described in § 9.
the one hand, the second view is compatible with the highest doctrine of apostolic succession, such as Jerome himself held. And, on the other hand, the first view is compatible with the belief that the apostles derived all their authority from the people.

Whatever view be taken of the matters touched on by this passage, it is important to notice a point on which all are agreed. The Christian ministry is not vicarious, but representative. The members of it do not form a class having authority independent of God, but the ordinary people, for every Christian holds personal communion with the divine Head of the Church (Lightfoot, pp. 151, 203; Gore, p. 76). All have direct access to God, and the minister does not perform the people's religious acts, but he addresses the people to God by acting as their mouthpiece, but the worship which he offers is the people's and not merely his own. The sacrifices of prayer and praise is offered by all, though the minister may be the only one who gives audible utterance to it. He represents God to the people, as the human instrument by whom the word is preached and the sacrifice administered. He is not a barrier between God and the people.


A. J. MACLEAN.

MINOTAUR.—I. The myths.—Minotaur (ὁ Μινώταυρος, ὁ Πατός ἢ Νίνος καλεόμενος) is a figure in Greek myth who is the offspring of Pasiphae's union with a bull, and is represented as a man with a bull's head and tail. As Apollodorus tells the story, his husband, Minos, had become king of Crete through the goodwill of Poseidon; after telling the people that the god had appointed him and would not be present until he was asked, he prayed Poseidon to send a bull from the sea that he might sacrifice it. But he broke his vow, for, when the splendid creature came forth from the deep, he added it to his herd and offered a substitute on Poseidon's altar. To punish him the god inspired Pasiphae with an unnatural passion, gratified through the artifice of Daidalos, who wove for him a cow's skin with horns. She bore a child, Asterios, the son of Pasiphae, who had a bull's head, but was otherwise like a man. Warned by a oracle, Minos imprisoned the monster in the labyrinth built by Daidalos. Men might not kill the bull, for the sea was made savage by Poseidon, and it was one of the labours of Herakles to capture it and carry it to the Peloponnesus; hence it wandered to Marathon in Attica, and ravaged the country. Androgeus, son of Minos, having come to Athens and beaten all opponents at the games, King Agensus challenged him to go forth against the bull, which killed him. Minos, overjoyed at his son's death, took the bull and exacted as a condition of peace that every year (every ninth year, according to Plutarch, Thes. 14) the Athenians should send seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur. On the third occasion Theseus, who had overcome many robbers and, last of all, had captured the Marathonian bull, was chosen or offered himself as one of the victims. When he landed in Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fell in love with him, and, on his promise to return to Athens as his wife, contrived with Daidalos that he should escape from the labyrinth, giving him a clew of thread which he was to make fast at the entrance. Holding the thread, Theseus entered the labyrinth and slew the Minotaur with his fists. Then he made his way out and escaped by night with Ariadne and his companions.

Apollodorus omits the incident of Minos' ring and Poseidon's recognition of Theseus as his son. The story is further rounded off by Pherecydes; Theseus sacrifices the Minotaur to Poseidon, and the injured god at last gets his due.

In this form the story owes much to Attic dramatists, who depicted Minos as a cruel tyrant, while the general tradition saw in him a wise lawgiver and founder of Hellenic civilization. The Attic versions make it an incident in which Daidalos was almost as much the hero as Theseus. It credits Athens through him with the miracles of Minoan craftsmanship. It emphasizes Minos' v3and on Poseidon and Theseus' and his connection with the palace, the Minotaur,奔跑 the labyrinth, both figured on coins of Knossos, and the fall of the Minoan Empire in a Sicilian expedition (cf. Herod. vii. 170). The break between prehistoric and Hellenic Crete was in many respects complete, but the coins make it probable that the legend of a bull-monster clung to the pre-historic palace at Knossos, and was adopted by the Dorian settlers. A. J. Evans, the excavator of the site, has shown how the complex of ruined walls, adorned with frescoes of bull-fights, in which boys and girls took part, and processions of tribute-bringers, must have been the setting of the story. The name of the labyrinth is explained with the help of ναός, 'a sacred place, as opposed to the temple of Poseidon, visionary character which stood in shrines within the palace and was often engraved on its walls and pillars. This may have been the ancient name of the palace, placed under the protection of a deity with whom both axe and bull were closely associated (hence the frequent juxtaposition of double-axe and horns; see art. ΑΓΕΩΝ ΡΕΧΟΝ, vol. i. p. 143, fig. 6). The remarkable preservation of the ruins proved that they were respected by the Greeks and Roman inhabitants, perhaps as the remains of the labyrinth, which the ancients located at Knossos. Diodorus mentions the foundations of Rhene's house and a cypress-grove

1 Paul i. xvii. 3, describing a painting of the 5th cent. a.C. by Mykon; cf. Buxford, xvii.
2 Frag. 100 (FRG L. 97)-school. to Od. xi. 310 (Theseus is told how to surprise the Minotaur as he sleeps in the palace, evidently the central point of a conventional maze; cf. § 3 below).
3 This conflict of views is discussed in the Platonistic dialogue Minos, 811D and 220D, and in Plat. Thea. 15. Both writers remark that Minos made a mistake when he quarrelled with the city of Athens, whose tragic poets could make or interpret a reputation.
4 HES. xvii. 1901, 100 ff., ESA viii. 1901-03, 103.
5 Plut. Quast. Græc. 384A. A cognate form was the name of Labraunda, the Carian town where an axe-wielding Zeus was worshipped.
which has been hollowed since ancient times as existing there in his day; the tabus attached to such a precinct go far to account for the survival of the period, although it was a classical city. He denies that any trace of the labyrinth remained, but seems to be combating an accepted belief; Philostratus, writing early in the 3rd cent. after Chr., mentions the labyrinth as the chief gate of Minos, and the cupidian words of the tradition to the subterranean passages of a quarry above Gortys, described by P. Belon and other travellers.

2. The Minotaur in ancient art.—In the Crete art of the 16th cent. we meet with a series of hybrid monsters, combining a human body with various animal-heads, which seem to represent demons (cf. EGEAN RELIGION, vol. i. p. 140); the types may have been influenced by the animal-headed deities of Egypt or have been generated locally by ritual dances in which animal-masks were worn. Among them is a Minotaur-like figure, the most significant instance being a clay seal-­impression from Knossos which shows a seated monster with calf’s head and forelegs and a bearded man standing before it.1 Bull-headed men appear in the archaic art of Greece and Etruria, and until the 4th cent. of our era there was no trace of the standards of the Roman army.2 The earliest representation of Theseus and the Minotaur is a small gold plaque from Corinth (Berlin Museum,3 a fragment of a much larger one that was figured in Labyrinthos, by Dr. Eeinaoh, Bull-headed building plan). The Minotaur appears with black-figure vases, and, according to Pausanias, the Minotaur was twice figured among the mythological groups on the Amynian throne; (a) bound and led captive by Theseus (cf. the sacrifice to Poseidon mentioned by Pherekydes), (b) being slain by him.3 At first isolated, the killing of the Minotaur is associated on later black-figure and red-figure vases with other deeds of Theseus, a cycle which took shape at the beginning of the 5th cent., when the Attic hero was exalted into a second Herakles. The Minotaur is drawn as a man with a bull’s head and tail; his body is often spotted or brindled, and once sprinkled with stars (in allusion to his name Asterios), once with eyes, like that of Argos.4 He is naked and unarmed, but sometimes clutches one or more stones. Theseus usually attacks him with a sword, but an interesting group of vase-paintings shows him dragging the dead monster out from a building with both columns; he has a man, who suspect the influence of stage-representations. At some places too, even Minos are sometimes present as spectators. Later designs treat the combat as a wrestling-match, the finest example being a bronze relief from Pergamon now in the Berlin Museum.5 In sculpture we have a metope of the Theseion at Athens, fragments of a group found on the Acropolis (where Pausanias saw and described it), and fragments of two other groups in Rome, all representing the combat.6 Campanian wall-paintings show Theseus standing over the dead Minotaur, while the rescued boys and girls press round, and some mutilated marble groups seem to have represented the same subject.

Evans traces the origin of the Cretan type to certain Egyptian cylinders found in the Delta, which influenced Cretan sealstones from about the Vth dynasty onwards. These in their turn borrowed types from early Babylonian cylinders.7

3. The labyrinth in art.—On coins of Knossos the labyrinth is represented by a pattern of increasing complexity, advancing from a simple fret-pattern, through more or less elaborate swastika, to a developed maze.8 On several vases of the 5th cent. the scene of Theseus’s combat with the Minotaur is indicated by a panel of maccanders and similar patterns, evidently a conventional representation of the supposed ground-plan.9 The labyrinth, in fact, became assimilated to the mazes which have been familiar in most parts of Europe from antiquity to the present day,—a large subject which cannot be fully discussed here.10 In Italy, where the maze had been known as the Game of Troy (Trusa inscribed upon a maze on an early Etruscan vase), the name ‘labyrinth’ took its place, and the Minotaur was figured in the centre of several Roman mazes. Similar pavements were constructed in Christian churches; they are especially common in the cathedrals of N. France and E. Germany, as Domus Dedali or Chemin de Jerusalem, and to tread their windings was a recognized form of penance. It seems that the original use of the maze, wherever found, was to serve as the track of a ritual dance. Plutarch tells a story which was evidently intended to establish a connexion between Greek dances of this type and the Minotaur legend; Theseus had landed at Delos on his voyage home, and with his companions danced a dance which is still kept up by the Delians in imitation of the windings of the labyrinth.11

4. Explanations of the myth.—(a) Rationalistic.

According to Philochorus,12 the Cretans said that the Minotaur was a general named Taurus whom Theseus defeated at an athletic meeting; the tribute-children were kept prisoners in the labyrinth and given as prizes to the victors; or else he was a captain whom the Athenians beat in a sea-fight. A modern writer, E. Fabricius,13 who assumed that the quarry near Gortys was the labyrinth, explained its narrow entrances as a device for the guarding of prisoners by guards, and supposed that this gave rise to the story of the tribute-children.

(b) The Minotaur as an old bull-god. W. H. Roscher14 equated Minotaur = Cretan bull = Minos. E. Béthe15 has argued that Minos, son of the bull Zeus and husband of Pasiphae, who bears a bull, was originally the bull-god himself. The story of Theseus and the Minotaur is a doublet of the stories of Herakles vanquishing the Cretan bull and Theseus capturing the bull of Marathon; in each case the story is allegorical and represents

1. Baumsteiger, fig. 1575; Reinsch, S. 110.


5. For the literature see J. G. Frazer, G.E.S., pt. iii., The Dying God, London, 1911, p. 176 ff.; and Cook, l. 453 ff. Evans found maze-patterns painted on wall-plaster in the coming New Minoan Periods in the labyrinth-patterns of Crete, through the simple key-patterns of the Egyptian sign for ‘the palace in its court’ which was taken over into the Minoan system of hieroglyphs. See Fr. There. 23, 1914, p. 49, and Wehrstein, loc. cit., 49, mentions the ‘labyrinth’ in a list of Cretan dances.

6. Quoted by Plut. Thea, 16.


the overthrow of Cretan rule. Herakles, who goes to Crete to capture the bull, stands as the Dorian colonist; Theseus, who overcomes the same bull in Attica, delivers the country from a Cretan conqueror. 1 On somewhat different lines J. H. Cook has argued in a paper read before the Hellenic Society in 1914 that the slaying of the Minotaur, son of the sea-bull, expresses the downfall of Cretan sea-power; but the Minotaur was the primitive "point de repcre" round which ultimately crystallized the complex figure of Poseidon. 3

c. The solar interpretation. — Pasiphae's name connects her with the moon; 2 her bull is often held to be the sun. 2 Two recent sacrifices have been seen in the Minotaur a human actor impersonating the sun-god. 3 J. G. Frazer maintains 4 that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god, 5 and suggests that Ariadne's dance, the track of which was the labyrinth, may have been an initiation of the sun's course in the sky. 6 A. H. Cook, after showing that in Cretan religion the sun was conceived as a bull and that the labyrinth was "an orchestra of solar pattern presumably made for a ministic dance," goes on to suggest that the dance which started the sun movement in the labyrinth as a bull—the Minotaur, in fact, was the Knossian Crown Prince wearing a bull-mask, a piece of ritual borrowing perhaps from Egypt. 7

(2) The conception of human sacrifice.—The Minotaur, like the horses of Diomedes, is a man-eater; the myth implies that it was necessary for Minos to gratify this appetite. W. Helbig 1 saw in the story another version of Kronos devouring his children. Kronos was banished by Zeus to the under world, the Minotaur by Minos to the labyrinth. There was a tradition that in old days in Crete the King sacrificed his son to the Minotaur. 2 The most famous sacrifice to Kronos, and the 'feast of raw flesh' 3 which Euripides mentions in the famous chorus from his tragedy The Cretans, as part of the initiation to the service of Idain Zeus, was open to a similar amplification; in a recently discovered fragment of this play Pasiphae taints her husband in terms which leave no doubt as to the charge. 4 Euripides probably had in mind the Cretan mysteries in which the votaries tore with their teeth and tore with their hands the living body of the bull sacrificed in the way of the feast of the Olympian Zeus by the Titans. 5 But these mysteries stand in no direct relation, so far as can be seen, to the substratum of Minoan religion; they only form an catalytic element in the Euripidean story, but not the bull-form of the man-eating demon. Frazer has conjectured that in Crete, as in other parts of the Mediterranean, children were sacrificed to a Molech-like image with the head of a bull. 6

Phoenicians and Carthaginians sacrificed children to a bronze image of Kronos (= El 2), so confirmed that victims laid on its outstretched hands fell into a furnace beneath. 7 Rabbinical writers describe Molech's image in similar terms, and add that it had the head of a calf. 8 Now Talos, the brazen coast-guard of Crete, who killed strangers by hugging them to his red-hot breast, was, by some called Taoos (Apollod. i. 29), and a gloss of Hesychius makes him a by-form of the sun-god. A tradition 9

against miracles, and, though he knew of miraculous acts, he was inclined to regard them. When a magician gained an almsbowl by a display of miracles, he caused it to be broken and forbade these. Some sayings of his point to his disabilities of miracles:

1 There is no proof that a man can work a miracle by outward acts—perhaps a reference to the supposed gift of walking on air. When an orchet the implements are such that, however, he is represented as rebuking him: 'This will not conducive either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted, but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.' He also said: 'I command my disciples not to work miracles.'

2 Muhammad also knew of miracles, but he disliked them and would not use them himself. The people demanded signs, but he denied them, usually on the ground that they are powerless to convince. In earlier ages they had been regarded as lies or sorcery, not as divine acts. God's revelation to the Prophet was the true miracle, and the Qur'an contained it.

3 Nor did any one of the great ethnical teachers lay claim to divinity. Yet, in spite of this and of their own utterances about miracles, miracles are freely ascribed to them, sometimes even in the actual works which contain such disclaimers. How soon this process began is difficult to say, yet probably not very long time was necessary for the growth of miraculous legends. Nevertheless, however, as in similar instances in Christian hagiography, it is possible to trace the growth of a miraculous story in successive versions of the same tradition and supernatural events associated with the lives of these men are either connected with their conception and birth or acts alleged to have been performed by themselves. The miracles of the former class are invariably lacking in lives contemporary, or nearly so, where these exist. There is sometimes a semi-miraculous origin (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), but not a virgin birth, for both parents are represented as a common act of conception. The moment of birth is hailed by a great variety of portents on earth, in the sky, or in the lower regions. Unearthly lights are seen, mysterious music is heard. Prophecies of future greatness are made. The child himself speaks, laughs, stands, walks, or announces his intention of saving the world. In again, the child is miraculously saved from persecution and danger of death.

There are also wonderful signs associated with some ethnical teachers, especially at Buddha's death. For wonders associated with the birth of a bodhisattva or a Buddha (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), see SBE xxv. 103 ff., cf. 1882.

The Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1890, pp. 347, 349; and for those connected with future beings in Zoroastrian belief, SBE xxvi. 111 ff., 137.

In the case of miracles of the second group beneficent actions are extremely rare, i.e. miracles performed to benefit others. As a rule, the miracles merely exalt their worker, and sometimes they are of a kind to force belief in him. Lao-tse is said to have raised the dead, and Buddha to have healed wounds; but these are occasional, and are in a minority compared with the great number of thaumaturgical acts. These largely consist of power over nature and complete control over its processes, and are often of a most

2 Dhammapada, xlviii, 324 (SBE x. 1928, p. 631); Chaharpanj (SBE xx. 1855) 61; E. B. Buzzard, Intro. to the History of the Buddhistic tradition, Paris, 1844, p. 170.
3 See Qur'an, v. 110, vi. 24, x. 21 ff., xix. 69, xxvii. 101. (SBE vi. 1900) 113, 116, 235, xx. 1900, 100, 131, 131.
6 For wonders associated with the birth of a bodhisattva or a Buddha (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), see SBE xxv. 103 ff., 1882.

3 Cf. H. de Mouton, Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, p. 87. 8

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grotesque and obviously improbable kind. Buddha made floods recede, or passed miraculously from one side to the other of a distant mountain. Levitation, flying through the air, and ascent to heavens are frequent miracles, or, as in the case of Buddha, treading on water, entering earth as if it were water, and passing through a wall. It is interesting to observe that inscriptions of this kind date at a distance of 2,700 years. The levitation, or changing of form, and invisibility occurs. Frequently the miracle-worker saves himself from accident or death.

Some of these miracles are simply repetitions of the magical arts attributed to medicine-men. They are traditional stock incidents easily fitted on to the life of any person. Others are sheer inventions. Others may be exaggerations of actual events, perhaps in some cases of real supernormal powers possessed by this or that teacher, or of great shrewdness or spiritual insight. But they are generally of a most unlikely character, and have seldom a beneficent purpose, nor is there any historic evidence for them, even if they were of such a kind as would require it.

In most of these religions miracles are commonly attributed to saints, sages and ascetics. They bear a similar character in widely distant regions and under different creeds, and often run on parallel lines. Here again these miracles bear a characteristic impress, or rather which are described too Christian saints. Taoist, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Hindu, and Muhammadan all believe in the possibility of the miraculous in the case of gifted persons. Up to a certain point those who through asceticism and sainthood ‘rise to the Tao’ become like gods and are superior to the laws of nature. In Buddhism the cause is profound meditation. By this the arhat gains transcendent faculties—the five abhiṣīṇās (‘magical powers’) and iddhī, sthiti, but also the power of working miracles. Holy men in Islam possess similar powers as a result of their invocations. Others may be self-inflicted. They are also helped to them by the jinn and by knowledge of the divine name. The range of these wonders in the different religions is very wide. It includes a great variety of powers over nature—the production or cessation of storms or sunshine, causing the sun to stand still, drinking up rivers, superiority to fire or water (e.g., not being wet in heavy showers, or walking or passing through water); superior knowledge; the making invisible to the common Buddhist attribute, the power of invisibility, change of form or of sex, invulnerable-ability, levitation and swift passage through space, penetrating walls, mountains, earth, lengthening of beans of wood, opening doors without keys, swift transference from one place to another. Again, light is made to stream from the fingers or hands, or miraculous supplies of food are provided. Inanimate objects are made to act as if alive. Supernormal knowledge of distant events or of men’s thoughts is asserted. The power of exorcizing and dispelling demons commonly occurs. Less rarely the cure of disease and the removal of barrenness and even the raising of the dead are found. One method of curing disease by

Muhammadan wonder-workers is to pass the hand over the part affected—perhaps a species of mesmerism. As for the miracles as a whole, there is no evidence that they occurred in Buddha’s lifetime, as Burton says of the incredible miracles of Islam, collateral or contemporary evidence is never sought for. The question of supernormal powers will be discussed in another chapter of this work.

Occasionally, especially in Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, miracles are wrought by relics or at the graves of saints. As far as Buddhism is concerned, these are of a very dazzling kind. In Islam they are mainly, though not wholly, works of healing or the removal of barrenness. In the case of the latter the spirit of the dead saint begets the child—a form of primitive belief (see Fair, § 9, vol. v. p. 657).

Such miracles are occasionally said to cause belief. Those to be wrought in future ages on behalf of Zoroastrizianism will make all mankind believe in the good religion (e.g., causing the sun to stand still). Those wrought by Buddhists also cause conversion, especially incredible marvels in the world of trade.

4. Classical miracles.—This group, as it includes so largely miracles of healing, may be considered by itself. These were mainly the result of divine rather than human agency and they cluster around the life of sacred persons—e.g., the temple-sleep. The patient, after ritual and sacrifice, slept in the temple; in the course of his sleep he dreamed that the god touched and healed, or opened his mouth like the good of Leviticus under hypno-suggestive influences, or indicated a remedy either directly or by symbolic means. The actual healing was speedy or more gradual, and in some instances—e.g., the case of Asklepios—there were actual Orations—it was prolonged over many years, yet the god was always supposed to intervene. The stelae recording miraculous cures found at Epidauros are an obvious and customary kind of an advertisement of the shrine.

There is no reason, however, to doubt that cures of a more or less miraculous aspect did take place—the result of faith-healing or of a strong mental suggestion, aided by all the adjuncts of the place (the ritual, the dream, the medicaments). It is not impossible that in sleep the subconscious self may cause dreams about diseases, of the early indications of which it has no more notion and space, and the cure. The dream-cures may have been based on phenomena of this kind. The hero-god mainly concerned was Asklepios, who was thought once to have been a human healer, and to have raised the dead, while wonderful events—e.g., brilliant light—were associated with his birth.

Healing miracles were also wrought by images of gods, heroes, or famous persons. Other miracles were wrought by such images—they moved, wept, spoke, and gave advice—and there are numerous parallels to this in all religions, even in Christianity. Mythology and popular belief also ascribed

great wonders to relics of gods or heroes. Some of these were multiplied exactly as medieval relics. They were miraculously found, and various places disputed their possession. Healing also took place at tombs of heroes. Less common are miracles by human wonder-workers. Tactitus speaks of Vespasian’s control of blindness and lameness, 1 and the fictitious life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus contains miracles at his birth and death, healings, and exorcizing of demons. He may have had this in mind, but some of the stories are modelled on the NT miracles. Others are told by none but Philostratus. 2 The emissaries of the impostor Alexander of Abonoteichos (q.v.), according to Lucian’s life of him, credited him with healing and with raising the dead.

5. On the whole the miracles of ethnic religions do not possess an air of truth. They are incidents ascribed to this or that person, some of whose dealings, on account of his greater insight or skill, may have seemed miraculous. Some, however, may be supernatural phenomena. As to the cases of healing, they are seldom ascribed of individual teachers, but rather in connexion with shrines and relics. Suggestion or hypnotism may explain such as are genuine. Whether any influx of life or healing power from another sphere was also present is a question of speculation (see §12).

6. Miracles in the OT.—Roughly speaking, the miracles of the OT fall into two groups, those connected with Moses and Joshua, and those connected with the other prophets. In describing these, there is a date far removed from the events described, and their evidential value is thus small. Some of the miraculous events are doublets of each other, and in those of Elijah and Elisha a kind of primitive tradition has been preserved. The narratives are in some cases composite, and a more or less non-miraculous substratum may be traced. Many of the miracles have a strong thaumaturgic aspect, and they suggest that, as in the case of etanic religious teachers and the Christian saints, it was not enough that the outstanding character, insight, and leadership of Moses or Elijah should be recognized, but that their personality should also be ascribed to them. While, in the case of Elijah and Elisha, it is not impossible that they had some gift of healing—which might then be the point d’appui of the legend attached to their history—it is remarkable that in the case of the greater prophets, save once with Isaiah (2 K 20 2), there is no thaumaturgic element. The idea of God which the miraculous stories reflect is not of the highest kind, but rather that of men at a lower spiritual level. The spirit animating some of the miracles resembles that which animates barbarous men. There is aggressiveness, ruthlessness in dealing with human life where men do not know or worship God, and intolerance. Few of the miracles have that beneficent aspect which we find in the majority of the NT miracles. Again, there is a certain materialism in the method of describing the miracles—e.g., in the idea of speaking face to face with God. Some of the miracles are magical, and are alleged to have been copied by means of spells. Others seem to reflect the traditional beliefs of the Semites—e.g., that of God’s manifestation in fire—or are traditional stories rather than true histories. Some, no doubt, have a symbolic value, as when a record of spiritual revelation is told in material terms (the burning bush, the revelation to Elijah—

1 Pauv. v. 12, 7; HN xxviii. 5; Herod, 1. 67 f.; Plutarch, of Genio Sot. 41, Theaet. 36; F. Dechambre, Mythologie de la Grece, in Notice historique, Hist. des religions de la grece antique, 1857-59, ii. 22.


the latter a reminder that miracles as outward phenomena parallel to thunder, fire, etc., are a lower kind of testimony to God. Some of the miracles—e.g., the ten plagues—are regarded as direct divine interpositions. It is possible, doubtless, to suppose that God made use of existing phenomena to effect his purposes. It is equally possible that phenomena coincidental with a crisis in the nation’s history have been regarded as direct Providential interpositions. Especially would this be the case with plagues, but some of the plagues had preceded them. Such answers to prayer must not be ruled out, and all such answers have a miraculous aspect. They show the superiority of spirit to matter (see below, § 16). This is also true of the event on Carmel, when Jehovah’s superiority to Baal was clearly seen in answer to Elijah’s prayer. There was some divine intervention, even if that is explained thaumaturgically or associated with rather ruthless methods. Again, we need not doubt that God led His people ‘with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm,...and with signs, and with wonders’ (Dt 29 2). We need not doubt that in the movements of history He does ‘make a way to His indignation’ (Ps 76 2) against the unrighteous. But whether the leading and interpositions were in the manner depicted is open to question. Whether the deliverance might easily lead to the formation of legendary accounts of it. The real miracle in the OT is the growth of the idea of God, the strong belief in the direct guidance of men, the divine guidance in the affairs of the universe and of men. The real religion of the OT lies elsewhere than in the accounts of separate miracles. It is found in the growth of a spiritual religion, in such documents as that which forms the real core of creation, in the records of spiritual experience and aspiration, in the phenomenon of prophethood.

7. The miracles of Christ.—(a) When the documents composing the Gospels are examined, it is found that even in the earliest there is no non-miraculous substratum; all alike contain miracles. By every one Christ’s teaching is admitted to be marvellous, yet authoritative. This raises the presumption that the marvellous deeds are also authentic. The date of the documents is sufficiently near to the events recorded to admit of authenticity, and the evidence is even stronger. Moreover, in cases of signed scientific evidence is likely to be. The writers were men who knew themselves to be witnesses, and had regard for truth.

(b) Christ ascribes His miraculous power to God, as He does His teaching (Jn 14 24). There is a real divine work being done (Lk 11 13, Mk 5 41, Lk 8 50; cf. Jn 9 11 14 21 14 24). So also the witnesses of the miracles regard them (Mk 2 2; Mt 9 16, Lk 7 22; 19). Yet power is inherent in Christ, as the method of the miracles shows, or the definite ‘I will’ (Mk 14 11). Here also the people recognize this inherent power (Mk 7 5). All power is delegated from God, as Christ taught. Hence the power to work miracles is not necessarily confined to Christ (Mk 12 37), though He has that power in a supreme degree.

(c) Christ as man unless is a miracle without a priori likelihood, therefore there need be no a priori objection to His miracles, which generally tend to rectify an unnatural, disorderly state in the world. Unlike Budaus, Christ had not to grope His way to perfection in an instinctual contrast. The sinless Christ was in unison with the forces of the divine will. Hence power to cure disease flowed from Him who was untouched by disease. 1 So, also, as we have seen in what precedes. 2

He was certainly more than man. His powers would thus be greater than those of ordinary men, and might therefore be miraculous.

(e) Christ’s miracles are in harmony with His personality and teaching. There is an air of naturalness and ease about the miracles not found elsewhere. He never doubts His own power to work signs or faithful or demonic healing, or ascribes this power to His name. His method, unlike that of other healers or exorcists, causes amazement, showing that it was not similar to theirs. He casts out demons with a word, or d of course these are very faith-failure cases. The mercy and love inspiring His miracles, and not the miraculous power, are spurned (cf. Mk 3:5, Mt 6:23, Lk 11:19—20, Lk 10:12—15). Mere popularity was distasteful, and silence about a cure is often enjoined.

The exceptions were those where the power of Christ was unknown in Gadara and was leaving it. What the man was to tell of was the divine mercy.

True, Christ’s compassion often overcame His dislike of mere popularity, while this popularity might sometimes indicate a genuine faith and love. But, if Christ works miracles at all to evince faith, it is not the faith of a fickle crowd, but the faith of the individual. Such an individual or those who intervened for him would already have faith, and that faith would be augmented (Jn 4:48, Lk 17:18—19). Yet even here it is an existing confidence that is rewarded rather than a divine mission that is proved.

(F) Comparing Christ with ethnic teachers or Christian saints, we find that they never claimed to work miracles, and disliked them, while Christ made such a claim. If He refused to work a sign from heaven (Mt 3:4), it is really a proof of His power to work signs of a kind, but not of the kind so liberally allowed to ethnic teachers. Christ’s miracles are beneficent, never egotistical like those of Jewish or Grecian teachers; they are not found elsewhere. Their setting is different from those of the ethnic religions; they are harmonious with the character of the work; they have invariably a moral and spiritual quality not found elsewhere; and a confession of belief is made (Mt 4:48; cf. Mt 14:30). The miracles, however, were not wrought primarily for these purposes, but to quell fears or to confirm existing confidence. Even the lesson of the withered fig-tree is not that of the power of Christ, but of faith in God and of what faith can do (Mt 21:21). The true attitude is seen in Jn 21, when recognition follows the miracle. The act is consonant with a personality already known and loved. The cumulative effect of miracles was no doubt to quicken understanding of Christ, and we remember that the great miracle of the Resurrection was changed into a sign of Christ’s true nature. Still, on the whole, the miracles were not meant to force belief or to act as credentials. They were part of a divine mission, and had their value, but it was rather that of contributing to a better understanding of a personality, not as a proof of it, and that because they were signs (eukpia) of a divine compassion. As for the people, their amazement was at the authority, ease, and naturalness of Christ’s method, seen also in His teaching (Mk 1:21—27; cf. Mt 28:19). Signs are part of a revelation which confirms itself, for, when as thamaturge displays they are sought, refusal follows, or a symbolic answer, or some piece of spiritual teaching.

There is no real contradiction in Jn 19:36, for elsewhere the works are a witness to divine love (Jn 8:12; 10:27—30; 14:8—9), not as a mere proof of it, but because they are done out of love. Men who do not see such love are spiritually blind, and to that degree in sin (cf. Mt 11:27; Mk 10:21). In the miracle on the paralytic, which is said to witness to divine authority, Christ’s authority had been proved, and proved worthily. In the case of the raising of Lazarus, this is done that ‘they may believe’ (Jn 11:41). Many bystanders did believe; others did not. Yet Martha’s existing faith is the condition of this miracle (cf. v. 35, with v. 20).

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Here and elsewhere in this Gospel a theory of its author that miracles carry belief is at work (Ch. 3: 11). In this miracle belief of a specific kind—in Christ’s power over death—is to be taught to those who believed in Him already.

Christ’s reward of faith, the healing of the sick, is the reward of faith, Christ’s power working with the person’s faith. There is thus more than subjective faith-healing, for with Christ there is “power to heal,” obvious enough where the nature of the person healed is in question. Where there was no faith, but conscious opposition, miracle was naturally impossible (Mt 6: 6). Christ could have forced a miracle, but this was against His method, though even here He did heal “a few” who believed. A writer who recorded this was not one who was likely to invent or imagine miracles. Christ also Himself had faith in God, as His words show (Mt 9: 28-29; Lk 11: 28; cf. Mt 14: 34).

The miracle in Mk 5: 36 shows a crude way that power to heal was in Christ, and was made effective by the patient’s faith. In Mt 8: 6 the woman thought that by merely touching the garment hanging would follow (cf. Mk 5: 25, 36; Mt 14: 10, Lk 6: 9). Christ was sometimes aware of this, and, regarding her faith, healed her. Mary and Luke suggest that He was aware of the woman’s touch by power going out of Him. This would seem to reduce the miracle to magic.

(b) Possession. Not all but only certain kinds of sickness were regarded by the Jews scientifically or colloquially as possession. Only once does Mark explicitly connect epilepsy with possession (16: 18); Matthew and Luke do so on three occasions. In Mt 17: 18 a dumb spirit is mentioned; Luke (8: 39) makes it a case of possession, Matthew (17: 19) of epilepsy (ελευθεροδομία, ‘epilepsy’), though later the demon is said to come out. Epilepsy was a kind of intermittent possession (cf. Mt 4: 36), as well as lunacy (Mt 5: 20; cf. Jn 10: 20), or any apparent eccentricity. The recorded cases are eight in number, with a few general indications. Whatever be the explanation of possession, the fact of the cure is not in question. Christ’s healing of it was thorough, masterly, immediate, probably permanent, and sometimes a distance. His method was not that of mere exorcism, as has been insisted. Both the manner of the cure and its result show that it differed in degree, if not in kind, from that of the exorcist. Yet Christ taught that others or did use it, if they had faith (Mt 17: 19, Mk 11: 4). Serious cases are healed by a word, and the superlative nature of the cure is recognized even by hostile witnesses (Mt 26: 55; cf. Lk 18: 2). It had thus a miraculously holy quality; it was the “finger” or the “spirit” of God (Lk 11: 11, Mk 12: 28). Possession by a demon is a world-wide savage explanation of sickness, and, as a survival at higher levels, of man himself. Disease, where such symptoms seemed to suggest the demon’s movements or his speech in a voice different from that of the patient. But was the disease more than epilepsy, lunacy, hysteria, clausism, or such a psycho-pathological state as that of alternating personality, temporary control of the organism by a widely divergent fragment of the personality, self-suggested in some dream-like manner into hostility to the main mass of the personality? In such cases the person may believe himself possessed by the devil, or he may speak in another voice, simulate another personality, or develop automatic writing. As to cure.

1 Mt 11: 18, Jn 7: 40;即使是; cf. Mk 5: 28.

“No demon could by possibility produce more fearful results by entering into a man than I have often seen resulting from epilepsy."

Supernormal knowledge is often a characteristic of those believed to be possessed, knowledge of which the ordinary self could not match. It is ascribed to the demon; rightly it should be ascribed to the subconscious self or the fragmentary personality. In the NT the demons show knowledge of Christ’s power which He wishes to be kept secret, or they assume that He has power over them. The fragmentary or subconscious self, identifying itself with a demon, speaks in accordance with the belief that Messiah would destroy demonic power and asserts that Jesus is Messiah. Yet these men, in lucid intervals, may have heard that He was so regarded. Thus their knowledge would not be supernormal. Phonetics often deafen one particular person.

A man’s belief in his possession by a demon is paralleled by the belief that He is in a way. Both are pathological states, and where the belief in transformation disappears, levity is apt also to disappear. This is more or less true of the belief in demons and the supposition of possession (see Locutionary). 3 Demon-possession as a belief continued after, as it had existed before, Christ’s time. It is not explained, therefore, by saying that demons were a case to torment which they were not. Christ lived, so that His power might be seen. If Christ then accommodated Himself to an existing belief, yet He did not accept it in all its current forms, and some at least of what is asserted, may be the thoughts of His reporters. 4 Christ could hardly have cured the patients save by sympathetically accepting their point of view. So also for the sake of refuting an argument He accepts the point of view by His Parsons, without categorically saying that He actually casts out demons (Mt 12: 29), Lk 11: 20; cf. Mt 12: 24, Lk 10: 16). An accurate explanation would not have been understood, and might even have gone beyond present-day science. Or, with power to heal, was Christ’s knowledge here limited? Did He believe in possession? In any case there is no doubt about His healing this strange disease instantly and permanently, and differently from exorcists, or from modern physicians in the cases of apparent possession. Of course it is a large assumption to say that there are no existences which might not take possession of a human personality and act through it. 5 Psychical research tends to admit that there are such existences in the case of dissimulate human spirits, but has no evidence of diabolical or hostile possession. Thus, of course, does not exclude such possession—e.g., by some alien power at the centre of man’s being where consciousness and will reside. Yet an unexplained mental disease is not necessarily possession. In a sense, it is true, there was possession if disease was caused by sin or vice, disease being objectively regarded as evil, but there is no clear proof that the cases cured were directly the result of sin.

For alleged demon-possession in modern China and elsewhere see J. L. Nevius, Demon Possession and Allied Themes, London, 1907, though it is doubtful whether the cases are not explained on other grounds. Much of the evidence comes from Christian natives, whose earlier belief in demons was still strong. Healthful and life-giving influences of Christian teaching enter the cases where pagan methods failed, as Justin long before asserted (Apology, ii. 6) and also J. Jastrow, in Thoogia cases (The Life of a South African Tribe, Neuchâtel, 1912-13, ii. 405). On Nevius’ theory see W. H. Newbolt, Proc. of Soc. for Psychological Research, VI. 1897 p. 622.

(h) Healing. Christ’s miracles of healing are not explainable by M. Arnold’s “moral therapeutics,” i.e. the cure of neurotic diseases by mental influence.


The demons, if they existed, were not necessarily like the horrible figures of later imagination.

5 Myers, p. 195.
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cases. Many of these diseases were not neurotic, and were such as do not yield to mental treatment, while the evidence for their cure is as good as that for neurotic cases. Occasional miracles at Lourdes are also wrought on more than neurotic diseases, and they suggest an influx of healing power from without. But Christ's miracles of this kind are more than occasional. Here surely some healing power—the power of faith—wrought through Him. It was neither variable nor uncertain, and it enabled the patient to throw off disease immediately. It was communicated to the sick by an act of will, a word, a touch, or sometimes a distance, perhaps by telepathy. To use this of such a power there is no authentic parallel. If it be said that Christ had merely superior access to an element, to which others might have access, yet His access was so superior as to be miraculous. His faith in the power awakened faith in the patient, so that in a sense there was suggestion both from without and from within. There was more to it than mere faith-healing,"a word which is apt to be used loosely. If it is used as mere auto-suggestion, there was obviously more than that. Diseases which apart from scientific diagnosis were plainly normal, and whose possibility of cure is improbable, Christ merely did what one day may be generally possible, at least He did act perfectly in a way as yet undiscovered.

Other cases of this are so few in number as to raise a presumption of their truth, for here is exactly where miracles would probably be exaggerated in a fictitious narrative. The possibility of category or trance cannot be excluded, yet we may assume that Christ would know the truth. To Him, indeed, death was no more than a sleep (Mk 5:41, Jn 11:11-15), from which the sleeper might be roused in the presence of the Lord of life, who could command the return of the principle of life to the lifeless body, whenever He was beside the dead.  

[k] The nature group.—The evidence for these miracles is as good as for those of healing. Here again their small number—six (or, admitting duplicates, five)—suggests genuineness, as do generally the narratives which relate them, as well as the manner of the relation. The attempts to interpret them as symbolic teaching related as miraculous action do not command respect any more than the various rationalistic methods of explaining away. The questions are concerned with their adequacy to the occasion, with the power involved—was it one accessible to others?—with the method of its use—to excite wonder or to minister benefit? Was there again a real breach of the order of nature—a statement which no one is competent to assert (§ 15).

For, though it is easy to assume a 'reversal of the natural physical order,'° some of the miracles of healing are just as contrary to our experience. If Christ's was a unique personality, we must take account of what may be proper to Him either in or out of nature. Such a one on occasion may act easily walk on the sea as on dry land. These miracles suggest the superiority of the spiritual and moral order to the material. They, with one possible exception, are in keeping with the personal identity of the worker. The question of adequacy to the occasion may be safely answered

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2 As well as Stewart, p. 182 ff.

3 Contrast the large number of raisings from death by the reign of St. Stephen alleged by St. Augustine, de Civ. Dei, xiii, 5.

4 Little touches of exaggeration in the story of Lazarus need not detract from the essential fact.

5 W. Sunday, Bishop Gore's Challenge to Critics, pp. 19, 231. The question of working these miracles in answer to any demand for a sign.

6 In the affirmative as regards stilling the tempest, walking on the sea, and feeding the multitudes. In the first two, lessons of faith were immediately taught, but they also have a permanent value in this direction, as well as a suggestive power of spirit to matter. In the third the adequacy is seen in the beneficence of the action involved. It is more difficult to prove adequacy in the case of the two to which we refer, but it is probable that such a great miracle would be wrought to enhance the joy of a wedding-feast. Yet the narrative has an air of genuineness, though, if it were performed for, in the reasons also, they are not hinted at. As to the power involved, it is certainly beyond that of men in the cases of stilling the tempest, changing water to wine, and multiplying food. Yet, in a universe of a divine will, was it impossible for one in whom that will was supreme to use it to still a storm, or to perform such probably creative acts as the other miracles involved? No breach of the order of nature is involved, for in the first two there is but a quickening of natural processes—the storm would sooner or later have ceased; a change is slowly effected in the moisture taken up by the growing vines. In the third, the third difficulty is simply that one can it be said that there was any breach of nature involved? While it is not impossible that a miraculous aspect has been here given to a non-miraculous action, the narrative has a genuine air, and the numerous different rationalistic explanations suggest that there is an inexplicable fact. In the case of walking on the sea a supernatural power which might be done to others might be suggested, if the story of D. D. Home's floating in the air be accepted, or if there is genuine fact behind the numerous stories of levitation. The difference, however, is that such power was consciously and purposefully; this is not observable in the other cases.

The withering of the fig-tree presents difficulties as to adequacy, and because it is contrary to the principle that Christ never wrought miracles for Himself. The tree was destroyed because it had no fruit for Him. Is He likely to have acted thus? There is no hint in the story or its context that it is an acted parable. While we need not question Christ's power, it is open to us to seek explanations of the origin of such a story, and these are much easier to find, and have much more verisimilitude, than those offered for the other miracles.

(j) The story of the stater and those of the draught of fishes need not be interpreted miraculously. The first appears to involve supernatural knowledge of the past, and directivity of the action of the worker. The question of adequacy to the occasion, with the power involved—was it one accessible to others?—with the method of its use—to excite wonder or to minister benefit? Was there again a real breach of the order of nature—a statement which no one is competent to assert (§ 15)? For, though it is easy to assume a 'reversal of the natural physical order,' some of the miracles of healing are just as contrary to our experience. If Christ's was a unique personality, we must take account of what may be proper to Him either in or out of nature. Such a one on occasion may act easily walk on the sea as on dry land. These miracles suggest the superiority of the spiritual and moral order to the material. They, with one possible exception, are in keeping with the personal identity of the worker. The question of adequacy to the occasion may be safely answered.

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9 Evidence is also found in the fact that this is the sole instance of such a miracle in Christ's life, unlike those of miraculous cures which have so often told of even in the life of the Virgin.
Parallels to incarnation and virgin-birth have been alleged from pagan sources, but there is no real anomaly. The idea of divinity becoming really incarnate in human flesh was alien to Jewish thought, and probably also to pagan. Hence it is really impossible to assert that the story was invented in Jewish-Christian circles at the early date involved. That it is an early story is undoubted, and the evidence for the two versions of it in Matthew and Luke must go back to Joseph and Mary. The fact that the question was faced even in Christ's lifetime that He was not Joseph's son—a knowledge apt to be perverted by hostile critics. As to the story itself, it has only to be compared with the versions of it in the Apocryphal Gospels to see how an existing story could be exaggerated without being recast. The lack of such exaggeration in Matthew and Luke points to genuineness. Comparative mythology is often relied on to show that virgin-birth is a universal myth, but examination of the instances shows no real parallel. A human or divine father regarded in a material sense, or some material means, is always involved. This is true even of the late miraculous stories of the birth of Buddha, whose human father appears all through, and also of the birth of the future saviour Saoshyan in Zoroastrianism. If the story be nearly parallel, the question should be faced—Do myths never come true?

(a) The Resurrection.—Arguments against the Resurrection and the discrepancies in the narratives. Are these more than may be looked for regarding such an event? Or do they really discredit the central fact to which all bear witness? Without discussing them in detail, let us say that there is the same evidence as good as that for the Crucifixion, and if they do not prove a real resurrection, do they prove anything at all about Christ? Certain facts are important: the empty tomb, the definite date never varied from, as well as the personality involved—no ordinary man whose resurrection to a normal human life might be rejected, as Huxley would have rejected that of the pathological ordinary man—and the vast change effected in the apostles' characters and methods of action. We may here consider the main modern explanations.

(i) In human psychology, or telepathic impressions are really inadequate to account for the story. No such experiences have ever produced such a result, and they could not have given rise to the story of the Resurrection or of the empty tomb, or have so changed the disciples. A phantom would only have made them afraid (Lk 24:32). The disciples already knew of the existence of Christ's spirit, for this was the common Jewish belief, and as Jews they also looked forward to a future resurrection. How then could such alleged communications from such a spirit have so altered them or originated such a belief in the Resurrection with the definite meaning which the word had to any Jew? If it be said that it was precisely this Jewish belief in a future resurrection that made the disciples imagine that the empty tomb and to sanction that of a Risen Christ, this is in effect to make them the most credulous and untrustworthy of men—which no one really believes of them.

(ii) The theory that the words which He uttered would constitute the story from myths and cults of slain and risen gods. It is claiming too much to

assert that the apostles were influenced by these, supposing they knew of them, which is unlikely. Was there anywhere a myth of a god who had died and risen again on earth? The revival even of Osiris took place in the Other-world. No such myth had ever been applied to the history of any man, as the theory supposes it to have been to that of Jesus. Such myths were sensuous, and had sprung out of nature-cults. How could they originate a whole new world of ethical and spiritual ideas? The theory was known of the loss with a vengeance, and sets aside every shred of historical evidence, while it has never explained why Christianity supplanted such myths and cults as it is alleged to have sprung from.1

On neither theory is the Resurrection or its vast results explainable, and each postulates a miracle as great as the miracle of the Resurrection itself. The change involved in the Resurrection is beyond our ken; yet there was a change, not merely the resurrection of a dead body. We know too little of the laws of the universe to assert that such a change is impossible, or that there is no law of resurrection of whose working Christ's resurrection is the first instance. The new theories of matter seem to make the change conceivable, if the 'basis' of matter is to be found in a strain in the other giving rise to the new strain, how that strain is composed. Ether is described as sub-material, while electrons might conceivably be resolved into ether again. Matter would thus be destroyed.2 Others regard it as a transformation of material,3 and if those theories be true, might not Christ's body be resolvable without corruption into the ultimate constituents of matter and then re-formed as a new ethereal body, since ether is sub-material, and the indwelling spirit moulding it as if it were a material body, yet not subject to the limitations of such a body? At all events these theories lessen the difficulties in the way of accepting the Resurrection.

(b) The Ascension was probably a final vanishing (Lk 24:33) from the sight of the apostles, interpreted conventionally and symbolically as ascension, and, as far as the vision itself is concerned, objectively. Heaven being regarded as a place above, this was inevitable, and was in keeping with the symbolism of up and down, high and low. Christ ascended into the ethereal state, and this is the essential truth behind the descriptions, while it is the natural corollary of the Resurrection.

8. Miracle in the Apostolic Age.—The miraculous powers included in the apostolic commission may have received additions—e.g., raising the dead (Mt 10)—while some are allegorical (Lk 10). Lk 10:24 probably is a addition mingling the authority with the record in Acts and this passage in Luke. Certain it is that some miraculous power was transmitted to the apostles or made accessible by their faith. In Acts we see it at work. Faith on the part of the recipients of cure is also clearly in evidence, sometimes of a superstitious kind (52, 91) perhaps resulting in cures by auto-suggestion. St. Paul both appeals to these powers of healing and refers to them (1 Co 12:28, Gal 3). They are regarded as credentials of the apostolic mission—perhaps not a sound theory. Those who believed because they saw signs and wonders had the highest faith,

1 Pagan sceptics never tried to derive the Resurrection story from their own mythology. See, further, J. A. MacCulloch, in Religion and Modern Thought, p. 250 (1892), Primitive Christianity, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1913, p. 382 ff.


3 Whetham, p. 265.
unless the signs were accepted as tokens of divine love. It is obvious that St. Paul meant more than mere faith-healing, some actual miraculous gift, by which he living became converted to the faith of the Corinthians (1 Co 12:5). There was, in some cases at least, the influx of divine power into the diseased. In the case of Eutychus it is doubtful if a miraculous restoration of life was intended. In the case of Dorcas it was, and this is clearly suggested, though some unusual recovery from apparent death may have been locally exaggerated into a miracle.

The account of Pentecost and its marvels describes an insurrection of the spiritual audibly and visibly into the material world. Such an insurrection would be difficult to describe, but it is no more than what might be expected on such an occasion. A distant intelligence may be found in the phenomena of light or of a cold breeze accompanying phantasmal appearances. As to speaking with tongues, the phenomenon is perhaps no more than ecstatic utterance, and it is one which is apt to be degraded. The kindred phenomena of trance-utterance and inspirational address studied in our day have little value. Whatever might be the value of the tongues as a gift to the Church or at other times, St. Paul came to have a low opinion of the gift. The effect of a spiritual invasion would vary with the nature of the person invaded. The real miracle of Pentecost was its power shown by St. Peter and his fellows, and the spiritual results following.

The stories of release by means of an angel have been regarded as symbolic accounts of coniveness or friendly interposition interpreted as divine aid. Yet, if other orders of beings exist, they might so intervene, and might have power over matter. The real question is one of adequacy to the occasion, and we find no such intervention in the case of James (Ac 12).

St. Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is really similar to that of the Resurrection appearances, though there is much more splendour, so that he is blind for a season. If these appearances are accepted, St. Paul's vision 'at once falls into place, even if the accounts vary.' That he himself should cause blindness is perhaps no more wonderful than that he should heal. Did his words cause a temporary auto-suggestion of blindness to Elymas? The incident of the viper (Acts 26:13), though viewed as miraculous, is not necessarily so. This is also true of the death of Ananias and Sapphira. Emotional shock might account for the deaths, and this would lend itself to a miraculous interpretation.

The question as to the time when miracles ceased, if at all, used to be much debated. Some supposed that they continued down to the 3rd, 4th, or 5th cent.; others, like S. Jacob, placed the age of the apostles and characterized all later records of them with stupid and untrue. The evidence alleged for miracles is continuous to the present time; low fiction is based on fact; hence we may ask if miracles are possible at all. The miracles of some individuals in the early Church are far more amazing and numerous than those of Christ. They were wrought not only on the sick or the dead, but on nature. Miracles of the last class are of a most stupendous character, incredible on the face of them and quite beyond all adequacy to the occasion.

The age was doubtless one of considerable credulity, when miracles had to be forthcoming to rival those of paganism, in which the ecclesiastical writers believed, though attributing them to demons. Many accounts of miracles are too rhetorical to be taken seriously. The Roman deities of Chrysostom's account of the miracles of St. Babylas say that it is rhetorical and for the most part destitute of truth. In some cases, again, natural law is at work. The cases of healing, for instance, being a result of the presence of the healing waters of a hot spring. The Greek story of a miraculous restoration of life by the Emperor Constantine in an insurrection of the earthly world into the spiritual...
The folk expected miracles, and miracles were freely provided for them. Many of the miracle stories are repeated in countless Lives of saints; others, whether plagiarized freely from another, and later Lives are often more full of miracles than the earlier Lives of the same saint. Biblical miracles were freely imitated; only in any given case were the signs largely unique to the particular gifts of a saint were exaggerated into miracles. Others can be traced to a misunderstanding of Christian artificia nobis — e.g., the stories of saints carrying their heads in their hands can be traced to pictures where they were thus represented to symbolize their death by decapitation — or to the visions or hallucinations of hysterical devotees, though these were supposed to belong to the highest state of ecstasy, in which reason played no part. All these miracles may be divided into four classes: (a) miracles wrought on nature, often of a most extravagant type — arresting the sun’s course, hanging a clock on a sunshine; (b) miracles wrought by or upon inanimate objects — the numerous moving, talking, smiling images, already met with in paganism, or the opening of locked doors at the tongue; (c) miracles occurring to a saint — e.g., light streaming from his fingers, talking at birth, carrying fire, bilocating, levitation; and (d) miracles of healing, exorcism, and raising the dead.

The practice of incubation passed over to the Christian Church and was mainly associated with St. Cosmas and St. Damian, but the cure were often of a prolonged character. The methods were much the same as in pagan temples, pustulis sanctam.[2] As to healing miracles in general, what has already been said of these applies here also (cf. also § 12). 2 Possibly some miracles were actual instances of supernormal phenomena of the 2 region, so long scoffed at, but now more or less investigated by science. These instances correspond to cases of hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance and clairaudience, telekinesis — the movement of objects without being touched — appearances of phantasms of the living or dead (which underlies cases of bilocation), and the occasional superiority of the senses to outward effects (carrying fire). Of these as well as of levitation there has been a constant tradition through the ages, and in the mass of alleged cases there may have been some genuine instances. Such phenomena are not necessarily miraculous or even evidence of sanctity. On the other hand, if mind can communicate with mind, communications from another sphere may be made to minds on this earth, and these would have a miraculous quality — e.g., the voices and visions of Jeanne d’Arc or those which preceded the healing of Dorothy Kerin. 2 The communication may be coloured by the preconceptions of the percipient — a divine message may appear as a voice or vision of Virgin or saint, or a case of real spiritual healing may be associated with belief in a relic. Divine power might also be manifested from time to time through the supernormal phenomena referred to, making them miraculous. There should, in fact, be no cleavage between normal and supernormal and supernatural in our appreciation of the divine working.

11. Modern miracles. — These are mainly con-

nected with healing, though supernormal phenomena in connexion with spiritualism have been claimed as miraculous. 4 Typical cases are associated with seances and readings from the other side — the tomb of the Abbé Paris or by the Holy Thorn related by Pascal 2 or are accomplished by various phenomena representing every form of Christianity, or by mind-cures, faith-healing (q.v.), and Christian Science (q. v.).

The cures at Lourdes (q.v.) are associated with the vision of the Virgin seen by Bernadette Soubirous in 1858, though nothing was said to her about them. The number of plagues amounts to some 600,000 yearly, but no more than 2 per cent of the cures are regarded as ‘miracles.’ Some vouched for are of an almost instantaneous nature. Christian Science is associated with a theory of the equality of matter and mind. Disease is the result of false thinking. The Divine Spirit heals by casting out ‘mental-mind.’

All these various methods of healing are traced to the spiritual value and truth of the creed or practice with which they are associated. Yet some of them flatly contradict each other. They are rather means by which a cure is mediated, quite apart from their truth or value. A key to the problem is perhaps found in ‘spontaneous cures’ occurring in medical practice, which may be traced to suggestion. This is probably the main factor behind the cure effected by these various methods. It is the power of the unconscious as well as of the conscious self over the body, when once an idea has been accepted. 3 Existing beliefs or strengthened hopes are initiated; fears and inhibitions are removed; and the physical processes by which pathological conditions are removed begin to be affected. Thus in all the various methods the differences are subjective rather than objective, and this helps to make the mind of the sufferers, rather than in any scientific evidence as to the nature of the healing agency. 6 Susceptibility to suggestion may vary, and it should not be supposed that this may be as well as healthful suggestions. But that it is a real psychic process is undoubtedly. The suggestion may come from belief in a relic, a saint, or from the ‘hysterical optimism’ of Christian Science. The main fact is that it often works, even if the cures are seldom instantaneous, though they may occur in a quicker manner than in ordinary physical therapeutics. We are still left to inquire, however, whether any other exterior forces work in connexion with the vital healing force inherent in the organism, and set in motion by suggestion. If so, we should be in presence of the miraculous. This possibility must now be considered.

12. Mental and spiritual healing in relation to Christ’s miracles of healing. — Psychic forces affect the body in normal life, and of these suggestion is one. But is there also at times, with a high degree of suggestion as an answer to prayer, an influx of exterior, divine, spiritual power to heal? This would correspond to the exaltation of mind by spiritual influences in inspiration. It would be a particular and outstanding instance of what we find everywhere, if all life is dependent for its energy on some all-enveloping life. It might not be regarded as miraculous or supernatural, for, if miracle is part of the process of the universe as a sense it is natural. But in so far as the result testifies clearly to processes outside our ken, to the power of a divine person thus making Himself known.


7 Myers, p. 534.

8 It is accepted by medical science; see British Medical Journal, Supplement, July 15, 1911, p. 211.
known, the current of whose energy is entering our life for a particular purpose, this is a sign, or miracle. The spirit has let loose ‘life-giving foci’ which sweep before them the evils of sickness and disease. 

129. Vie assumes all God. Disease^ as miracle. Hence they have tapped a divine source, and it has aided the unconscious mind. That this has never taken place cannot be affirmed, though a leader of the modern physician’s ‘scientific’ school was persuaded that it was true. 

'The result was swift and certain. That existed as healer differs in degree and kind from all media of occasional cures. That cannot find such cures where perfect faith exists is not credible. 3.

13. Hostile criticism of miracles. — Though the Schoolmen were probably refuting current objections to miracles, no serious criticism appeared until the 17th. cent. with Spinoza’s attack. The laws of nature are the decrees of God. Miracles cannot happen because they violate the order of nature. God would be equivocating Himself, for nature is fixed and changeless. Miracles would tell us nothing of God, for they surpass our powers of comprehension. 4.

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events' happening, would widen its view of nature. All that would thus be shown would be that all experience, as nature, is not philosophically complete. There would be no necessary divine power behind such a wonderful event.

But, while science might investigate any 'wonderful event,' has it yet explained even one event? Christianity regards all events as expressions of divine will, direct or indirect. In short, all miracles are mere evidences of that, not just because they arouse wonder, but because of their appeal to what is ethical or spiritual in us. They witness to the presence and power of God over matter (§ 15).

On the whole, the scientific attitude to miracle is less hostile now than it once was. Many scientific men are also religious men, and the new vistas open to science have made a spiritual interpretation of the universe more possible.

14. The defence of miracles. — The Apologists generally connected miracles with prophecy, and showed that they fulfilled predictions of such deeds made long ago. They are by no means the sole evidence for Christianity, though, as the Greek Fathers maintained, they might help those who through sin could not see God in His works. Origen pointed out that Christ's miracles were not done for show, like a juggler's wonders, and that, unlike a juggler, He demanded a new way of life. 1 The Fathers commonly appealed to the miracles done in their day, and Arnapundus directed much attention to miracles as proving Christ's divinity. Augustine first gives a philosophy of the miraculous. God's will is the ultimate source of all things, and nothing can be contra naturam which happens by God's will. Everything is natural, not to us, but to God. Miracles are part of an established order. They are not contra naturam, but may be contrary to what is known to us of nature. 2 The Schoolmen start from this idea of uniformity, forestalling the ideas of science, but not on experimental grounds. There is a higher and a lower order of nature, the former at once natural and supernatural, God's ideal plan. In it are causae rationis et primordiales of miracles. In the actual order, known to us, with its chain of causes and effects, miracles could not originate, but these have the capacity for higher powers being inserted in them—all parts of God's original plan. Miracles are not such to God, who can interfere with the ordo secundarum causarum which is subject to the order of nature. — The Schoolmen — the order known to us—but not contra naturam. 3 Again, as the course of things can be changed by creatively power, so God's power may bring an event to pass otherwise than in the usual course, so that men may know His power. This is equivalent to the view that there may be guidance of forces in nature to a particular result which may appear miraculous to us (§ 15). Later the idea came generally to be held that miracles were a real suspension or violation of the laws of nature, the view attacked by Spinoza and Hume, both sides arguing as if all nature's 'laws' were known to them. Bishop Butler wisely points out that, while we see nature carried on by general laws, God's miraculous interpositions may have also been by general laws of wisdom. Nature is plastic to Him! All these laws are known to us. There may be beings to whom the miraculous is as natural as ordinary nature is to us. Butler was arguing against the Deists, but he sometimes forestalls Hume's objections, as when he points that miracles should be compared not with ordinary but with extraordinary events in nature. With the Schoolmen he tends to regard miracles as part of the ordinary plan of things. He again forestalls Hume when he argues that fraudulent miracles do not disprove those of Christianity, but he is on less sure ground when he says that Christianity was offered and received as the ground of miracles publicly sought to attain its truth. J. P. Mozley continued Butler's position that miracles are necessary to revelation, but argued, with him, that to accept anything contrary to moral or true religion. There is order, cause, in nature, but the mechanical expectation of recurrence which would keep out miracle cannot be proved. Anything contradictory to experience might be either some case, and so in accordance with the order of nature or a direct divine interposition, spirit prevailing over matter. Such a miraculous event, as the act of a Personal Being, would show moral will and intention and be evidence of a higher world. The order of nature might be suspended, if there was use in suspending it. But the laws of nature would be suspended, not the laws of the universe, which would be a contradiction. Suspension of the laws of nature is possible, and it happens—e.g., where the laws of matter are suspended by the laws of life. If spirit be regarded as above matter and capable of manifesting it, miracle becomes possible.

In opposition to German rationalism Schleiermacher, in his Der christliche Glaube (Amsterdam, 1830–31), maintained that nature admitted of new elements, consonant as it was to God's will and work, even if constrained by it. He就够了 to the neat cause of the miracle, but it appears only when God calls it forth. Christ had a supernatural origin and, as sinless, was a moral miracle. Yet the Virgin-birth, Resurrection, and Ascension were set aside along with many of the miracles, though miracle was admitted, since God has complete power over nature. Our belief in Christ, according to him, does not depend on miracles. Thus, though Schleiermacher still opposes certain miracles, he offers a constructive theory of miracle. Later A. Ritschl refused to regard miracles as contrary to natural law, and held that they were akin to Providential action. J. Kofian argues from the same side that 'laws of nature' are unreal, a mere formula allowing us to grasp the course of nature. Miracle is such an unusual event as will awaken us in a special manner to God's living government of the world. He works in all things, but can use special means to enable faith to trace His presence. 4 Hermann Lotze also refuses to regard a miracle as such an anomaly of nature. The miracle-working power, by virtue of its internal connexion with the inner states of things, can alter these and so modify the result of the law. Law is thus turned to account. Even if there be mechanical necessity, this change in the internal state of things subject to it causes it to produce an external miraculous phenomenon. The elements of the universe are not 'solipsistic and void points of attachment for unalterable forces,' but living parts of the living One. No law is altered when miracle occurs, but the bearers of the forces obedient to these laws are altered. The conditioning cause of miracles is in God and nature, hence there is no arbitrariness in miracles. Yet Lotze sets aside Christ's miracles, partly because the change in man's conceptions of nature has made them dubious. 5

1 Eight Lectures on Miracles. Miracles, far from being a decisive proof of revelation, have now themselves to be proved!
3 Microcosms, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1885, i, 450 f., II, 478 f.

1 Schleiermacher, in his Der christliche Glaube (Amsterdam, 1830–31), maintained that nature admitted of new elements, consonant as it was to God's will and work, even if constrained by it. He regarded to the neat cause of the miracle, but it appears only when God calls it forth. Christ had a supernatural origin and, as sinless, was a moral miracle. Yet the Virgin-birth, Resurrection, and Ascension were set aside along with many of the miracles, though miracle was admitted, since God has complete power over nature. Our belief in Christ, according to him, does not depend on miracles. Thus, though Schleiermacher still opposes certain miracles, he offers a constructive theory of miracle. Later A. Ritschl refused to regard miracles as contrary to natural law, and held that they were akin to Providential action. J. Kofian argues from the same side that 'laws of nature' are unreal, a mere formula allowing us to grasp the course of nature. Miracle is such an unusual event as will awaken us in a special manner to God's living government of the world. He works in all things, but can use special means to enable faith to trace His presence. 4 Hermann Lotze also refuses to regard a miracle as such an anomaly of nature. The miracle-working power, by virtue of its internal connexion with the inner states of things, can alter these and so modify the result of the law. Law is thus turned to account. Even if there be mechanical necessity, this change in the internal state of things subject to it causes it to produce an external miraculous phenomenon. The elements of the universe are not 'solipsistic and void points of attachment for unalterable forces,' but living parts of the living One. No law is altered when miracle occurs, but the bearers of the forces obedient to these laws are altered. The conditioning cause of miracles is in God and nature, hence there is no arbitrariness in miracles. Yet Lotze sets aside Christ's miracles, partly because the change in man's conceptions of nature has made them dubious. 5

On the whole, modern theology tends to regard the universe as plastic to God and miracles as the evidence of will. Even man can produce effects in nature not producible by nature itself. Such a view is elaborated by H. Buschmell. 6 Again, as by
J. R. Illingworth, divine immutability is made the ground of miracle. There is unity rather than uniformity in nature; it is due to spirit which uses matter for its purposes. The moral aspect of miracles is also emphasized by him and by other writers. Christ's miracles do not interfere with law, but restore laws which were broken. Disease is here regarded as due to sin. As to the Resurrection, there is no reason why a sinless soul should not resume at will a sinless body. The supremacy to an extraordinary degree of spiritual force over the mere material is also emphasized by A. C. Headlam. 4

From a spiritualistic point of view A. R. Wallace argues for miracles on the ground that intelligent beings, unperceived by us, have power over matter, producing supernatural phenomena, the occurrence of which has been noted in all ages. By this view he claims that Christ's miracles as well as answers to prayer find a natural explanation.

15. The question of the miraculous.—Miracles are not fortuitous events, breaking in upon a fixed order of nature. Both they and that order are evidences of divine will. The more the nature of the universe is revealed to us, the more impossible is it to believe that it all merely happened, that there was no guidance or control to produce such a vast complexity. And this impossibility is only the more increased by recent discoveries in science. If there is an infinite number of ultimate elements all of precisely the same form, it is most unlikely that all the laws that happened upon the same form. Neither matter nor energy possesses the power of automatic guidance and control. Hence some form of guidance is essential, some order of arrangement. It is outside the categories of matter and energy; yet it can use both, guiding and controlling them in accordance with the laws which govern them. Such guidance should be regarded as a supreme and self-sufficient will and source of all life. But, if such guidance is granted, then miracles—particular instances of that guidance—become possible. A fixed order of nature does not necessarily mean that nature is self-contained and self-sufficient or subject to ineradicable mechanical necessity. We do not know all of that order, nor is it likely that it is the only possible order. We cannot assert that a limit has been set to every combination of matter and energy, to every method of guiding these, to every possible result.

If so, a miracle is not a breach of the order of nature, which, modifying St. Augustine's formula of the work of God's hand and the work of God's word, becomes more like the words of the Lord "Where there is a will, there is a way." Where there is a God and a purpose, there are means by which the purpose is to be reached. For the laws of the universe are the means, the instruments of the purpose. Where there is a will, there must be a way. Where there is God, there is a plan. Where there is a law, there is a controlling agency. Where there is a will, there is a way of carrying out the will. Where there is a plan, there is a plan of how to carry out the plan. Where there is a law, there is an agency to control the law.

Science might investigate this result, might even conceivably reproduce it. Could it explain the process? Could it tell how Christ could do such miracles? In a pre-existent universe, there must have been some influence working with Him or in Him to produce such purposeful, intelligent results.

Science might create life, say, out of certain chemical combinations of dead matter. But could it explain why precisely that combination, that arrangement of forces or conditions, produced life? There would not be an act of creation, but the setting in motion of certain forces already regarded as one of the explanations of life. Why or how they possessed this would remain unexplained.

As there are physical so there are moral and spiritual facts, not explainable in terms of the former, though they interpenetrate. Miracles, as such, are not isolated physical phenomena or prodigies. They are not unrelated to any moral or spiritual sequence. They have a moral and spiritual purpose, a clear relation to surrounding circumstances. Unlike the vast majority of ethnic miracles, Christ's miracles have that moral and spiritual quality which differentiates them from physical prodigies. They are distinct revelations of God or of God's nature in relation to the universe and man. In a less degree in all His miracles, so in a higher degree in the Resurrection, there is a union of physical and spiritual, such as is seen also wherever mind and life control matter and energy. Matter is here completely controlled, spiritualized, and such an event could scarcely have been imagined or invented. All miraculous actions to Him, either because of what He was or because He was in perfect harmony with that supreme spiritual power.

It is easy to hold a wrong idea of the uniformity of nature or, rather, its unity, to adopt Illingworth's dictum. Theology has been apt to insist upon miracle as a sort of catastrophic gap in an existing uniformity. Science has tended to forget the possibility of the occurrence of a small variety in that uniformity. Such variety is only the more in evidence with the new discoveries of science, which now postulates either an energy as the only physical reality or a sub-matter basis of matter with a psychical significance. But, apart from that, how endless is the diversity even in a uniform nature, not even two blades of grass precisely the same? Nor is life explainable in terms of mechanical uniformity. It uses and controls matter and energy, and may exist apart from them. Unity, with endless variety, is a better description of the universe than mere mechanical uniformity. In the interaction of the forces of the universe a slight increase of one force will produce a different result. And, if the forces, the interaction, the result, are controlled, this would not extract from but only augment, the theory of science that this is an orderly universe. Such guidance and control are not occasional but continuous, for a true theology can never postulate a God outside of the universe that happened upon the same form. He always does what is best for, and all that the universe contains—not merely its physical contents—is utilized for definite ends. Thus, if a slight increase in one force or a re-arrangement of forces—a re-arrangement of forces—will produce a different result from what is generally produced, miracle becomes possible. The result would show more definitively His will and benevolence in the process. Science might investigate this result, might even conceivably reproduce it. Could it explain the process? Could it tell how Christ could do such miracles? In a pre-existent universe, there must have been some influence working with Him or in Him to produce such purposeful, intelligent results. Science might create life, say, out of certain chemical combinations of dead matter. But could it explain why precisely that combination, that arrangement of forces or conditions, produced life? There would not be an act of creation, but the setting in motion of certain forces already regarded as one of the explanations of life. Why or how they possessed this would remain unexplained.

2 The Resurrection and Modern Spiritualism.
3 Miracles and Modern Spiritualism.
system of the universe as a whole. So again many alleged supernatural phenomena are not miracles; they do not show a direct moral, purposive action on the part of the real unsexpected and unexplained human powers. If God directs the whole universe, miracles are in no sense a rectifying of His own mistakes. They are instances of the overcoming of evil and disorder in a universe where these exist and where evil may have been necessary to the world-process, a stage on the way to perfection. Yet that perfection is being brought about, and miracles are an instance of this process; they are not the cause, purpose, more clearly perhaps than the more quickly-working process. They show, as Lotze says, that God is so related to matter that it cannot resist Him at all. So Christ's healing miracles show that spirit and will are superior to the causes which produce disease. Thus in no sense is miracle contra naturam; rather is it an expression of divine action in ways which may contradict our ordinary experience, i.e., our real ignorance of the universe.

The unchanging nature of radium might have been regarded as evidence against the claimed power of science, which takes 3,000 years for an atom of radium to change} would show that this was in striking agreement, a possible of our knowledge of the laws of the universe.

The divine will, acting normally in certain ways, may act in different ways, perhaps in our limited vision or capacity to understand; so as to be as natural as a slower process, or the turning of water to wine as natural as the slower growth of the vine. In either case there is a quickening of a natural process, and yet to God that quickening may be perfectly normal. Does this take away the miraculous from what we call 'miracle'? In a sense it does, for we tend to draw too straight a line between natural and supernatural. All events, inasmuch as they express the divine will, are natural, yet they are supernatural in so far as they all end for us in mystery. What constitutes a miracle is its quality, its instant suggestion of divine power and goodness. Even a spiritual vision is clouded, and he does not always see these in the event, not that is always the fullest revelation of God. All things speak of God, but sometimes we are not aware of these; they are not always obvious to us.
MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.

The physical world may be different from what it would have been had we prayed. Prayer is energy, and earnest prayer cannot be useless, even if its result is not just what man wants. If God's plan for man is the best, his will is, by means of man's misuse of free will, how speedily will that plan be accomplished when man's will is at one with God's? It is His will that we pray, and every answer to prayer, as a manifestation of His will, is far miraculous, and yet, like all miracle, quite natural. God foresees all that will happen in the universe; therefore He foresees whether we shall pray, and whether any particular prayer will be answered in one way or another. If the occurrence of certain things in God's plan depends on prayer, then we must pray. Are we then not free? Still we have the feeling of acting as free agents, and feeling is perhaps here truer than reason.


MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.—I. Introduction.—As was indicated in the introduction to the art. DRAMA, the origin of the medieval drama, like that of the Greek, is to be found in religious observances. It is true that from the earliest reigns of Norman kings in England secular pageants were common features of any day of special rejoicing; but these were not strictly dramatic in their nature, nor did they contribute to the essential development of the form. The true beginning of the long course which leads up to Shakespere and Racine is found in the Churches; the most striking fact in the history of the medieval drama is its evolution from the simplest gerns in the responses of the liturgy into an elaborate new form without the influence of either an ancient drama or a contemporary material. Though many steps and many dates in the history of the Miracles and Moralities are still to be discovered, and their due place to be assigned to many incidents and facts, there can be little doubt of the drama in the Middle Ages from its origin in the antiphonal tropes of the liturgy to its final expression in the great Passion-plays, ‘Mysteries,’ and ‘Miracle-cycles.’

The probability of some survival of classical influence in the medieval drama has led some writers to trace all possible ancient dramatic and mimetic traditions in the period between the closing of the theatres and circenses in the 6th cent. to the establishment of the liturgical drama in the 10th and 11th; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the modern Greek scholar K. N. Sathas (Iscourov for tov l'Met'ov kai tov mpaiov tiv Vavov, Venice, 1878) and his followers to found the medieval religious drama on the ruins of the ancient Greek, preserved in Byzantium and carried to the west by the returning crusaders, it is the opinion of most scholars that no more can be said than that there was possibly a continuity of the mimetic tradition, kept alive by wandering, outlawed entertainers—a tradition that may have helped the development of the play by aiding the survival of the liturgical drama, and may later have had a part in the secularization of the religious drama. (For the Byzantine stage see K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur, Munich, 1897; and for the views of Sathas, J. S. Tunison, Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages, Chicago, 1907; for the subject in general, Chambers, The Medieval Stage, l.c.)

2. The liturgical drama.—The antipost, of Eastern origin, introduced into Italy by St. Ambrose, was the germ from which the medieval drama developed. Certain antiphonal services had doubtless begun in Italy which were or were unconscious began to take form in the tropes, or interpolations in the liturgical text for certain feast-days. The most important from the standpoint of dramatic history were the tropes of the Easter mass, the earliest dramatized form of which is the ‘Quem quaeritis.’ This, assigned to about the year 300 and ascribed to the trope-writer Tutilo of St. Gall (card Young, ‘The Origin of the Easter Play,’ in Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America, March 1914), seems to have developed into a considerable play as a trope of the liturgy, and has branches which, combining with other ceremonies, such as the Visitation sepulchri, and other dramatic forms, such as the ‘Prophete,’ grew into the great Passion-plays and Miracle-cycles.

This word Querietis is: ‘Querietis.’

Latterly the word, ‘Resurrexi,’ is the first word of the Easter introit. By textual accretions, partly by additions from the Vulgate, but more often by ‘free composition,’ and by the development of a dramatic setting (the ‘sepulchrum’) and truly dramatic personalities (the three Marys, the angel at the tomb, etc.), this trope grew into a well-developed though brief liturgical play (MS Brescia, 15th cent., quoted by Young), and attained a much larger development as a ‘Visitatio sepulchri’ at the end of Easter matins, as a symbolical representation of the burial and resurrection of Christ.) This second
and dramatically more fruitful use of the 'Quem quieritis' grew by textual additions, such as the sequence 'Victimae paschali,' and by additions of incident, a careful retelling of certain details of the Biblical story (e.g., the visit of the three Marys to the tomb, and of Peter and John); secondly, secular imaginative details (e.g., the visit of the Marys to the 'unguentarius,' or dealer from whom they bought the necessary spices; this character later became popular in the vernacular Passion-plays).

Though there was a considerable dramatic development of the 'Quem quieritis,' it remained strictly a liturgical ceremony, and parts were taken by churchmen, there was little real dialogue, and the setting was of the simplest. In certain late forms there are introduced motives that do not belong to the events of Easter morning, such as the kiss of peace accompanying the greeting 'Surrexit Christus,' or the 'Tolite portas' ceremony prescribed by the ritual for the dedication of a church. These, however, to the possibility of a development of the Easter play which, however, was not to take place in the 'Quem quieritis' proper. This matter will be considered in speaking of the Passion-play, but the 'Quem quieritis' was not the only drama of Easter-week. The 'Peregrini,' attached to the vespers of Easter Monday, established in the 12th cent., was known in England, France, and Germany. The Passion-play of Herod was the Emanuel and the supper there ('Petit de Jullieville, Les Mystères, i. 67; Chambers, ii. 37'). In others Mary Magdalene appears, or the Virgin and the other Marys greet the risen Christ; or a new scene is made the material for a Passion-choir; or there is even a merging of a developed form of the 'Quem quieritis,' the 'Peregrini,' and the Easter morning ceremony of the 'Elevatio crucis.'

Parallel with the plays of the Resurrection, other liturgical plays developed as parts of the office of other feasts. The Christmas season was the most productive; but there were plays for Epiphany and certain saints' days, particularly that of St. Nicholas. Though evidence of their existence has been found, the plays for many occasions have entirely disappeared. A Christmas drama, the 'Pastores,' commemorating the visit of the shepherds, grew out of this trop and, modelled on the Easter 'Quem quieritis.' It begins 'Quem quieritis in præsepe, pastores, dicite.' It is purely liturgical, very simple in form, and is an elaborate and careful setting of the story with certain words, and is of interest for its connexion with the ancient and still popular representations of the crib, or crèche, of the infant Christ (see BAMBINO), and for its influence on the more fruitful dramatic forms into which it was absorbed. The essence of the play is the visit of the shepherds, a crib with images of the Virgin and Child, the announcement of the birth of Christ by a boy in similitude of an angel, the singing of the 'Gloria in excelsis' by the angels and a hymn by the shepherds, a dialogue between the shepherds and two priests 'quasi obsequiis,' the adoration of the shepherds, and a final hymn.

A more common form of Christmas drama was the 'Stella,' a play of the visit of the Magi, originally consisting of antiphons and simple prose dialogue, representing the following of the star, the visit to the Infant, the offering of gifts, and the warning to the Magi (Creuzenach, Geschichtc des neueren Dramas, i. 60; Chambers, ii. 45; Petit de Jullieville, Les Mystères, n. 51; text for Méril, M6ril, and in Conzecker, Dramen liturgiques). The simplest and probably the earliest examples are from Rouen and Limoges. This form of liturgical play developed early. Dates are uncertain, but MSS. of the late 14th cent. have the play in a well-developed form. As the Easter 'Quem quieritis' centred about the 'Sepulchrum' and that of Christmas about the 'Pastores,' the 'Stella' had as its starting-point the star. A gift star, the points sometimes holding coins, was lowered through a hole in the ceiling or held up by an assistant. Like the Nativity plays, the 'Stella' developed partly from dumb show, and the simpler forms continued parallel with the expanded forms and outlived them.

The dozen or so complete extant versions of the play vary considerably. The drama developed by the representation of an itinerary, starting from the scene of the visit to Jerusalem, by the addition of various scenes in which Herod plays a part, as, e.g., his anger at the escape of the Magi and his order for the massacre of the innocents, and even the actual representation of the massacre, and finally the lament of Rachel, which had received independent dramatic treatment. As Chambers puts it, 'the absorption of the motives proper to other feasts of the Twelve Nights into the Epiphany play has clearly begun' (ii. 48). This absorption was to result in certain larger and more complex plays made up by the joining of the 'Pastores,' the 'Stella,' and the lament of Rachel. It was the result of the fusion of certain parts that the 'Stella' is of great importance for the later history of the drama. The part of Herod grew later, and could not take the place in the English Corpus Christi cycles.

More important for the future of the medieval drama than any of the forms thus far considered was the 'Prophetes,' which is the first studied by Seert (Les Prophetes du Christ). It was based on the apocryphal Sermon contra Judaeos attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Augustine, but really of later origin, and used in many churches as a lesson in the Christmas offices. In the passive so employed, the author invokes thirteen witnesses to the divine mission of Christ and calls upon them to predict His coming. The prophets invoked are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias, Elisabeth, John the Baptist, Vergil, Nebuchadrezzar, and the Sibyl. The dramatic growth of this sermon has been extensively investigated, but the growing evidence is for its connexion with the ancient and the Sibyl. The dramatic growth of this sermon has been extensively investigated, but the growing evidence is for its connexion with the ancient and the Sibyl. In later examples from Rouen and Rouen the dialogue is expanded, the 'preceptor' is replaced by two 'appellatres' or 'vocatores,' and the Sibyl is added to the prophets. More remarkable is the little added drama of Balaam and his ass, which has been considered by many writers the origin of the notorious Feast of the Ass, but which is perhaps more probably a reaction from the disturbing festival. In the Rouen text the part of Nebuchadrezzar is also expanded into a miniature play; Shadrach, Meshach, and A bed-negar refuse to worship the image, are cast into the fiery furnace, and escape all harm, the king testifying to the might of the coming Saviour.

It will be seen that at this stage of development the 'Prophetes' necessitated a much more complex setting than was usual with liturgical drama—the throne of the preceptor, the fiery furnace, distinct costumes (described in the rubrics), Balaam's ass. This was a beginning of the complexity that was to characterize many medieval plays.

This complexity and the fusion alluded to above may be seen in a Latin play preserved in a 13th cent. MS. (Royal Library, Munich; text in du Mélé). It is a combination of most of the Christmas dramatic forms. St. Augustine sits with the
prophets at his right, the chief of the synagogue and the Jews at his left. The prophets foretell the Messiah; the head of the synagogue is angered at their blasphemies. A new character, the "bishop of the children," interposes the suggestion that St. Augustine shall be the shepherds (the 'Pastores' element). The devil hints that the angels has deceived them, but they are convinced by the chanting of the "Gloria in excelsis" by a heavenly choir, which-they are worship Christ; they meet the Magi bearing gifts. The Magi are warned not to return to Herod, who orders the killing of the innocents. The mothers lament their lost children (the "magistram remittit"). Herod falls dead, and is seized by demons. An angel sends Joseph into Egypt. The king of Egypt advances, accompanied by a choir singing "hebess" fortissimo. The Holy Family arrives in Egypt; they falls sick, and the people can not rest in the place. The choir chants a conclusion against Herod and the Jews. The last part is free and individual in composition. Petet de Juvelle thinks it unlikely that it was played in church (because of the 'episcopus puerorum'), and that more likely it was given in a monastery school.

matched in the liturgical drama through the combination of types and free composition, certain plays founded on the stories of Daniel and Lazarus represent another and later stage of the problem. Sometimes the scenes in the older plays into independent dramas. Most interesting, because the first liturgical play attributed to a definite author, is the 'Daniel' of Hilarius, a cosmopolitan Gallarde scholar, disciple of Abelard. The abakus of the 12th century. (text in J. J. Champollion-Figeac, Hilaris versus et usi, Paris, 1888, and in de Mélis). The 'Hystoria de Daniel represents' opens with the feast of Belshazzar; the mystic words appear, and Daniel interprets them; Darius enters with his army and kills Belshazzar; Daniel appears at court, refuses to worship the king, and is thrown to the lions; the angel brings Habakkuk to him; Daniel is again in favour. The play is expanded by choruses in honour of the various personages, 'conducatus Danielli,' 'conducat' Allon', 'conducat' Balth., 'conducat' Beelzebul. In the similar play from Beauvais is a hymn in honour of the birth of Christ. This, as well as the rubrics, indicates the connexion of the play with the liturgy to the end. 'Done, if the play has been given at matins, let Daniel sing the Te Deum, if at vespers the Magnificat,' indicates that it was not a regular part of the office. In this partial detachment from the liturgy because of the beginnings of liturgical drama which was to take the drama entirely out of the hands of the clergy.

3. The secularization of the drama.—The indications of a tendency to make the liturgical drama more popular that we have seen in the expansion of certain themes in the 'Prophets,' in the freer and more poetical composition of many of the later liturgical plays, in their comparatively independent position in relation to the Church offices, are emphasized by the following. The 'Hilarist' on the one hand, an anachronistic and pedantic work argues the impossibility of the Virgin-birth, and St. Augustine answers. The argument is taken up by the choirs of prophets and Jews, the one singing 'Res miranda,' the other 'Res neganda.' So far the play is an expanded 'Prophet,' still mostly liturgical in feeling and form. The prohets take their places in the church, and a play of the Annunciation begins abruptly. This part is brief. The Scriptural dialogue between the Virgin and the angel is followed by the visit of Elisabeth. The next direction is that Mary 'vadat in lectum suum . . . et partit solum.' The choir halls His coming, and immediately the 'Stella' begins. A star shines forth, the three kings follow it, and appear before Herod; an angel announces the coming of Christ to the shepherds (the 'Pastores' element). The devil hints that the angels has deceived them, but they are convinced by the chanting of the "Gloria in excelsis" by a heavenly choir, which-they are worship Christ; they meet the Magi bearing gifts. The Magi are warned not to return to Herod, who orders the killing of the innocents. The mothers lament their lost children (the "magistram remittit"); Herod falls dead, and is seized by demons. An angel sends Joseph into Egypt. The king of Egypt advances, accompanied by a choir singing "hebess" fortissimo. The Holy Family arrives in Egypt; they falls sick, and the people can not rest in the place. The choir chants a conclusion against Herod and the Jews. The last part is free and individual in composition. Petet de Juvelle thinks it unlikely that it was played in church (because of the 'episcopus puerorum'), and that more likely it was given in a monastery school.

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Amen dico
Vos ignoscite,
Nam caritas honest;
Quod quia perdit (MS peregrinat)
Procul peregrinat
Hujus anima limine,
Alia, chativae
eut, malavere
At tota mens vos penas livres;
Et sine ore servitutiam.

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gradual secularization of the spirit of the plays. The last part of the composite Munich play referred to above will illustrate this point. Though written in Latin, one part is an original secular poem in praise of spring, filled with pagan allusions and with no liturgical or Biblical connotation. The introduction of the comic element and of the occasional dramatic episode relating to Balmaum's ass and Herod points to an equally strong secular influence, one that was to lead to some of the most striking and unfortunate developments of the play at the end of the Passion-plays took on in the 14th cent.; so that henceforth, to be understood with any clearness, the special literary types that developed must be studied by countries. Furthermore, the influence of particular authors and of particular methods of representation makes itself felt.

4. England.—The early dramatic history of England is difficult to trace, for much of the number of plays have been destroyed. The development of the liturgical drama in England must be partly guessed at from that of France. Only the slightest indications of what it originally was can be gathered. This is not meant to imply a lack of importance, gradually brought the plays under the control of the laity. It is a long way from the simple sepulchrum or presepe, the two chanted parts, the lack of appropriate costume, of the sepulchrum to the plays or the Quem quieritis! The characters, the costumes of the Conversio Paulli (Petit de Jullielle, i, 69; text from Fleury MS, mentioned above, in du Méril, and in Consemaker, no. 367) with its several sedes for Saul, Judas, etc., its two scenes, Jerusalem and Damascus, its armed men, and its lectus for Ananias, or the Munich Prophetce described above, with its 'sede' for the prophet, its lectus for the Virgin, its shining star, its mouth of hell, its many characters. Henceforth the change in setting was one of degree rather than of kind; the elaboration merely followed the increasing complexity of the plays as they added one incident after another. Within the church, the crucifix, the altar, the sepulchrum, the rood-loft (representing heaven), and the crypt furnished the chief scenery, whilst the new plays which were the result of the introduction of the church and the choir, were probably added in the more elaborate plays sedes, donum, and loca extending down the nave. This natural arrangement was apparently followed when the drama left the church, as in the 12th cent. Norman resurrector! Chambers (ii. 83) suggests such an arrangement of the lius, mansions, and estals required by the prologue, following the analogy of a Donnerschewing Passion-play of the 16th cent., the plan of which is extant (given in Froning, Das Drama des Mittelalters, p. 277). The prologue gives the order of the required sets: the crucifix, the monument (sepulchrum), the gold, heaven, hell, Emmanus, Galilea, and six estals or sedes. The only other extant French religious play of the same period, the Adam, shows even better how far the drama had outgrown the simplicity of the Quem quieritis! The Latin rubrics indicate not only a complex setting, but great care in stage management, even extending to the gestures and voice of the actors.

For instance: 'Let there be built a paradise in a higher place; around this there be draperies of silk. There shall be sweet trees and foliage; various trees from which shall hang garlands. Before them the Saviour shall be clothed in a dalmatic; before him shall be placed Adam and Eve, Adam in a red tunic, Eve in a woman's white robe and a veil of white silk.' (Chambers, ii. 80.)

The rubrics mention not only the costumes for all the characters, and the localities—paradise, hell, a cultivated field—but also 'properties'—a cascade, a rako, a rack, an oven and wear, cauldrons for them to best upon, flames.

The development of the liturgical drama was practically complete by the 15th century. Thereafter after the growth was mostly outside the church, secular and more vernacular, much more rapid and national. The liturgical drama was much the same in different countries, but the vernacular religious plays took on great variety in the 14th cent.; so that henceforth, to be understood with any clearness, the special literary types that developed must be studied by countries. Furthermore, the influence of particular authors and of particular methods of representation makes itself felt.

MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.
and the minor instances of dramatic activity can hardly be mentioned. Generally the English Miracle-plays were represented in separate scenes, each by a different trade, and, on its own 'pillage.'

A high scaffold with two rows, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they assembled them selves, and in the higher rest they played. . . . They became first at the aby gate, and when the first pageant was played it was where the justices of the peace were met, and so to every streets . . . to se which was greata resort, and also scaffolds and stages made in the streets in those places where they decided to play their pageanes' (Archdeacon Rogers' description of a play at Chester, 1394, quoted by Pollard, English Miracle Plays, p. xxxiv).

The plays of the cycle were not the work of one author, but an 'organic growth.' The number of guilds having played; hence there was also a variation in the number of plays or scenes. The play for each guild was often slight in subject—e.g., 'Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and a distaff assigning them work,' played by the armourers at York. An over-estimate of the subjects of the York cycle (probably composed towards the middle of the 14th cent.) will give an idea of the wide range of the plays:

the Creation, the Temptation, the Fall, Noah and the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the Wilderness, the Propheties of Christ, the Annunciation of the Shepherds, the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, Christ in the Temple, the Temptation, the Woman taken in Adultery, the Raising of Lazarus, Judith and Holofernes, the Crucifixion, the Marrying of Bell, the Resurrection.

Although this list is incomplete, we can see it all the elements that we have found in the Continental liturgical plays, and may be permitted to suppose that the Miracle-cycles developed by the extension and amalgamation of liturgical forms such as the 'Prophecies,' the 'Stab,' the 'Pastores.' Though, like their French and German contemporaries, the authors allowed themselves considerable freedom in expanding the Biblical text (as, for example, the part of Herod), the characters most freely drawn are almost exclusively those of persons to whom neither Scripture nor legend ascribes either name or individuality. Such personages as Cain's wife' garcelo, or servant, Noah's wife's shepherd, are introduced for the sake of relief—often inappropriately, it seems to us, as in the Crucifixion scene.

The purpose of the dramatic relief that we owe the story of Maf and his sheep-stealing in the Coventry cycle—our first English comedy' (Pollard, p. xii).

In the Coventry cycle there are various characters that link the Miracle with the Morality, the dramatic form more characteristic of the later years of the pre-Elizabethan drama. Such characters appear as Death, Veritas, Misericordia, Pax. The earliest known English Morality is lost. It was a 14th cent. play, 'setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer . . . in which the angels and devils and sins were heaped up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise' (J. Toulmin Smith, English Drama, London, 1874, p. 137).

The earliest Morality that has survived is 'The Castle of Perseverance.'

Its purpose was 'to trace the spiritual history of Humannman Grace . . . from the day of his birth to his appearance at the Judgement Seat of God, to personify the foes by whom his path way was obstructed, and the confessor he rests on, and the ordinances of Confession and Penance by which he is strengthened in his conflict' (Pollard, p. xvi).

The play is poorly but interesting; it has logical development and unity of purpose. The stage directions show that it was elaborately presented.

The most famous morality is 'Everyman,' composed in the 15th cent.; it is thoroughly dramatic in language and treatment.

The great Moralities were followed by shorter ones dealing with narrower subjects—didactic interludes,' Pollard calls them. From these are derived most of the common notions regarding Moralities. One of the earliest is 'Hycke Sooner.' Some are written in the character of religion, others in praise of learning (e.g., the 'Interlude of the Four Elements'). Some of the later interludes are real plays, in the modern sense—e.g., 'A New and Pleasant Enterlude; or, the Earl the Martian, and the Science of Maim.' The amusing lines, the act-division, and the characterization make the play modern rather than medieval. John Heywood's plays illustrate still better the change that was taking place in dramatic art—a change which was to lead rapidly to the splendid Elizabethan drama.

5. France.—The development of the liturgical drama outlined above carried us into the 12th century. If there are few plays known of the 12th and 13th centuries, the period when the drama became thoroughly secularized. Of the 12th cent. two plays are known, Jean Boitel's 'Jean de Saint Noe' and Brulart de S. Theophile.' In the 14th cent. the French drama first acquired its national character. Petit de Julleville says that forty-three plays of the period are extant, 'the Miracle of St. Martin and Notre Dame.' Here we have a form not found generally in other countries. That there must have been other forms of plays in this century is certain; the derivation of the dramas of the 15th cent. from the 12th and 13th makes this clear. Forty of the plays of the Virgin are in one MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These plays, however, they vary in style and in source, all have as a central theme a miraculous event brought about by the intervention of the Virgin—always a mechanical and unexpected intervention. In other respects—in style, stage-management, songs—the plays are so similar to ours that we can discern the work of one author, at least the répertoire of one company; and this is the more likely as such plays were performed by societies, called 'Puys,' formed for the purpose.

In the 15th cent. for the first time the word 'Mystère' appears as a dramatic term, and in this century it meant a representation of either Biblical story or the lives of saints. The NT was more used than the OT, as we have seen; the history of the Middle Ages in the OT was chiefly in the fore-shadowing of the redemption of mankind. This view accounts for the inequality and lack of dramatic feeling in the use of OT story. Furthermore, the medieval drama was not original; it did not build up a play from a situation as did Corneille or Racine, but transcribed Scriptural narrative regardless of dramatic effect.

Though the French 'Mystères' seldom approach the completeness of the English cycles, they are often cyclical in form and extremely long. The famous 'Passion' of Arnaud Gremelin is about 65,000 lines, a length attained not merely by prolixity but by following the career of each of the apostles after the Crucifixion. The French Passion-plays, the most notable of the 'Mystères,' control, of course, around the Passion, which they developed in a painfully realistic manner; but they were extended at the pleasure of the author by the addition of any scenes preceding or following the narrative proper. Hence the legends of the saints, also popular in this period, had often a local interest.

*Many were composed for a certain province, city, or brotherhood, in order to celebrate a patron saint, to commend a relic, or to give sanction to a pilgrimage* (Petit de Julleville, 1: 390).
6. Germany.—The early texts are scarce in Germany, but from those that are extant it appears that the liturgical play had much the same history as in other countries, and that the translation from the Latin to the vernacular took place in the same manner. As early as the 12th cent. the Teutonic 'Anti-christes' (text in Frowning, p. 200), then termed Spiegelspiele, is known. It was a remarkable characteristic: an ambitious plan, allegorical figures, and particularly a political motive, for it is a subtle vindication, on the one hand, of the Empire against Papal claims, and on the other of the "Teutonicorum" against the " rex Francorum."

In the 14th and 15th centuries the religious drama flourished in Germany, its most characteristic form being the Passion-play, of which numerous texts survive. There were also some cycles, such as those for Corpus Christi from Swabia (15th cent.). The Passion, which came in the 14th and 15th centuries to be the chief theme of the religious dramas in France and Germany, had seldom been represented in the liturgical drama. The nearest approach to a Passion-play was found in the dialogued versions of the Planets Marvel, such as that first published in Liège in 1527; there was also a version printed at Munich, 1525.

The earliest text is German from Benediktiner. Like other medieval dramatic forms, the Passion-play was developed by attrition; it assimilated with other forms, either 'prefigurations' of Christ or events following His Passion. By the 14th cent. the form was well developed, but its main period in Germany was from 1400 to 1515. Great 'Passions' were played at Frankfort, Aifeld, Friedberg, and other towns. Some, as at Eger and Donaueschingen, were cyclical in extent.

7. Modern survivals.—Traces of medieval dramatic customs can be found there in Europe to the present day. In general the survivals are no more than dummshow like the popular crèche, or representation of the infant Christ at Christmas, which is, however, rather a reversion to the ceremony from which the Christmas play was derived than a survival of the play. Most notable in this way are the representations of the Passion-play that have either kept alive in out-of-the-way places or revived, most famous among them being that of Oberammergau. The first mention of it is in 1633, and the oldest text, dating from about 1600, contains traces of two earlier plays. The tradition of the Oberammergau Passion-Drama originated in the 15th cent. and continued there until the 18th cent. It was further remodelled by the Benedictine Rosner after the model of the Jesuit drama, and in 1780 Rosner's more comprehensive version was simplified by Knipfelberger. Its present simple and dignified form is the work of two authors, P. O. Weiss and M. Daisenberger. The play is given every ten years, in pursuance of the original vow on deliverance from pestilence. Other versions of the Passion-play have been performed in recent times at Brixlegg and Voriedersee in the Tyrol and at Höriz in southern Bohemia (A. Hautlen, Uber das Höriziter Passionspiel, Prague, 1894). Representations of this kind occur to this day in southern Italy (T. Trode, DasGotischeSchauspiel in Süditalien, 1895).


IV. GERMANY.—W. K. de la Granville, Die deutschen und italienischen Passions- spiele, Stuttgart, 1883; L. Wirth, Alter- und Passions spiele bis zum sechsten Jahrhundert, 1890; J. E. Wacker, Dichtungen alter deutscher Passions spiele aus Tirol, Graz, 1897; W. Wilken, Geschichte der dichterischen Spiele in Deutschland, Oettingen, 1912; G. Milhaud, Die Oster- und Passions spiele, Wolfsbad, 1885.


A. I. DU P. COLEMAN and A. D. COMPTON.

MIRROR.—The invention of the mirror seems to coincide with the beginnings of the higher civilization, following the rise in institution of metalurgy. It is clearly an instance of the polished reflecting surface of metals. The Egyptian mirror apparently set the mode for all subsequent developments of the instrument, at least in the Western world.

1. Mirrors of the ancients.—These were almost invariably hand-mirrors for ladies' toilette purposes. The Egyptian mirrors were made of bronze (not brass, as is often stated), one mixed alloy from six to eight inches in diameter, they were elliptical in shape, with the long axis at right angles to the handle, which also served as a stand. The polished surface was extraordinarily fine, and in some cases still remains.

Mirrors are not mentioned in Homer, but were used in classical Greek times, and borrowed by Rome. Few Greek mirrors are extant, but their shape suggests derivation from the same that of the Roman mirror from Greece. Both Greek and Roman artificers preferred the absolutely circular form, with the handle as in the Egyptian original. They were usually made of bronze, with 20 to 30 per cent of tin; some specimens are silver or silver-plated. The Romans developed the box-mirror, consisting of two circular disks joined by a hinge. At the back of Greek and Roman mirrors appears the handle. The most numerous collections are from Etruria. The Etruscans were sedulous imitators of Greek art, and much of their work on mirror-backs is interesting and intelligent, though lacking the fineness of Greek technique. Piny notes the manufacture of glass mirrors backed with tinfoil at Sidon, but the invention did not succeed, and had to be repeated in the Middle Ages. The Romans made large mirrors also, similar to the modern cheval-glasses, but fixed in the walls of rooms, and working up and down like a window-sash. The mirror-case was especially developed in the 16th cent. Otherwise various forms of the mirror have been performed in recent times at Brixlegg and Voriedersee in the Tyrol and at Höriz in southern Bohemia (A. Hautlen, Uber das Höriziter Passionspiel, Prague, 1894). Representations of this kind occur to this day in southern Italy (T. Trode, Das Gotische Schauspiel in Süditalien, 1855).
by artists. Metal mirrors were known in northern India by the Christian era, 1 and they were used to some extent by the Central American peoples, 2 which the Moche of Peru, the Hittites, and with them at an early period for women's use. 3 In Greek art Aphrodite is sometimes represented as holding a mirror; and in the Indian marriage ritual a mirror is placed in the hand of the bride to enable her to dress her hair. 4 A mirror and a comb are not infrequently found on Scottish sepulchral monuments of the early medieval period, but their precise significance is still uncertain. 5

2. Medieval mirrors. — The mirror-case continued to be popular among the rich, but the mirror itself became smaller, and was usually carried on the person.

10. The largest mirror known in the Middle Ages did not exceed the size of a plate. 6

The circular shape was retained.

11. The reflect ing surface was usually of polished steel or other metal, and steel mirrors were still in use in the sixteenth century. 7 There is a reference to a "round looking glass" of Cathe- rine of Aragon, which was probably a polished metal surface with a sheet of glass over it. An arrangement of this sort had been employed since the thirteenth century, and in the inventory of the Duke of Burgundy, dating from the fifteenth century, we find a mirror "a la fenêtre" or a "looking glass." 8

This method is a noteworthy, but futile, attempt at a combination of metal and glass.

12. Considering the great quantity of glass manufactured for window panes from the thirteenth century onward, it would have been curious if the idea of employing a substance admitting of no such polish had not suggested itself to the mirror-makers of the day. But until a really satisfactory metallic looking was discovered, the advantage of a looking-glass over a steel mirror would be slight, and this fact may account for the persistence of the latter for domestic use down to so late a period. The same was true of the "looking glass" method, which gives the modern looking-glass its efficiency was not known before the sixteenth century. 9

A final improvement was effected in the middle of the 15th. century by the French invention of plate-glass. Backing for glass was known in the 13th. century, and in the 14th. there was a gild of glass- mirror-makers in Nuremberg, but it was first in Venice that mirror-making acquired commercial importance. 10

The mirror naturally has lent itself to the production of curiosities, mostly the result of experiment.

The effects of convex and concave surfaces seem to have been known at an early time in both the East and the West. The "magic mirror" of China and Japan reflects on a screen an image of its back. In medieval Europe small spherical glass mirrors were known as "Ochsenaugen." The use of reflectors to produce light and heat was early discovered, as by the Greeks and Central Americans. 11 Mirror-writing is often practiced by ambidextrous persons, as by Leonardo, and it also occurs pathologically in forms of aphasia.

3. Superstitious connections with the mirror. — The property of reflecting images naturally inspires wonder, and thus tends to produce superstitious beliefs and practices. Most of these are connected with the common idea that the reflection of a person is his soul.

12. A saying who had been made to look into a mirror exclaimed, "If I gaze into the world of spirits!" One of Darwin's children, at night, pulled to the looking-glass on his name called. 12

Two cases illustrate the connexion between


3. J. Jacob, in J.E., s.n.: Ec v. 88, 1894, p. 32. 136.


5. A. Hillebrand, Ritualritualer ( = G.A.P. iii., 2), Strassburg, 1897, p. 65.


10. Archæologists have been said to set fire to enemy ships by means of gigantic mirrors or burning glasses.


12. A mirror, say the sectaries Russian Rastoloki generally, is an ascended soul. 13


15. E. H. Mann, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' JAI xvi. 1913, 162.


27. J. H., p. 313.


29. Loc. cit.


On the other hand, a mirror, as when set in a ring, may be used to repel demons.1

The magical uses of the mirror and the Dihing surface is an ancient and world-wide practice, its principle being that figures representing the souls of persons at the moment or in future actions may be seen. A pool of ink is a common mirror for the Inca priests (cf. art. CRYSTAL-GAZING), and a combination of mirror and pool of water was used at Deuter's sanctuary at Patre, where was a sacred spring, but its use was permitted only in cases of sickness.

'They tie a mirror to a fine cord, and let it down so far that it shall not plunge into the spring, but merely graze the surface of the water with its rim; they look into the mirror, and it shows them the sick person either living or dead.'2

It is also used, especially in German and Slavic lands, to discover one's future husband or wife.3

Divination by mirrors is a variety of a widespread method of 'seeing,' the most frequent instrument being the crystal ball. A magic mirror possessed of the power of speech is not uncommon in folk-tales; and in Shintoism actual worship is rendered to mirrors which, originally presented to deities, have come to stand for the divine beings themselves.

The supernatural associations of mirrors are chiefly the foregoing, but one or two of a miscellaneous order may be noted, as illustrating the general subject.

Pausanias describes a temple near Megalopolis, within which was a mirror fixed on the wall. "Any one who looks into this mirror beholds himself, and all things around him, but the reflection of the gods and the throne are clearly visible." The Greeks kindled sacred fire by means of the mirror or crystal, and the same was the case in China and Siuan, while in the Laccadive kingdom the new fire was kindled at the summer solstice by means of a concave mirror turned to the sun.4

4. The mirror in metaphor.—The optical properties of the mirror are so important and impressive that all civilized thought is permeated by ideas derived from them. One or two may be cited. The Hebrew paronomasiologist says: 'As in a water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man,'5 while the Buddhist sutta6 speaks of 'a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth.'7

Mirror was a favourite component of titles of books in Elizabethan literature, in its meaning of 'true description,' and its meaning of 'pattern, exemplar, model' is similar. Shakespeare writes 'the mirror of all Christian kings.'8 To hold 'an image of the mirror up to Nature' uses the simplest connotation of the term. An interesting metaphor is used of psychic processes; the mirror of the mind.9

Chaucer and Shakespeare are the chief sources. Among new sources of metaphor are the two remarkable biological and chemico-physical analogies to the optical fact of mirror-image (in which right becomes left and vice versa). All vertebrate animals, many invertebrates, and the leaf and other systems of plants are bilateral, one side being the mirror-image of the other, while the formation of right-hand and left-hand crystals is connected with the division of acids into right and left according to the effect produced in relation to polarized light.

LITERATURE.—With the exception of the well-known archaeological works on magic mirrors and popular folklore collections, the relevant literature is included in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MISHMIS.—The Mishmis are a tribe who inhabit the Mishmi hills, a section of the mountain ranges on the northern frontier of Assam, which shut in the eastern end of the Brahmaputra valley, between that river and the Dihing river, a typically unexplored, consisting of steep ridges, covered as a rule with tree forest, and including some peaks 15,000 feet in height (IGI xvi. 1908, 377 f.). They are divided into four tribes, speaking three distinct but probably connected languages. The most western tribe is known as Midu, Midhi, Nedu, or Chaikatka, 'hair-cropped;' they inhabit the Dihing valley with the adjoining hills. To these last art the Mishmis are called 'outcasts,' who speak practically the same language. East of the Bebijyayas are the Taying or Digaru Mishmis, beyond the Digaru river. The Mijus are still further east, towards the Lama valley of Dezayul, a sub-prefecture of Lihas. Most of these live beyond the British frontier. The numbers counted at the last three Censuses in Assam were 271, 98, and 271 (Census Rep. Assam, 1891, i. 205.; 1901, i. 139.; 1911, i. 134.).

1. Ethnology.—The Mishmis have been identified by some authorities with the Mishzas or Hmug, the aborigines of Yunnan, whose name has been interpreted to mean 'children of the river'; or as a contemptuous reference to their 'simple dirt' (J. G. Scott and J. F. Hardiman, Gaz. Upper Burma, pt. i. vol. i. [Rangoon, 1900] p. 697 f.).

So far as the means at our disposal permit us to draw conclusions, it seems most probable that these four tribes belong neither to the Hmug, to the Yunnans, to the Southern race, or to the Tibeto-Burma branch of the Tibeto-Burraan languages. They seem to be descendants of clans which, when the partition of the ways between the two branches took place, accompanied neither, but made their own way at different periods into the hills overlooking the Assam valley from the south' (G. A. Grierson, Census Rep. India, 1910, i. 223).

2. Relations with the British Government.—The British first came in contact with the Mishmis in 1825, when Liot. Burton reported that the 'Mishmah' were inhabited by tribes 'who were very averse to receive strangers.' Other officers visited them between that time and 1831, when M. Krick, a French missionary, was murdered by them. Then followed a succession of outrages. In 1885 one of their headmen was taken to visit the Calcutta Exhibition. Soon after his return he died, and the tribe, holding the British Government responsible, wore memorial tatters and proclaimed that the head of a British subject should be buried with him, in order to propitiate his spirit. So they slew a British subject and carried off his head. An expedition was sent after the head, and by a commission, and since that time they have given little trouble. But they are keen tappers of rubber, and it has been found expedient to prevent them from crossing the Brahmaputra into British territory for that purpose (B. C. Allen, Gaz. Lokbikyoor, 1905, p. 55 f.).

3. Religious beliefs.—The best account of their religious beliefs is that by E. T. Dalton, Descrip- tive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, p. 16 ff.:

'The religion of the Mishmis is confined to the propitiation of demons whenever illness or misfortune visits them. On these occasions the sprig of a plant is placed at the door to intimate to strangers that the house is for the time under taboos. They apply to their folklore collections, there are so many stories preserved in connection with the priests, but they are few in number and have to be brought from a distance when required. M. Krick describes one that he saw at a funeral ceremony. . . . For several days previous to the arrival of a priest, an attendant was employed in singing a devotional chant to the accompaniment of the bell. There was also a preliminary sacrifice of a red cock and hen, the blood of which was received in a vessel con- taining some offered milk, and alms were given, as it is supposed to indicate if the result will be fortunate or otherwise. At last the priest arrived, dressed like an ordinary chief, but he wore a rosary of steel, and, stashed
MISSION (Inner)

to the front of his headdress, two appolettes like horns. For two days, at intervals, the priest and his son employed themselves in drawing chalks, marking the time by waving a fan and ringing a bell; on the third day he put on his characteristic dress and cap, and he regarded his pontifical dress—a tight-fitting cost of colored cotton, a small apron, a deer skin as a mantle; from his right shoulder descending long grey hair, and bright red, as over his left shoulder he wore a broad belt embroidered with four gloomy white cross, and having attached to it, four small bells. On his head he placed a bandeau ornamented with shells, and round the knot of hair at the top of his head a movinam from which turned the weakest thread. This was followed by a wild demonical dance; but whether a schoolmistress or a wife people generally joined, we are not informed. The object was, however, to make as much noise as possible to frighten the devils. After this, lights were all extinguished, till a man suspended from the roof obtained a fresh light from a flint. He was to be careful not to touch the ground as he produced it, as the light thus obtained was supposed to be fresh from heaven [see p. 70].

Among the Mishes being polytheists, though of the lowest order, it is not strange that they make us understand the existence of one Great Spirit above all" (p. 197). "The Mishes, he said, 'are very unfortunate. We are everywhere sur-rounded by devils, that live in the mountain, and trees; they walk about in the dark and live in the winds; we are afraid of them and do not come near them.' He, however, to a question as to which deme he thought the strongest, after some hesitation he said that the demon of fire was the strongest and most dangerous, as he dried up the water and burnt the mountains; he was also good-natured, as he warned them not to look for fire (p. 169).

"As to religion, their notions are very vague. Polytheism, accompanied with all frightful ceremonies and sacrifices of fetishism, is their true creed. The yearly sacrifice and feast in honour of their deceased parents shows that they have some idea of a future state, but I could not find out their particular ideas, as death is a disagreeable subject of conversation among them; and Chowsam always declined to interpret questions relating to it" (p. 238). "The two most important ceremonies of the Mishes are undoubtedly those attending deaths and marriages. In the case of sickness a second thought is called in, and he generally prescribes the sacrifice of fowls or pigs, according to the degree of sickness. These sickness he orders as a preparation and as a propitiation of the demon who is supposed to be instrumental in causing sickness. When death ensues, particularly in the case of a male, it is said that the relations (bit-)

The movement originated after the close of the Napoleonic Wars when orphan houses were established for children whose parents had lost their lives in the war (Johannes Falk, Graf Aladbert von der Riecke, C. Heinrich Zoller). A number of societies and institutions arose organized on a large scale for the care of the poor, the nursing of the sick, and the saving of destitute children. This grew out of the pietist movement (see 1848) and was largely inspired by the efforts of Great Britain in the foreign missionary field, the foundation of the Bible Society, the work of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, and the City Mission. Competitors to these leaders were Johann Hinrich Wichern (1809-81), who in 1833 founded at Hamburg the Rauhe Haus (a reformatory institution built upon the household system with a training home for day-workers), and Bodo Flieder (1806-93). In 1826 founded at Kaiserwerth the first society for prison-visiting in Germany, in 1833 the first refuge for discharged female prisoners, and in 1836 the famous Deaconessinstitut for the training of nurses and infant teachers.

The name 'Inner Mission' was first employed in a narrower sense by Friedrich Lübeck, of Göttingen, in Die zweifache, innere und außere Mission der evangelischen Kirche (Hamburg, 1843), to mean work among the lapsed members of the different Christian communities and the fortifying of a weak church with the help of a strong, while Wichern broadened the meaning of the term to include all practical Christian work in the homeland and among Germans in foreign lands (Diapora).

It was Wichern who first organized the movement on a comprehensive scale in 1848. The revolution of that year roused the Church from its apathy, and opened its eyes to the glaring evils of heathendom which had grown up in the midst of the nation. A Church Diet was summoned at Wittenberg, where 500 representatives of Protestant German Churches assembled. Standing on Luther's grave, Wichern delivered a memorable address, picturing the wide-spread power and the spiritual paganism which had arisen in their midst and the fruits which it had produced, and calling upon the
Churches to join hands in remedying these evils. He sketched on large and state map-like lines the program of the remedial activities needed, and pronounced the formation of a central committee (Centralausschuss), consisting of ministers and laymen, to make a survey of the fields of work, place the various societies already at work in touch with one another, and thus to save every effort, point out the need of new effort and help such effort to succeed, guide the movement as a whole, and, above all, make it clear that all the several ministries were united by the one divine spirit of redeeming love in Christ. Thus was established a free confederation of all the activities of the Protestant Churches, so far as these were extra-official. The object of the Inner Mission, as defined in the first report of the Centralausschuss, is ‘that the Christian Church with all its resources, and through all its agencies, may fill and quicken the whole life of the people in all ranks of society, inspire all social arrangements and institutions with the might of a love energizing heart and life—and through all its living members labour to save the neglected and the poor.’ The Inner Mission was to be a tribe of practicing doctors in the great hospital of the people. Its programme and policy are set forth in full in Die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche, eine Denkschrift des roten Ausschusses. Frittern by Wichern at the instance of the Central Committee and published April 1849. This book sets out the scope of the work and the relations of that work to the existing home and church, as well as to the Inner Mission. For twenty years Wichern remained practically the directing spirit. Pamphlets (Fliegende Blatter) were published annually at the time giving reports of the various agencies carried on.

The most comprehensive survey of the work is given in two Jubilee publications of the Centralausschuss in 1899 (Statistik, Fünfzig Jahre). These contain reports by different authentic contributors on the work done in each of the following departments:

1. The care of children, creches, infant schools, care of crippled, Sunday schools and children’s services, refugees and orphanages, country holidays for city children.
2. The care of adolescents, associations and homes for apprentices and journeymen, schools of domestic economy, homes for bereaved children (Chorikretes Leben) (analogous to Christian Endeavor Societies).
3. The care of tramps and the homeless, colonies for unemployed, homes for girls, railway-station missions, women’s friendly societies and lodges, missions to soldiers and sailors, river and boat population, railwaymen, navvies, brickyard-workers, waiters.
4. The quickening of the Christian spirit, city missions, men’s brotherhoods, support of weary Churches, Christian art associations, lectures.
5. Work among emigrants and Germans in foreign lands (Diaspora), pastimes at holiday resorts.
6. Care of the poor, sick, and infirm, district nursing associations, red cross work in war, homes for imbeciles, epileptics, inebriates, blinds, deaf and dumb.
7. Countering of social evils, Sunday observance, housing reform, prison missions, temperance work, savings banks, anti-gambling work, friendly societies, building co-operatives.
9. Orphanages for orphans, asylums, unemployed colonies, nursing, etc., courses of instruction for social workers.

As the result of the Inner Mission the whole of Germany has been covered with a network of philantrhopic agencies, imbued with the Christian spirit; the social conscience has been quickened and enlightened, and the efforts of the Churches have been made simpler and more wisely directed. The State has co-operated. In 1852 the brothers of the Rote Haus were allowed to act as warders in Prussian prisons, and Wichern was commissioned to visit the prisons, investigate their conditions, and suggest reforms. Later, Wichern was appointed Councilor of the Ministry of the Interior and made a member of the Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat.

The work of the Inner Mission paved the way for the social legislation with which Germany was flooded during the Bodelschwingh (b. 1831), who founded at Bielefeld a colony for epileptics and unemployed, and organized, with the help of the Government, the national scheme of relief stations for tramps.

In the Church the Inner Mission has given the laity, and especially women, a sphere of service; it led to the official institution of the diocesan in the Evangelical Church in 1856, and gives material expression to the universal priesthood of believers. It has filled a place in the educational system by caring for orphans and infants, and counteracting the movement for the secularization of schools.

The movement has affected other countries—especially Switzerland (J. A. Bost), Denmark (Wilhelm Beck), Norway (P. Haram), and Holland (O. G. Heldring). The English Inner Mission, organized by her first training at Kaiserwerth. The work of Thomas Guthrie (Ragged Schools), William Pennefather (Milllany Conference), and John Brown Paton (Lingfield Mission) is typical of the work of the Inner Mission. In 1873 J. B. Paton and Francis Morse summoned a conference at Nottingham to consider the practical relations of Christianity to the social wants and evils of our time, at which Paton expounded the Inner Mission of Germany, and a union of all existing Christian charities and societies working for social ends was formed at Nottingham. W. T. Stead took up the same idea in his agitation for a Civic Church. The nearest approach in England has been the organization of Civic Leagues (or Gilds) of Help (beginning 1906), which represent an attempt to adapt the Eberfeld system to the conditions of English city life and bring all the social activities of the civic community into touch with each other.

MISSIONS.  

Buddhist (M. Anesaki), p. 760. 

Christian— 


Zoroastrian (L. H. Gray), p. 746. 

MISSIONS (Buddhist).—I. In China.—Buddhist missionary enterprises outside of India were started by K'iuin Asoka in the latter half of the 3rd cent. B.C. On the other hand, a later Chinese record informs us that in 217 B.C. (in the reign of Shih-Huangti of the Ts'in dynasty) eighteen Buddhist monks were brought to the capital of the empire. The authenticity of the information may be questioned, but, when we take into account the facts that Chinese Buddhists used to ascribe the 7th cent. B.C. to Asoka's reign, and that, in spite of that, the date of the story almost agrees with the historical date of Asoka, the tradition seems not to be a mere forgery. About one hundred years after that event, as stated in an official record, another contact of Buddhism with the Chinese took place. An expedition sent to the Western regions by the Emperor Wu, the most ambitious sovereign of the former Han dynasty, in 121 B.C. brought back Buddhist gospels and missionaries; and in the 2nd B.C. the Yuechi ambassadors are said to have brought some Buddhist scriptures. These stories point to the spread of the Buddhist missions in Central Asia in the centuries immediately after Asoka's missionary enterprises. 

Historical records agree in assigning to A.D. 67 the first official introduction of Buddhism into China. The Emperor Ming, stimulated by a dream, sent an expedition in search of the golden man of whom he had dreamt (A.D. 64), and, when the expedition returned in 67, it brought not only Buddhist statues and scriptures, but also two monks, both of whom were named Matanga and Dharmaraksya by name. The first Chinese Bud-

hist book, containing the forty-two sayings of Buddha, was written by Kaśyapa, and translations of several texts are said to have followed it. The Pai-ma, or White Horse Temple, was built in Loyang, the capital, and soon after the emperor's brother built another temple. Conversions en masse are said to have taken place in 71, many nobles and Taoist priests being among the converts. The new religion was received with open arms and heart; the way must have long been prepared for it. 

There is a gap of about eighty years between the mention of the first missionaries and the advent of two other monks, one of whom was Shih-kao of Parthia, who came to China in 148 and worked till 170. He is said to have been of royal blood and to have left his country because of the fall or decline of his own royal family. This is one of the evidences that Buddhism had a foothold in Parthia and Central Asia. It is quite conceivable that Chinese Buddhism had its source close to China's western borders at that time. Shih-kao's works are mostly texts from Agamas, the counterpar
tparts of the Pāli Nikāyas, and some of them treat of hygienic matters, connected with the practice of counting the respirations, or anāpāna. Perhaps we may see here the first of the medical works of the missionaries. 

For a century after the great Parthian translator we have only scanty records of missionaries, yet we have reason to suppose that missions were going on slowly. The Buddhist propaganda in this period consisted chiefly in translations of the scriptures and in miracle-working. Certainly the works of art, in particular, were performed by elaborate rituals and music, were great attractions; the Pai-ma temple is said to have been decorated with mural paintings representing Buddha and his saints; but the worship of Buddha's relics and the miracles worked by them are mentioned oftener than the works of art. The relics (sāriya, Chin. shōli) were represented by pearls of mysterious origin, and the miracles and works of art were attributed also to the mists and fogs which enveloped the relics. Little is heard of works of charity, though they are sometimes mentioned later in the 4th century. That the translations played a great part in the Buddhist mission is proved by the work done during the five centuries after the first undertaking. This was quite natural, because the Chinese already had rich literatures, both Confucianist and Taoist, and another, Buddhist, came to China, and the new religion found it urgent to confront them with scriptures of its own. 

Besides the translations, the first apologetic writing is ascribed to A.D. 195, a series of apologetics and polemics followed. This literature continued throughout the whole history of Chinese Buddhism. Its most flourishing period was in the 4th and the 5th centuries, during which Taoism was a powerful rival of Buddhism. These polemics were mostly carried on by native teachers, while foreign missionaries were occupied with translations. 

Though polemics do not belong properly to missionary works, we may here consider one instance, in order to throw a side-light on our subject. In 165, Hsū-tu, a Confucianist convert, wrote 37 sets of questions and answers in defence of his new faith. These questions may be divided into two groups: (1) those from the Confucianist side, asserting that Buddhism's ascetic religion was against humanity, and (2) those from the Taoist side, asserting that immortality (or, rather, physical longevity) was attainable only by Taoist practices, not by Buddhist teaching. Mou-tau defended his religion with abundant quotations from Confucian and Legalist works, which were at variance with which he confronted the attacks were really Buddhist. The transcendental idealism of supreme enlightenment was the position which he assumed against Confucianist positivism, and the teaching of impermanence of physical life was his standing-ground against Taoist atheism. This position has been taken as a typical example of the apologetic writings of the period. 

The fall of the Han dynasty in 220 and the subsequent division of the country into the Three Kingdoms were of great significance for the history of the nation, both politically and religiously. From this time down to the close of the 6th cent., the country was divided into many contending dynasties and kingdoms, and in a country like China, where the ruler's will determines everything, the fate of the Buddhist mission was always influenced by the vicissitudes of the ruling dynasties. Copies of missionaries were taken by the residences of dynasties, and the missionar
dies were expelled by rulers who preferred Taoism to Buddhism. Under these circumstances the missionar
ergave up the ground that the polemic literature flourished not earlier than the 4th cent., but we omit discussion of the question and follow the legend. 

1 There are collections of these writings; see Nanjo, nos. 1471, 1472, 1479, 1590, 1581. 

2 The question occurs with 'Who is Buddha?' The answer to it shows that the author was acquainted with Buddha's life through information which is very similar to the Lādakhtsthā. Some critics doubt the existence of this person, on the ground that the polemic literature flourished not earlier than the 4th cent., but we omit discussion of the question and follow the legend.
(1) Ch'ang-an (the modern Sing-an), (2) Lo-yang (on the Huo-ho) in the north, and (3) Chien-ye (the modern Nanking) in the south. During the first half of the 3rd cent., the last two were the respective capitals of two of the Three Kingdoms, while the third was situated far in the west, beyond the reach of Buddhist influence. After a short interval of under 100 years (294–305) these three places remained as the three centres of China in all the vicissitudes of rulers and States. Thus the missionaries who came to China by land routes worked hard, but did not succeed in spreading Buddhism from Central Asia or the north-west of India, though some went further to the south.

The 4th cent. was a period of confusion in China, caused by a hopeless division of the country and by intrusion of invaders from the north. Yet Buddhist missions proceeded to cover the greater part of the land, and many of the contending rulers welcomed missionaries from Central Asia. One of these men, Fo-n'ung, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a 'western country,' laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well versed in magic formulae and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment.' No fewer than 895 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10,000. But his contemporaries, Tso-an and Hui-yen, were more in his having educated one of the most powerful thinkers, Tso-an, than in his actual works; though he laboured mostly in the north, his influence was later propagated to the south by his disciples.

The demarcation between north and south became more conspicuous when, at the beginning of the 5th cent., two comparatively powerful dynasties divided the country into two. While the northern, the Wei dynasty, patronized those who came from or through Central Asia, the southern, the Sung dynasty, invited missionaries from S. India, who came by the sea route. Moreover, the repeated persecutions of Buddhists by Taoist rulers of the northern dynasties drove many missionaries and Chinese monks to the south, and it was through them that a start was made in establishing groups of men of similar tendencies, which became the origin of sectarian division in Chinese Buddhism.

Among these, who worked in the north the most prominent was  the Kuma-rājiva, a native of Karachi. He came to Ch'ang-an in 401, having been invited by the prince of the Ts'in dynasty, and, being highly patronized by the latter, he worked there with great success for more than ten years. His lectures were attended by crowds from various classes of people, and his work of translation was assisted by the best scholars and men of letters. It is no wonder that the translations ascribed to him are ranked as classical Chinese, and that his translation of the Lotus of the True Law (g.v.) Saddharmapundarika remains the most valued and revered of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Kumārājīva was apparently a monk, but his conduct was highly irregular, for he lived with many concubines; yet his talents were so appreciated and his fame so high that his patron and the people honoured him, despite his neglect of Buddhist discipline and in spite of attacks heaped upon him.

A powerful rival, however, appeared in the person of Buddha-bhadra, who was invited to Ch'ang-an in 498. He is believed to have arrived at the coast of Shantung by the sea route, having once failed to come by land. In contrast to Kumārājīva, he observed austere rules of monastic life, and instructed his followers in discipline and in meditation. At last a critical rupture between the two great schools broke out, and Buddha-bhadra took refuge in the south, where Tso-an's disciples were living secluded in a monastery on Mount Lu-shan, in the modern province of Chiang-hsi. The leader of the group was Hui-yen (+ 410), and its members were those three centres of China, who were disgusted with the troubles of the world and devoted themselves to meditation and conversation with one another. Here Buddha-bhadra found men with their seats the southern sea, the north, and instructed them further in the secrets of Buddhist mental training. In this group of thinkers we see Chinese Buddhism quite accentuated to the native soil, especially to the poetic and transcendental mood of the southern Chinese, and preparing for further union of Buddhist meditation with Chinese quietism. It was on this ground that a definite school of meditation, known as Shan-fo (Skr. dhāma), later established itself and further impressed Buddhism with the poetry of the valley of the Yang-tzu. Although the followers of the Shan-fo school trace their origin to Buddha-bhadra, it appears that they did not have to come to China by sea in 529, the further source is to be found in the group of recluses at Lu-shan who welcomed Buddha-bhadra. After all, we can assign to China a school of Buddhism, relatively apart from foreign missionaries, to Tso-an and Hui-yen. Yet, parallel with this native movement, missionary work was proceeding, both in the north and in the south.

As we have mentioned, the south welcomed Indian missionaries, many of whom came by sea, and we find a sudden growth of sea-communication with India from the dawn of the 5th century. The pioneer of the sea-voyage from Ceylon to China was the famous pilgrim Fa-hian, who arrived at Shantung in 414, and who was followed by a series of Buddhists who sailed to China and worked mostly under the patronage of the southern dynasties. The most eminent of these was Gunavarman, who came to Canton from Ceylon, via Java, in 424. He laid the foundations of two monasteries called Chao-to (Chchena) and Jetavan (Jetavana) in Nanking. Here he instructed his followers in the strict discipline of the Vinaya and instituted the system of ordination, as an imitation into Buddhist mysteries, by establishing a special centre for the purpose, after the example of Nalanda (g.v.). The arrival of a number of Sinhalese monks in 434 under the leadership of a certain Tissara (Tisa) was probably connected with his institutions and intended for starting monasteries under the model of Sinhalese Buddhism. Another group of monks came from Ceylon in 438. Among those who followed the footsteps of Gunavarman are to be mentioned Kālayasas and Dharmamitra, both translators of Mahāyāna texts; Buddha-bhadra, the translator of the Saddharmapundarika; and Sangha-bhadra, the translator of the Pāli Sāvanatthassa-sīkha, a commentary on the Vinaya written by the famous Buddha-bhadra. The last of these is said to have come together with his master, a Tripiṭaka-chhārya.

In the 6th cent. we have two notable instances of sea-journeys. One was the journey of Buddha-bhadra, mentioned above, who is said to have remained silent for nine years after his arrival in China, but who yet succeeded in impressing his spiritual influence and in opening a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan.
The next instance was the voyage of Paramârtha, who arrived in China in 546 and was invited to Nanking in 548. To him owe the translations of many of Asanga's and Vasubandhu's works and some other books. He was the first propagator of the Yogâchâra Buddhism in China, even before Yuan-chwang, the great translator of the 7th century.

Thus the Buddhist missionaries came to the Middle Kingdom from two sides by two routes, one via Central Asia and the other via Ceylon.1 Their labours, and the further development of their religion in the East, and have given us a rich store of information. On the other hand, we must not forget the pious zeal of the Chinese pilgrims who went to the West in search of truth and scriptures, the most prominent of whom was Fa-hian. It is related that the missionaries coming eastward and the pilgrims going westward met one another everywhere in the 5th and 6th centuries. By the joint labours of these men were completed the translations of the four Agamas, together with several of their single parts; the Vinaya texts in various versions coming to China; the religion of the Lotus; and the Flower-garland (Avatârakâra), etc. From these works we can see how Buddhist ideas and expressions became a part of the Chinese language, which is totally of different structure from the originals. These books and expressions now form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature.

In the 5th cent. Buddhist missions in China consisted chiefly in the work of translation, though we may suppose that popular propaganda was not neglected. Besides these, the monastic institutions were an integral part of the Buddhist religion. The first translation of the Pratimoksa (Pâli Pâtimokkha) and the regular monastic discipline based on it were carried out by Dharmakâla, an Indian, who came to Loy-yang in 520. In the 5th cent. we see a further establishment of the regular method of ordination under the government's patronage and supervision, carried out by Gunagamitrya. The sustenance of these ordained monks and nuns was eagerly patronized as a deed of great merit by rulers as well as private persons. We hear that, when, in 446, Emperor Ta-wu of the northern Wei dynasty sent Buddhist missions to the south, one third of these monks and nuns in his territory alone. This may be an exaggeration; but it is quite conceivable that there were 83,000 ordained persons in the time of the Liang (southern) dynasty, the great protector of Buddhism, and himself an ordained monk. Besides these regular monks many ascetics were revered as saints by the people, and they contributed much to the propagation of the religion, but as much to the dissemination of superstitions. They formed an eclectic element in Buddhism by adopting Taoistic and Indian ways of living and practices, but there were some who were really saintly, or at least beyond the world. Their lives are described in the Book of Saints and Miracles (Nanjio, no. 1454), and many of them are hardly to be distinguished from the Taoist 'men of mountains.' The people accustomed to look upon

1 According to Nanjio, App. B., among 73 translators who worked between 67 and 429, there were 10 Indians, 7 Yuehchi, 5 Parthian, 7 t'ou-Khâna, 21 from the western countries and 17 Chinese; among them 22 worked in the south, of whom 5 were Chinese. Among 42 workers who worked between 430 and 544, 16 were Indians, 19 from Kucha and other western countries, 4 Sinhalas and Indo-Chinese, and 5 uncertain. Among them 27 worked in the south.

2 For the whole extent of the work done up to 520 see Nanjio, App. xli-xvii; for the Agama texts see Anesaki, op. cit.
told only of the actions taken by the rulers and their ministers. Certainly the propaganda proceeded to engage them with new objects of worship and new methods of cult, but the most important factor in determining the fate of the new religion was in the hands of the rulers. The triumph given by the Tibetan conquests of Strong-ltsen Gam-po caused him to send his able minister Thunmi Sambho to India, where he performed a great service for Buddhism and for Tibet by inaugurating a Tibetan alphabet after the manner of the Skr. Devanagari. Translation of Buddhist books, partly from Chinese, but much more from Sanskrit, was made possible by this system of Tibetan letters. A decisive step in the work of translating Buddhist books into Tibetan was taken more than a century later, in the reign of Khri-Srong-de-btsan (reigned 740-786), who was a successful conqueror of borderlands. It was he who invited learned Buddhists from India and gave a decided turn to the nature of Tibetan Buddhism, because those Indians mostly advocated occult mysticism based on the belief in the efficacy of dhāraṇī, or mystic formulae, and magic practices. Among these agents of mystic Buddhism we mention two names: Padmasambhava or 'Lotus Growth,' with an allusion to the lotus as the womb of the cosmos, who introduced into Tibet the disciple, Pagur Vairochana, the 'Great Translator.'

The 9th cent. was a period of confusion in Tibet, and the fate of Buddhism passed through various vicissitudes in association with the inclination of the rulers and with their rise and fall. From the latter part of the 10th cent. we see fresh streams of N. Indian Buddhists and a firm establishment of mystic Buddhism. Besides the translations, many original writings, historical and doctrinal, were composed in Tibetan; and the missionary stage may thus be closed in this period. After all, accessible material concerning Buddhist missions in Tibet is scarce, and what is known relates only to political support by the government, and to translations produced by foreigners and Tibetans.

The 15th cent. was an epoch-making period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, in connexion with the conquest of Asia by the Mongol Kublai Khan. Buddhist missions seem to have been active in this time in Mongolia, and the Mongol conquerors were quickly converted to Tibetan Buddhism, though all of them were ecclesiastics of promiscuous nature. Tibetan Buddhism was definitely established as a theology by the energy and ability of Phags-pa, the ally of Kublai Khan, and its influence was extended to the northern countries and even to China. The definitely independent, and totally isolated, growth of Tibetan Buddhism is to be dated from the latter part of the 14th cent., when the Mongol dynasty in China fell and the Tibetan reformer Tsong-Kha-pa arose.

3. In Korea.—When, in the 4th cent., Buddhism was being naturalized in Chinese culture, its propagation farther eastwards began. At that time Korea was divided into three kingdoms and several minor States. Of these three Koryo (or Kokuryo) was situated in the north, and first came into contact with Buddhism. In 374 two monks, Ato and Sauntao, both of whom are said to have been foreigners, were invited from N. China to the capital of Koryo (the modern Pien-yang), and in the next year two temples 1 were built for them, while in 384 a certain Malananda was welcomed by the court of Pō-kkōyó, which was situated in the middle of the country. Historical records tell of 1 The names of these temples, Syo-mun and Jpal-luian, sound neither Chinese nor Korean.

the construction of temples and of the arrival of missionaries, both Indian and Chinese, from China, but little information of them with us. In their propaganda, this fact being partly due to the circumstance that these records were compiled by the Confucianists of the anti-Buddhist dynasty of the 18th cent. The Buddhist propaganda advanced to the southern extremity of the peninsula in the middle of the 5th cent. An ascetic, nicknamed the Black Foreigner, 2 preached the Three Jewels in the south and came to be accepted in the Silla kingdom by means of incense and alms. He was followed by some missionaries who came to the south and gained hold of the people's minds. The worship of Buddha was received officially by the king of Silla in 528, and this monarch and his successors were not less zealous in the Buddhist cause than the rulers of the north. The construction of temples and organization of Buddhist rites came into vogue. A king who ruled in 540-576 became a monk, and his consort became a nun; and the propaganda advanced so far in his reign that a Korean priest was appointed archbishop of the realm of Silla.

4. In Japan.—In nearly a century and a half Buddhism had converted the whole of Korea, and it was quite natural that the tide of the mission should also rush down to Japan, which had no direct communication with the peninsular States and had introduced Chinese learning in the beginning of the 5th cent. The religion was first advocated by the Korean immigrants, and then by some natives. After these preparations, it was presented officially by the king of Pō-kkōyó to the Japanese court as a sign of homage and friendship in 583 (the date is usually but erroneously given 552). The presents consisted of a gilt statue of Buddha, scriptures, banners, and other ritual instruments, 3 and the message which accompanied these presents said:

This teaching (dhārma) is the most excellent of all teachings. It brings infinite and innumerable fruits to its followers, even to the final enlightenment (siddhi). Just as the Chintamani 4 jewel is said to give inexhaustible wealth to its possessor, so the jewel of this precious Law never ceases to give response to those who seek for it. Moreover, it has come from Korea, far distant, and the people of the countries lying between these two are now all adherents of it, etc.

These words, accompanied with a fine image and works of art, were a marvellous revelation to a people who knew only how to invoke spirits supposed to be little better than demons, and who looked upon the newly-offered deity was more powerful than the national deities or not. The hidden motive of the difference, however, was the political clan strife, intermingled with the difference of progressive and conservative policies. During fifty years strife the fate of the new religion seemed always wavering. But the present were followed by an incessant influx of priests, monks, artisans, and physicians, as the guards of the religion. It was natural that elaborate rites and the practice of medicine should be most effectual means in the conversion of a rather primitive people like the Japanese at that time. Though the religion was not yet generally accepted by the people, the sovereigns cherished it as their faith, and the Saga family, the head of the processionists, became its zealous advocates. They built temples and temples, and we hear of a monastery founded by the family in 684. The fall of the conservative party in 687 marked a decisive step in the progress of Buddhism, and to commemorate this event a temple was built,
for the first time at State expense. The erection of these and other Buddhist buildings caused constant importations of Buddhist statues, utensils, etc., accompanied by missionaries and artisans, and these displays of art were associated with works of charity. Three institutions—an asylum, a hospital, and a dispensary—were attached to a temple built in 593, and similar institutions were founded throughout the country in the subsequent centuries.

In the regency of Prince Shōtoku, the Constantine of Japan (reigned 593-622), the new religion became the State Church. Not only were missionaries and learned monks invited from Korea, but direct communication with Chinese Buddhism was opened (605), and Japanese monks were sent to China for study. The number of the Korean missionaries who worked in this period was considerable, and their achievements in preaching religion, in teaching science, especially astronomy, and in other matters, were a great credit to them; but the new religion found native teachers in less than a hundred years after its introduction. The prince himself gave lectures on Buddhist scriptures and organized various institutions. In short, the first half of the 7th century consisted first in the display of forms, then in works of charity, chiefly medical practices, and lastly in teaching. The mission, however, did not extend very far from the capital in Yamato. The acceptance of Buddhism was closely connected with the diplomatic relations with the Korean States and China, on the one side, and with the efforts to centralize the government and to unite the States by religion, on the other. The development of religious institutions and the management of State affairs assisted each other.

After the decisive step of the adoption of the Buddha by the prince, and the progress of the religion was sure and steady. Its influence was propagated gradually from the capital to the provinces. Many Korean immigrants, some of whom were noble men, and monks, were offered homes in various provinces, and the number of native workers increased, some of whom studied in China or Korea. The donations given not only to large monasteries and to clergy of higher ranks, but also to the poor and aged monks and nuns, show how numerous were the ordained natives and immigrants. Besides these Korean and Japanese priests, a certain number of Chinese, Indians, and of Europeans, mainly Graeco-Bactrian Buddhist missionaries, were sent, many to the Buddhist propagated provinces, the most famous of whom were Kanjīn, a Chinese, and Bodhisena, an Indian. The former founded the central institution for ordination and monastic discipline, and was appointed abbotship (754-763 in Japan). He was also an organizer of medical practice and founded a botanical garden. The Indian was of the Brahman family Bharadvaja. He came to Japan in 730 with his Japanese and Chinese followers, some of whom were musicians, and worked as a bishop till his death in 760, being known as the 'Brahman bishop.' These missionaries brought many useful arts and things Indian, which contributed to the influence of the religion, such as musical instruments, Indian harps, and the bas-relief in the Graeco-Bactrian style, preserved in the Imperial treasury, dating from the 8th century. Among the native artists there were some learned men, who laboured mostly in the capital as teachers and bishops; others were practical men who worked in the provinces in bridging rivers, draining marshes, digging roads, opening mountains, and ponds, opening mountain passages, planting avenues, etc. We do not know how or where these men learned their arts and crafts, but their works were nearly all miracles to many, and innumerable stories are told of them even to this day. The mention of some Ainu monks, whom the court favoured with gifts in 689, shows the advance of the propaganda to the far north-east.

The elaborate system of ritual, medical work, etc., which had been the chief means of the propaganda, remained in vogue for a long time. The distribution of medical stores and the dispatch of combined kanji there are many remains of these provinces are constantly mentioned in the 8th century. In addition to these methods, religious ceremonies for the welfare of the ruling families and for the tranquillity of the country became the order of the day in the court as well as in the temples, and were patronized by the government and by the nobles. These pious deeds were extended to the provinces, and scriptures were distributed wherever there were any priests. The founding of provincial cathedrals (kokubun-ji) was followed by the founding, near the capital, of the central cathedral, which was dedicated to the great statue of Lokanna Buddha, now known as the Daibutsu in Nara, and was completed in 754. These works and dedications converted the whole of Japan into a Buddhodom before the close of the 7th century. It is obvious that the Buddhist mission was not merely by the mysterious efficacy of the worship and ceremonies that the security of the throne and the tranquillity of the country were maintained and increased; the Buddhist mission in the provinces during these two centuries was at the same time a political mission.

By the 9th cent. the unity and centralization of the national government was complete. From that time Japanese Buddhism began to stand on its own feet, even though the Japanese Buddhists were still indebted to their co-religionists on the continent. The two brightest stars of the Buddhist history of Japan, Dengyō (+ 822) and Kobō (+ 835), were once students in China, but these two men opened the way for the development of Japan's own Buddhism. Thus the beginning of the 9th cent. may be taken as the end of the Buddhist mission in Japan.

One thing remains to be added, viz. a new influx of Chinese influence in the latter half of the 13th century. The introduction of the Zen (dhyāna) Buddhism, which was produced by Bodhidharma in China, as mentioned above, necessitated a fresh influx of monks and artists, whose great influence upon Japanese art, literature, and social life in the 14th and 15th centuries must be recognized. Tea, tea, kakemono, and similar things, now known in the West as 'things Japanese,' Japan owes to these communications with Chinese Buddhism.

Taking a general survey, we see a remarkable contrast between the Buddhist missions in China and those in Japan. In China works of charity seem to have played a rather insignificant part and translations of scriptures an important part; the opposite was the case in Japan; no Japanese translation of the Buddhist scriptures was made till quite recent times. Chinese has remained the sacred language of Japanese Buddhism almost throughout, though there have been some original writings in Japanese. This antithesis is due to the different ideas prevalent at that time and Japan stood at the time of the introduction of Buddhism.
MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Medieval).

1. From the close of the Apostolic Age to the conversion of the Empire (c. A.D. 102-323). Missions were the main external activity of the Christian community in the earliest time. Before the middle of the 2nd cent. (c. 140) Justin Martyr claims for them a very wide field of operations—not merely over the Hellenic-Hellenic but beyond the confines of that race.

'There exists not a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race, by whatsoever title or manners they may be marked out, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander in covered wagons, among whom savages are not offered in the sense of a crucified Jesus to the Father of all things' (Iud. c. Tryph. 117).

Much to the same effect, but more guardedly, Ireneaus tells us (c. 180) that even then many barbarian nations held as part of the doctrine of Christ a faith not with pen and ink, in books or papers, but by the Holy Spirit in their hearts (Adv. Haer. ii. iv. 2).

Tertullian likewise (c. 200) boasts of the rapid spread of the Church.

'We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you ... year very camp, palms ... for we have not left your temples empty. We can conquer your armies; our number in a single province will be greater' (Adv. c. Marcion. ii. 6).

Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Germans, and Scythians are among the more distant races that he reckons as already touched by the Christian movement. Justinian (c. 230-240) declares the gospel not merely to have won myriad of converts among 'all nations,' but, more precisely, to have penetrated into many parts of the barbarian world (c. Orig. i. 27, ii. 18); while Arnobius (c. 320-330) we hear of the ex-Stoic Panthenu of Alexandria, undertaking a missionary journey to India about 180 (HE v. 10); here Panthenu is said to have found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by the apostle Bartholomew. Even if by this 'India' is understood the 'Lesser' or 'Third India' of some early geographers, including parts of the S. Arabian shore-lands and of Abyssinia, this is a noteworthy journey. Origen again, about 216, was induced to teach the Gospel in Persia (Adv. c. Cels. i. 16, ii. 5). From Eusebius (c. 230-320) we hear of the ex-Stoic Panthenu of Alexandria, undertaking a missionary journey to India about 180 (HE v. 10); here Panthenu is said to have found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by the apostle Bartholomew. Even if by this 'India' is understood the 'Lesser' or 'Third India' of some early geographers, including parts of the S. Arabian shore-lands and of Abyssinia, this is a noteworthy journey. Origen again, about 216, was induced to teach the Gospel in Persia (Adv. c. Cels. i. 16, ii. 5). From Eusebius (c. 230-320) we hear of the ex-Stoic Panthenu of Alexandria, undertaking a missionary journey to India about 180 (HE v. 10).

Edessa in N. Mesopotamia, where the Church was firmly settled by 150, Christianity was propagated in the Persian kingdom, even to Bactria, Bishop John, 'of Persia and Great India,' attended the Nicene Council in 325. Armenia, which may, however, be reckoned as usually within the Roman Empire, or at least within its sphere of influence, till the disasters of the later 4th cent. was won by the Church, shortly before the winning of the Empire, at the end of the 3rd century. Gregory the Illuminator was the leading person of this mission (c. 302), and Armenia was the first country in which Christianity was adopted as the national religion. In the early days of Constantine (c. 311) Bishop Hermon of Jerusalem sent missionaries (Epiphanius and Basil) to 'Scythia' and to the Crimea, part of which at least may be considered Roman. About A.D. 100 St. Clement, the fourth bishop of Rome, had been martyred at Kherson, representing the modern Sevastopol.

The Imperial line of power was the rise of Islam (c. 323-623). Important extensions of Christianity followed the conversion of Constantine.

(a) Africa.—Among these one is African. The Abyssinian Church was founded, or at least Christ-
MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Mediæval)

other lands east of the Euxine (see bks. iii. and xi. esp. p. 178 f. of B. de Montfaucon's ed. [Novis Patrum, et Script. Græc. Paris, 1706, ii. 113 ff.] = PG iii.xxxviii. 198 f.). At no time, perhaps, till the Russian occupation of North Asia was Christianity more strongly supported in Eastern lands than at this time.

(c) Europe.—St. Patrick's conversion of Ireland (from c. 430) opened to Christendom a land that had never known Roman, and practically unknown to Continental Europe, after Honorius withdrew the legions from Britain. The full discovery of Ireland was the work of Christian missionaries, of a movement which reached its highest prosperity at home. Its followers preached with remarkable success among the English who had overrun Eastern Britain. They carried the gospel further into Caledonia than Agricola had ever carried Roman conquest. Some of their pioneers reached the Orkneys, the Faroes, the outermost Hebrides, and even Iceland (of the last Irish monks were the first discoverers, in 1096).

Despite the fictions with which the early history of Scotland is overlaid, it need not be questioned that some progress was made by Christian missions beyond the Firth of Forth even in the 6th century. St. Columba, founded, at Columba's Isle (Canna), in the Orkneys, who was apparently working in the south-west and central parts of modern Scotland about 500-550, is specially associated with these enterprises.

The mission dispatched by Pope Gregory I. to England in 597 was concerned with a country lying within the Old Empire, and so outside the proper field of this article. It was, however, the conclusion of a movement which in course of time penetrated to non-Roman lands—Scotland, Ireland, Central Germany, the Scandinavian kingdoms—and played a great part in winning them to Christianity, or in turning them from their native Church to Roman allegiance.

3. From the rise of Islam to the Crusades (632-1056).—The vigour, or at least the extent, of Nestorian missions in South Asia in the first age of Islam is evident from a letter of the Nestorian patriarch from the Nestorian patriarch to the bishop of Fars (or 'Persia' proper) about 650. It was owing to his neglect, the patriarch declares, that the people of Fars, and also that of India, 'from Fars to Colon' (Kulun, or Qulan, near Cape Comorin), was now being deprived of a regular ministry. We find the same patriarch writing to the Christians of Sistan and of Balkh, and undertaking to provide a fresh supply of bishops for his spiritual subjects of the Upper Oxus. His successor, in order to appease an old quarrel between the Christians of Bactria and the metropolitan of Persia, visited Balkh about 681.

But the crowning achievements of early Nestorian enterprises were in China, and of these we have an account in the famous monum. of the St. Thoma, written in the 9th century by a monk of a monastery which appears in the Chinese Record as 'Olopan (Rabban), entered the 'Flowery Land,' and reached Si-gan Fu, the capital of the Tang dynasty, He had come, we are told from the 3rd great China (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his teaching was examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within the three years missionary, he declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the speculative fairness of his race (and of one of the greatest Chinese rulers) T'ai-sung welcomed any religion whose spirit was 'virtuous, mysterious, and pacific.'

The radical principle of the new faith, he thought, 'gave birth to perfection and fixed the will.' It was exempt from 'vice, and suffered only good results.' It was "useful to man, and should be published under the whole extent of the Heaven. . . . And I command the magistrates to erect a temple to this great city, and twenty-one religious men shall be installed therein.'

T'ai-sung's successor was no less friendly.

He fortified the truth, and raised luminous temples (Christian Churches) in all the provinces: till they "died a hundred cities. . . . The households were enriched with marvellous joy."

'Olopan' himself became a 'Guardian of the Empire,' and 'lord of the Great Law.'

Then followed, from about A.D. 685, a time of disfavour and oppression. Chinese conservatism rallied against the new worship.

'The children of the (Buddhist) resorted to violence, and spread their calamities; low-class men of letters put forth jests.'

But after a time the Nestorian Church in China, as in India (and about the same time), revived. Fresh missionary enterprise was one cause of this, in both fields.

In A.D. 744 there was a religious man of Great China named Khbo, who travelled for the conversion of men; on his arrival in the Middle Kingdom, illustrious personages of the fallen Laws, ordered the new emperor to bring both the venerable images to the Temple of Felicity, and firmly raised their altars; with his own hand he "wrote a standing testament to the great church of the capital." His three successors all 'honoured the luminous minister.' One observed Christmas by burning incense; another 'insisted nine rules for the propagation of the doctrines'; various high officials of the court, a member of the council of war, the five nobles of the province 'rendered perpetual service to the luminous gate.' The inscription closes with words of thankfulness; never had the mission been more prosperous than when 'in the year of the Greeks 1095 (A.D. 763), in the days of the Father of Fathers, the Patriarch Hanzan-Yeshush, this marble tablet was set up with the history of the . . . preaching of our fathers before the kings of the Chinese.'

Hanzan-Yeshush died in 775, but news of his death would naturally take a considerable time to travel from Baghdad to Si-gan Fu.

The general truthfulness of this record (the most remarkable witness that we possess of Christian activity in the Farther East before the 15th cent.) is supported by what we know of the Chinese mission from other sources.

Between 714 and 728 the Nestorian patriarch appointed the first metropolitan for China; in 745 the Chinese emperor decreed the name of 'Roman temple' to the Christian churches of his empire; about 790 the patriarch dispatched to the Far East a metropolitan to Si-gan Fu, and after his murder at the hands of robbers a successor was dispatched, with six other bishops and a party of monks.

Like the Christian faith, the mission survived in the middle of the 9th century. About 745 a party from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, with orders from the arch-priest of Edessa, arrived in India, with the message of Thomas — the 'Armenian merchant' of Gibbon (Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1896-1900, v. 150).

In 774 the Hindu ruler of the Malabar coast granted a charter, graven on copper, to the Christians of his dominions. A famous inscription discovered in 1547, on St. Thomas Mount near Madras, probably of the 5th cent., but perhaps even earlier, another charter, of the Christian missionaries, which appears in the Chinese Record as 'Olopan (Rabban), entered the 'Flowery Land,' and reached Si-gan Fu, the capital of the Tang dynasty, He had come, we are told from the 3rd great China (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his teaching was examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within the three years missionary, he declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the speculative fairness of his race (and of one of the greatest Chinese rulers) T'ai-sung welcomed any religion whose spirit was 'virtuous, mysterious, and pacific.'
Cyril and his brother formed a Slav alphabet still prevailing in Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and in Moravia down to the 19th century. Greek formed the basis of the 'Cyrillic' letters in most cases; but some were entirely Greek creations; others were adapted from various Oriental writings. By the diplomacy of Pope Nicholas I. Cyril and Methodius were brought into close relations with, and dedicated to, the Eastern Church. Central European work turned to the profit of the Roman Church. By the end of the 9th cent. the victory of Latin Christianity among most branches of the Czechs may be accepted as complete. The conquests of Charlemagne brought Frankish Christendom into close proximity to the Scandinavian peoples and the Slavs of the North European plains, and soon after the death of Charles the conversion of these races was seriously commenced. Ansgar or Anskar, the 'apostle of the North,' was born about 801, and about 826 left the monastery of Corbie for the 'Northern mission.' First he worked (with his helpers) in Nordalbingia (or Holstein) on the Danish border, and in Schleswig; obliged to quit this field by a pagan reaction, he made his way even to Sweden in 829, preached before the king, won a new success, and in 831 was consecrated the first archbishop of Hamburg. He was driven hence by a Scandinavian invasion about 845; but in 848 he was appointed to the vacant see of Bremen, with which the missionary, converted to Nestorian Christianity, became, by his administration. He resumed his work in Denmark (848-853), won the favour of the Danish king, converted a large part of the people, and again opened his campaigns in Sweden (c. 853). At his death in 865 Danish, Swedish, and perhaps even Norse Christianity had been securely founded, though complete triumph was not reached for more than a century.

In Northern Europe, beyond the limits of the Old Empire, the Roman missions advanced rapidly. In the 8th cent. after success in England had once been achieved, and largely as a result of the reflex action of that English mission. The movement that Gregory had started flowed back upon the Continent with new force from the converted island. In Friisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria the tribes beyond the Rhine were gradually converted by Frankish, Irish, and English missionaries in the obedience of Rome; chief among these was the church-statesman and martyr St. Boniface or Winfrid of Crediton (680-755), who became the 'apostle of the Germans,' the first bishop of Mainz and the prince of Germany, the reformer of the Frankish Church. Charles the Great's very forcible conversion of the Old Saxons, between the Ems and the Elbe, again attracted the attention of Christians on the North (772-804). The same emperor compelled the prince of the Slav Czechs of Moravia to receive baptism (804); but the real conversion of this people, as well as of the neighbouring sister-race of Bohemia, was done by the Byzantines Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica, the 'apostles of the Slavs,' from about 885. Cyril had already worked with great success among the (Turkish?) Khazars of S. Russia. Like Ulphilas with the Gothic script,
The Hungarians, whose attacks on Germanic and Italian Europe were finally ended by the defeat on the Lechfeld in 955, at the hands of Otto the Great, were rapidly won to the Western Church by mission enterprise. By about 975 considerable progress had been made in converting Hungary. Prince Geiss (972-997) was a nominal, if semi-pagan, Christian; but the complete victory of Christianity was gained by the first king, Stephen ('the Saint'), baptised at Adalbert of Prague about 993. Stephen was called to succeed his father Geiss in 997; he took the royal title in 1000; he put down the pagan opposition; and before his death in 1038 he had completed the establishment of the Latin Church in a kingdom in which came Galician, or 'Blue Tooth,' a century after Angar, from about 900. Yet even after this there was a pagan reaction, accompanied by persecution (1000-04), under Svend, or Swegen, 'Forkhead,' the conqueror of England, who traced his descent to the old heathendom and the new faith, but finally embraced the latter, after his triumph in the West. Conquered by the Great, Svend's son and successor (1014-44), was a remarkable man. Like his father he was a Danish Clovis, and identified his policy with the work of the Christian Church in all ways.

Christianity in Sweden, likewise founded by Angar, was at first of the Councils and the governing classes till the end of the first millennium, under Olaf the 'Lap-King' (955-1022). Pagan reactions still occurred till far on into the 11th century, a final one on the Eve of the First Crusade—but the battle was really won by 1029.

The first faint beginnings of (Liturgy) Christianity in Norway may also be traced back to Angar's time. Under Hakon I. (935-98) it began to struggle for recognition; for a long time it was hampered and side-tracked, but from the church of the 12th century onwards it steadily extended, until it finally broke out with the Hanseatic League. The 11th century was one of progress, and the 12th of achievement. The spread of Christianity among the heathen and the gradual decay of the old heathenism were remarkable. The first Christians were mostly in the West, but the influence of the Crusades was in the East, and the first mission to the East was to Russia, in 1065. The work of Olaf Tryggvason was more important, for he established the Church in Norway, and made it the state Church of the country. The work was completed by Olaf the Saint, the godchild and third successor of Tryggvason (1015-30).

From Norway Christianity was carried to the Norse colonies of Iceland and Greenland. The German priest Thangbrand, a truly militant missionary, who killed opponents in single combat, was sent to Iceland by Olaf Tryggvason in 997; in 1000 the new faith was accepted (with some reservations) by lceland (hence leinheim) in a National Assembly; and at the same time the gospel reached Greenland, where it soon won the allegiance of the colonists.

Leif Ericson, probably the first discoverer of America, was commissioned by Olaf Tryggvason in 1000 to proselytize his countrymen, on his return from the court of Norway to his home in Greenland. The mission was interrupted by storms, which drove Leif to Vinland (Nova Scotia). Russia was not really won to the time of Vladimir the Great ('St. Vladimir,' 988-1015). The patriarch Photius, it is true, claims (c. 887) that the fierce and barbarous Russians had already been converted by the missions of the Eastern Church, but even a century later the mass of the people were thoroughly heathen. Decisive Christian success begins with the conversion of Olga, the princess-regent of Kiev, and widow of the grand-prince Igor, who visited Constantinople in 955, and was there baptized into the Greek Church. The full triumph of Christianity among the pagan generation by the refusal of Olga's son Svyatoslaw to abandon his heathenism. The work was finished by Vladimir, son and successor of Svyatoslav, and the most effective and powerful head of the Russian people (989-1015) and at last appeared, under whom Russia gave premature and deceptive promise of playing a first-class part in the world, in the 10th and 11th centuries. After his capture of the Imperial (Byzantine) dependency of Kherson in the Crimea (on the site of the later Sevastopol), and his marriage with an Imperial princess in 988, he accepted the Christianity of the Eastern Church; and his convert and the mass of his people followed the example of the grand-prince of Kiev. The progress of the faith was both rapid and deep; no part of Europe became more intensely attached to its Christendom than to his. Successful work was done to spread the Christian faith, as it has under- stood the same. Vladimir died in 1015, but under Yaroslav the Lawgiver (1019-54), who with his father must rank as the chief Russian statesman of the early Middle Ages, the foundation of the Church and the establishment of the Church was completed.

4. From the First Crusade to the end of the medieval time (1095-1539).—Thus, before the close of the 11th century, nearly all Europe had been won to Christianity of the Roman or the Greek allegiance, and the borders of Christendom had been extended, to North and East, far beyond the limits of the Western Church. The Crusade, which was an enterprise, it is probable, had by 1098 carried the religion as well as the trade of that great Republic into some of the regions and among some of the tribes of the furthest North and North-East—in the White Sea, in and in the valleys of the Dvina and Pechora.

A little later, in 1121, the bishop of Greenland undertook what was probably a missionary journey to America,—he 'seeks Vinland'—but we hear no more of him.

Christendom, as thus constituted, included some pagan enclosures, mainly along the South and East of the Baltic, such as the countries of the Lithuanians, the Finns of Finland (and N. Russia), the Old Prussians, and the Wends and other Slavs of Pomerania and other lands afterwards included in Eastern Germany. In the 12th century much of this land began to be won. The Finns of Finland were conquered by the Swedes in a war which had something of a crusading character (c. 1157-58), and the profession of the Roman Catholic faith was gradually extended, while appearing temporarily in the far North and East by its foundation of the St. Michael's monastery, on the site of Archangel (in the 12th cent.), and of the important Novgorod colony of Vyatska, north of Kazan (1174). Latin Christianity accompanied the early victories of Germanism beyond the Elbe in the 10th century. The pagan and anti-Slavic spirit of the day was doubtless reflected in the injuries to Teutonic Christendom and Empire, and much of the new mission ground was lost. Polish and German attempts to convert the Pomeranians led to small result till well in the
12th cent., when Otto of Bammberg (in 1124–28) became the 'apostle' of this country, on the time when the main German advance beyond the Elbe was permanently resumed, about 1130, the progress of Christianity was rapid between the Elbe and the Oder. The bishops of Magdeburg, Oldenburg, and Ratzeburg witnessed to this, German colonization followed German conquest, and, as the colonists were at least nominal Christians, the Church grew steadily stronger.

German Christianity (accompanying German colonization) was planted as far east as the Duna or Western Dvina (the river of Riga) in the later 12th cent.; some Bremen merchants formed a settlement on or near the site of Riga about 1158, and about 1168 Meinhard, an Augustinian canon of Holstein, headed a mission to Livonia. The work was difficult, for the Livonians were a faithless race who procured the proper sentiments when advantage was to be gained from them, but turned upon the mission with mockery and insult when they no longer needed its help (Meinhard built them not only churches, but fortresses). An eclipse brought the missionaries into peril—they were accused of swallowing the sun. Their danger was hardly less when they were justly suspected of a more complete success than was then usual in Livonia. Baptisms were constantly 'washed off' in the Dvina by lapsed converts. Meinhard, consecrated bishop of Livonia in 1170, died in the Battle of the March successively. His second successor, Albert of Apolzendorf and Riga, had superior fortune, tact, and abilities. He organized a Livonian Crusade (permitted by Innocent III. to rank as a fulfillment of the vow for the Holy War in Syria); he enrolled considerable forces of warriors and missionaries; in 1200 he founded, or re-founded, the city of Riga as a new base for conquest and proselytism, and as the seat of the bishopric; and in 1202 he started the Fratres Militiae Christi, the 'Knights' or 'Brethren of Christ', or 'of the Sword', the Schwert- trierger or Port-glaives of German and French historians, an important element in the Teutonic Order and a main source of its dominion on the Baltic. Pope Innocent gave the 'Sword-Brethren' the statutes of the Templars. Albert's mission-crusading enterprise, the great achievement of Livonia, was baptized before the close of 1206.

A mission in Estonia was commenced a little earlier than this by Bishop Fulk, formerly a monk of La Celle; and Dietrich, Meinhard's chief tentant in Livonia, became bishop of Estonia in 1213. He was killed in 1218, and the next bishop transferred the headquarters of the mission (now thoroughly German) to Yuryev, Derpt, or Dorpat, in 1224. A Danish mission in Estonia, at this time largely in Danish hands, was organized from Reval, which became a bishopric in 1218. Even in Lithuania a Roman mission appears to have started in the first half of the 13th cent., but its progress was slow, and general or definite success was not attained till the first Union of Poland and Litva in 1386.

In 1226–37 the 'Sword-Brethren' united with the Teutonic Knights, founded at Acre in 1190, and summoned to help in the conquest and conversion of Old Prussia in 1226. They had much in common—an origin from Bremen, a constitution on the model of the Templars, the patronage of the Virgin, the protection of the emperors, the 'unity of fighting for the Cross,' the championship of the German race and German interests against all other. The result in Prussia was a Teutonic and mission. The early unsuccessful attempts at proselytism in Old Prussia, mainly under Polish patronage, have been noticed. In 1297 the Polen began again, with better appearance of success. In 1295 a heathen reaction soon followed, accompanied by massacre, and by the destruction, it is said, of 250 churches. The supporters of the mission now fell back on the idea of a holy war and in 1215 Pope Honorius III. allowed a Prussian Crusade as a substitute for the Syrian. In 1226 the Teutonic Order, already despairing of much permanent effect in the Levant, though its nominal headquarters remained at Acre till 1291, was invited to take the terms were made between the grandmaster, Hermann of Salza, and the Poles, mainly represented by duke Conrad of Mazovia. The emperor Frederick, the intimate friend and patron of Hermann, gave the fullest support in his power, be-stowing on the Order the sovereignty of all such territories as they had acquired by gift or should win by conquest. A long, bloody, and desperate struggle of over fifty years brought about (by 1238) the complete submission of the Prussians, the partial extermination of the race, the enforced conversion of the remainder, and the German colonization of a great province which was to become one of the most Teutonic of lands, and to give name, by union with Brandenburg, to the chief German State of modern times, the creator and core of the present German Empire.

The opening of intercourse in 1245 between Western Europe and the new Mongol masters of Asia, through the embassies sent by Pope Innocent IV. to the 'Silk Road' through success to the opening of an important and romantic chapter of mission history. Among the distant enterprises of the Christian Church, or the forgotten incidents of past intercourse between remote civilizations, there are few more interesting than the early Roman missions in Further and Central Asia, and in the border-lands of Eastern Europe. We have seen how, in the earlier Middle Ages, Nestorian missionaries carried the gospel to China, Turkestan, and the Indies. Almost to the close of the crusading period, their creed was practically the sole representative of the Nazarene faith in Asia, outside the narrow limits of the shrunken Byzantine Empire and the crusading principalities. But in the 13th cent. the Church of Rome began to be heard of in the depths of 'Tartary,' and between 1245 and 1255 the great overland travelers of the first generation, the Friars John de Piano Carpini, William de Rubruquis or Rubruck, and Andrew of Longmost, appeared in the Mongol courts, on the Volga, or in the Balkal or Baku Basin. Yet their work was primarily that of diplomats, of envoys from the pope or the king of France, in their capacity as Christian leaders; the missionary was not prominent in their work; Rubruquis alone, of this famous group, seems to have spent time or energy in doctrinal discussions or proselytizing efforts, and even he does not claim in any way to have founded a mission church in Asia or in Russia.

The Polos, again, who represented Roman Christendom among the Mongols from 1260 to 1295, and gave us our first good account of the Chinese and Indian worlds and of so much of Central Asia, cannot be considered active propagandists. But in 1264 Khan expressed a desire for official Christian instructors; but his wish remained unfulfilled. Marco Polo and his relatives were primarily merchants, adventurers, men of the world. No mission work can be credited to them.

But, while the Polos were still in China, the founder of the Latin churches both in Cathay and in India started life on Corvo, a Franciscan like Carpini and Rubruquis, and a man of uniting energy, courage, and patience, began his life-work in Asia about 1275, and
in 1292 was sent by Pope Nicholas iv, with letters to the great men of the Tartar empire and of neigh-
bouring lands—the supreme Khan in Cathay, the
Ilkhan in Persia, the 'emperor of Ethiopia,' and
others. Corvino reached Cathay in 1292 or 1293,
apparently by the South Asiatic sea-route from
China, making a long haul by the way in the
Madras region (or 'St. Thomas's country'). He
achieved conspicuous success in the Far East; he
was repeatedly reinforced from home; and his work
long continued to be peculiarly Roman in char-
acter, with at least two bishoprics, in the 'Middle King-
dom.' He was even credited, by one tradition,
with the conversion of a Mongol-Chinese emperor.
To him is due not only the first planting of Western
Christianity in China and in the Indies, but the
earliest noteworthy Christian account of South
Indian climate, people, manners, and customs, and
some valuable evidence upon the overland and
oversea routes which connected the Far East, as
well as upon the association of Western traders and
Western missionaries in the European penetration of Asia.
Corvino seems to have made his way into Persia
by much the same route—through Sivas, Erzerum,
and Karas— as merchants then took between the
Gulf of Scanderoon and Tabriz. At Tabriz, how-
ever, he joined a large caravan to the Ilkhan,
'the faithful Christian,' Peter of Lucalongo, and
with this companion he turned aside from the
continental main track and made his way south into
India, by the way of the Ilkhan's Peking ship for
Cathay (1291). Some time, however, was yet to
elapse before the friar committed himself to the
frail barks of the Indian seas—'clumsy and un-
comely, without sails, woven together with twine like clothes, without caulk, having but one mast, one sail of matting, and
some ropes of huck' (cf. München gelehrte
Annalen, 1825, p. 153). In the
sacred region of St. Thomas's shrine, near
Madras, he remained eighteen months, and here
died his comrade, Nicolas of Pistoia, 'on his way
to the Court of the Lord of all India.' He was
buried in the Church of St. Thomas, while Corvino
was permitted to live at court; in 1304 he
joined, as Khan merchant and 'a great
merchant and a faithful Christian,' Peter of Lucalongo, and
with this companion he turned aside from the
continental main track and made his way south into
India, by the way of the Ilkhan's Peking ship for
Cathay (1291). Some time, however, was yet to
elapse before the friar committed himself to the
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sacred region of St. Thomas's shrine, near
Madras, he remained eighteen months, and here
died his comrade, Nicolas of Pistoia, 'on his way
to the Court of the Lord of all India.' He was
buried in the Church of St. Thomas, while Corvino
transmitted to Europe (22nd Dec. 1292) a quaint
and memorable sketch of the Deccan and its people
from his own observation—one of the earliest pic-
tures of the life of the country by a Roman Christian
or Western European—which seems to have
awakened the papacy to the possibilities of Hindu
conversion. Meanwhile, while Friar John was
writing, the Poles were off the Coromandel coast
—on their return to Europe—and here Messer
Marco Millione may have met the man who was
to represent Christendom in the 'Middle Kingdom'
during the next thirty years, as the Venetian
merchants had done for the past thirty.
We next meet with Corvino in China itself—at
the Imperial city. His second letter (of 8th Jan.
1305) is dated from Peking, or 'Cambaluc,' and tells
how for eleven years, from 1293, he had laboured
in Cathay; how he had struggled against pre-
judice and calumny; how brilliant successes had
followed dismal failures; and how, in 1304, he had
seen it proved by the example of a Friar Arnold of
Cologne, 'probably he landed at the great port of
'Zayton,' or Amoy, in Fo-kien; apparently he
made his way immediately to Peking. In any
case, he failed to see the splendid triumphs of the
Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in
India, and the brilliant successes of the
'Nimis inveteratis in idolatria,' as Corvino puts it. But he was
not long without a triumph. In his first year at
Cambaluc he won the Nestorian Prince George, 'of
the family of the great King Prester John of India'
(Wadding, Annales Minorum, vi. 69). George
died in 1299, but before his death he found
time to build a fine church for his new allegiance,
'called the Roman Church,' at a spot twenty
days' journey from Peking,—perhaps at Tatsung
in Shan-si, just east of the great Ho-ang-ho river,
where Friar Odorico seems also to fix the capital
of Prester John' (ib. vi. 70). The 'Prester John' and
Prince George were the direct successors of the
royal house of the Kerait Tatars, of the Baikal
basin, apparently converted to Nestorian Christi-
nity in the 11th century (cf. above, p. 707). Nor
was this all; as winged prelates were being
ordained, a translation of all the
Roman service-books was ordered and begun;
many Nestorians embraced Corvino's faith.
With the death of King George, however, the
sky was again overcast; apostasy succeeded con-
version; there was no more translation of the
Latin ritual; and Corvino was left alone to endure
the slanders of the Nestorians—a community professing
Christian faith, and now so powerful in Cathay
that they would tolerate no Christian rivals (ib.
vii. 69).
At last the prospect brightened; a leading
enemy confessed; in 1305 the friar was at last permitted to live at court; in 1304 Brother Arnold
joined him; with a little more aid the emperor
himself, 'a great merchant and a faithful Christian,'
was convinced that the writer was now old and grey, more with toil than with years, for he was but fifty-eight; yet he was
now building a second church in Peking; New Testament
and Vulgate were probably of 'language most used among the Tatars.' For
one thing he still yearned—news of Europe, of the
Church, of his Order. Twelve years had passed
in silence, without any sort, even news of the
Venetian merchants had done for the past thirty.
Six months' journey to King George's natives, the
other
wise in 1302 or 1303. Brother John, therefore, on
every account was anxious for fresh help; but,
warned by his own troublesome sea-voyage, he laid
down the best route for subsequent travellers—by the
Crimea, through Constantinople, and by Russia. By
this
overland path, travelling along with the Imperial
messengers, a man might get through to Peking in
six months.
Corvino's third letter is also from Peking, and
was written on Quinquagesima Sunday, 13th Feb.
1306. Its tone is hopeful; its record is one of
steady progress. In 1305 a new church and
adjoining mission house had both been
completed 'at Cambaluc'; the emperor had sanctioned the
'altars' at his court; and, like Kubla, his
ancestors, he desired earnestly to see the
senders from the see of Rome and the bishops of
Western Christendom. With such a soil to work
upon, the writer joyfully anticipated the harvest
that might reward the friars who had lately arrived
in Persia and the Crimea.
In a postscript Corvino tells of yet another
triumph. Some time previously, either during his
stay in India or after his arrival in the Flowery
Land, an embassy from Ethiopia had waited on him
with entrences to come over and help them, to visit
their country himself, or to send good preachers
there. Since the days of St. Matthew and his
disciples, they declared, they had never seen a
Christian teacher. It is with Kubla's Christianity
that tradition especially associated St. Matthew;
the local Church, though long doomed, was not
onally extinct; and the earlier 14th cent. saw
not more than one effort to re-establish the
Roman see to win this difficult and dangerous
country.
Corvino addressed these letters to the Brethren of the Franciscan and Dominican missions in Persia
and the Steppe lands of Southern Russia. His
appeal was not heeded; and the authorities of the Church, fired with his own enthusiasm, took up the mission that he had begun with something of the spirit that he desired.

A new conquest seemed now to open before the Church of Rome. Friar John was created archbishop of Cambaluc (with exceptional powers) in the spring of 1307, and seven bishops (of whom three only persevered) were dispatched to consecrate the king and queen of the Chagatai. In 1308 these three suffragans—Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew—reached China, and carried out the consecration of Corvinus. Each of them appears successively in the history of the mission as bishop of 1258, 1325, and 1342. 

The lengthy mission of the Church to China, which was rendered possible by the fact that the kneeling of the Mongol Gaun, put an end for centuries to Western Christianity and to European trade within the Middle Kingdom. When this calamity befell it in 1328, that is said that the friars, flying across Asia from Peking to Sami and the Volga, carried with them the relics of the Grand Khan converted by Corvinus.

In Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenian, and Caucasian lands the religious explorations of the Western Church began about the middle of the 13th century. The Dominicans penetrated to Tiflis about 1249; in 1255 Rubruquis found several friars-preachers in Armenian towns, and tells us of their travels to Tabriz as well as to Tiflis; yet it was only with the Tatar conquest of Baghdad, and with the overthrow of the khalifate, in 1258, that Roman Catholic influence assumed real importance in Persia. From this time to the early years of the 14th cent., Latin missions and Latin trade played an important part in the empire of the Ilkhans; several of Hulagu's successors seem to have been 'sufficiently wedded' to the form of Nazarene faith; not till about 1304 did they definitely end their religious hesitation by embracing Islam. Even then, for more than half a century, Rome struggled bravely against the current—though her cause might be declared at times to maintain the air of a conqueror—foundling bishoprics, creating provinces, at this missionary period, of the Middle Ages. Yet the death of Ahsa Said, the last true Ilkhân, in 1336, Roman proselytism seems to have only lost touch of the governing classes among the Mongols of South-West Asia; in the age of Timur (1380-1405) the Islamizing of the latter was fairly complete. The Middle, like the Farther East, though less completely, shut its door on Christian enterprise before the age of Henry the Navigator.

The first trace of a Roman Catholic mission in India is the visit of Monte Corvo to the Madras region in 1201-92, an incident of deep significance in the history of the Indian kingdom of Delhi, for it is generally supposed that he arrived at Almali, the modern Kulja, now on the Central Asian frontier of China and Russia, that he received good treatment there, and that in 1338 Pope Benedict XII wrote to the Chagatal Khan (June 13), thanking him for his kindness to Nicholas.

Meanwhile, a little earlier (1338), an embassy from the Great Khan then reigning—Timur UKHAGAT—had appeared before Benedict XII.; and with this embassy letters had arrived from certain Christian princes of the Aryan nation in the East, asking for a bishop and legate worthy to replace Corvinus. In reply to these communications, four Franciscan envoyas and a large company of less important representatives carried the papal briefs from Avignon, by way of Naples, Constanti- nople, Kaffa in the Crimea, and Almali-Kulja, to Peking, which they reached in 1342. After four years in China they returned, like the Polos, by the Silk Road, their mission to the Great Khan making a lengthy stay in Southern India, and finally re-appearing at Avignon in 1353. The historian of this embassy, John de Marignolli, draws a glowing picture of the prosperity of the Roman Catholic mission in the Far East; but of the mission history after this time we know almost nothing. Of one thing we may be certain: the Chinese national reaction which broke out in 1368 set the Ming dynasty upon the throne, and expelled the Mongol Yuen, put an end for centuries to Western Christianity and to European trade within the Middle Kingdom. When this calamity befell it in 1328, that is said that the friars, flying across Asia from Peking to Sami and the Volga, carried with them the relics of the Grand Khan converted by Corvinus.
MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Mediavsal)

be established—are among the curios things of mediaval literature.

The 14th cent. we also hear of the progress of Russian missions, the pioneer or attendant of Russian colonization, in the more remote regions of North-Eastern Europe. About 1376 the monk Stephen, afterwards canonized as the apostle of Perm ('Stephen Permsky'), founded the earliest Christian church on the Upper Kama. It was a remarkable instance of a foreign idea taking root in this country which had been flayed by the natives, 'while they were yet but infants in the faith.' Before his death (in 1396), however, Stephen had confounded the heathen idolatry of the Krimmer tribes. But of the latter enterprises we have a slenderer record, and what we know of them is frequently incidental to the larger story of Roman Catholic proselytism in the Celestial empire or in Iran.

Before the great Tatar invasion of Eastern Europe, in 1237-43, Dominican missionaries had penetrated into the countries lying east of the Middle Volga, even if the expeditions of Caprini and Rubruquis in 1245-55 had not to any large extent the character of proselytizing ventures. It was apparently in the early part of the 14th cent., and especially under Uzbek Khan (1291-96) that India exerted itself against the Mongol power. In the winning of the North-Western Mongols, and that the mission stations at Astrakhan on the Lower, and at Kazan on the Upper, Volga, at Torki, and other places, the Christian Church of Khiva, near the Lower Oxus, at Samarqand, and at Kulja in the Balkh basin, by the Russio-Chinese frontier of to-day, came into being. Even more, perhaps, than in China or India, these Latin outposts, from the Caspian to the Kama, from the Caspians to the Altai, represent the exploring spirit of the European at this time in its most daring form, where could the enmity of nature and man be defied more mercilessly? Where in all the known world could distance, barbarism, sterility, and fanaticism present a more formidable combination of obstacles?

Even as late as 1392 we find traces of Roman Catholic effort in Northern Tartary. But about this year the Latin missions in Central Asia may be supposed to have ended in a final storm of persecution; and before Timur's death, in 1405, European missionary activity had really withered away in other Western Mongol lands.

In Europe the later 14th cent. witnessed the conversion of the last pagan people amongst the still professing heathenism. The 'Litva,' or Lithuanians, whose central region is the Vilna country, had become an important power by conquest from the Russian nation, now lying, for the most part, helpless and crushed beneath the heel of the Mongol Tatars. Most of Western Russia had fallen into their hands (some valuable districts had become Polish), and the Lithuanian dukes aspired to a great position in the world. In 1382 the Polish throne was left to a woman, the daughter of Lewis the Great; and Jagielo (or 'Jagellon'), the 'Litva' prince, hoped that by marrying with this heiress (in spite of her strong antipathy for his person) lie might become one of the chief European sovereigns. His hopes were realized; and a Roman Catholic Polish-Lithuanian State was thus founded in 1386 by the 'Litva' and conversion-treaties of 1386. This State gradually became a Polish empire under one faith and one sovereign, with one (terribly defective) constitution and administration (1601; Leslie W. Vines, 'Vinit'; O. W. Volz, O. Vinit') of the last great 'Litva' conqueror, ended the brief hope that Lithuanian conversion might after all turn to the profit of the Eastern Church.

We owe What the eminent annalistinent, 'had previously been a Christian ... but he renounced the Orthodox faith, and adopted the Polish, and perverted the holy characters, with the word to service hateful to God' (Chronicle of Novgorod, A.D. 1390).
MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic)

When Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer of mankind, had fulfilled His divine mission in the world, had sealed it with His death, and endorsed it by His resurrection, He empowered His apostles, and through them, His Church, to continue the same in His name and by His authority. That apostolate of salvation was to be catholic, or universal in space, doctrine, and time, to teach all things at all times, (Mt 28:18-20). Mindful of the Last Will and Testament of Christ, the Church has always looked upon missionary work as an essential and solemn obligation belonging to every Catholic, and insisting upon the obligation of every Christian. In the Church of the East it was due to the Pope, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, to the heads of the Oriental Churches. In the Western Church, it was due to the Pope, to the heads of the Western Churches. In the case of the three Eastern Churches, it has to be mentioned the Theatines (1524), Capuchins (1528), Barnabites (1533), Oratorians (1575), Carmelites (1565), Augustinians (1588), Lazarists (1624), the missionary seminaries of Rome (1698) and of South India (1692), and lastly, the Société des Missions Etrangères of Paris (1693). For the sake of unity and conformity all these various missionary organizations were finally centralized from Pope Gregory XIII. (1572-85) to Gregory XV. (1621-25). By the brief of 32nd June 1622 (Inscrutabilii) the latter, with the help of the Carmelite Thomas a Jesus and the Capuchin Giralmo da Narri, instituted the Congregatio de propaganda fide, or Propaganda, whose sphere of jurisdiction has recently been circumscribed by Pius X. (23th June 1908). The Congregation consists of 25 cardinals with a central prefect, 3 secretaries, 10 consultors, and some 50 consultants. Their chief work is to establish and circumscribe the boundaries of the missionary jurisdictions or districts, i.e. mission, prefecture, vicariate, diocese, etc., to entrust it to apostolicapostolic missionary societies, to appoint the missionary superior, etc. Thus from the beginning of the 18th century, the Roman Catholic Church carried on her apostolate throughout the world in N. and S. America, in Africa and the adjacent islands, in Asia, China, India, etc. On the other hand, the struggles and the storms which she had to endure in the 19th cent. from the tyrannical absolutism of European rulers, from the crippling tutelage of the State, from a false philosophy, the Encyclopedists (q.v.), and finally from the French Revolution and the subsequent suppression of almost all the religious orders and missionary societies, brought her apostolate to a temporary standstill, till it was revived between 1820 and 1830.

The 19th and so far the 20th centuries are witness to the unswerving fidelity of the Church to the command of Christ and a pledge of her vitality and energy in the mission field. Unsupported by emperors and kings as her protectors and promoters, she may, hampered in her efforts by Roman Catholic governments and anti-Christian legislation, she has carried on the work of reconstruction and reorganization, of Africa, the Far East, of Spain. Franciscans went to Chile and Bolivia, to the Indians in the Pampas of Argentina and in Gran Chaco, and in 1538 they landed in Southern Brazil. When in 1661 Narvaez undertook an expedition into Florida, five Franciscans went with him, and from there they extended their work to New Biscaya, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California. French Franciscans were the first missionaries in Canada (1615) and Nova Scotia, while in Africa they continued their work in Morocco, Tunisia, Tripoli, Egypt, and Abyssinia.

The Society of Jesus, founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (1556) in 1534, placed itself from the very beginning at the disposal of the Church for missionary work. St. Francis Xavier inaugurated in 1542 the Roman Catholic apostolate in India, Ceylon, Malacca, and Japan. Under Francis Borja (1555-72) Jesuit missionaries were sent to Florida, Mexico, Peru; under Aquaviva (1581-1615) to Canada, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines, and China; under Vitelleschi (1615-40) to Tibet, Tungking, Marshan, etc. What the suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) meant for the Roman Catholic apostolate may be best realized by the fact that by one stroke of the pen the Church was deprived of 3300 Jesuit missionaries alone in that year.
taken up their work in the field, new missionary societies have been founded during the course of the century, training colleges have been established, and religious orders of women, formerly almost excluded from the missions, are now to be found everywhere, about 20,000 taking their share in the educational, charitable, and industrial work. To supply the missionaries and to missions materially, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith (1822) and the Society of the Holy Childhood have done good work, while Pope Gregory XVI., Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., as well as the Roman Catholic hierarchy throughout the world, have given their support to promote the revival of missionary work among the heathen.

According to H. A. Kroese (Katholische Missionssstatistik, Frankfort, 1908), the total result of missionary work on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in the 19th century amounted to 8,821,963 converts from paganism. This flock is attended by 12,265 missionary priests, of whom 8,389 are natives, 4,893 brothers, and 17,284 sisters, with 30,414 stations, 22,736 churches, 17,824 schools with 791,578 pupils. When we add the results of the Roman Catholic missions since the time of the Reformation, we have in the Roman Catholic mission field 30,000,000 native converts.

According to Karl Streit (Katholischer Missionsleitfaden, Leipzig, 1900), the Roman Catholic missions since the time of the Reformation have included Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet, (3) Indo-China, with Siam and Laos, and (4) the Japanese Empire, with Korea. The early history of missions in this continent has been confined in which the 'Early and Medieval' section above.

1. British India.—British India and Ceylon, with an area of 1,500,000 sq. miles and a population of 350,000,000 souls, is one of the most important and probably one of the most difficult mission fields of the Roman Catholic Church owing to the belligerent tribes (120), the many non-Christian religions (Hindu, Brahman, Bodhist, Muslim, pagan) and Christian denominations (40), and the prejudices of the highly developed caste system.

In 1608 Vaso de Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of Malabar, accompanied by the Trinitarian Pedro do Covilhao, who in 1500 became the protomartyr of the missions in India. In the same year eight secular priests and eight Franciscans arrived with Pedro Alvarés Coelho, three of whom were put to death by the Muhammadans. Yet, in spite of persecution and death, the Franciscans, and after 1593 the Dominicans, went forth to India with the object to sow the seeds of Christianity in Cochín (1505) and Goa (1510), and gradually extended their work to Bombay, Madras, Cochin, Bencoolen, Agra, Ceylon, Malabar, etc., under Fathers Antonio do Lusa (1530), do Coelho (1533), and de Lencastre (1535) with whom firm footing Pope Paul III. erected the bishopric of Goa (1534) with Bishop John of Albuquerque as its first occupant; the sea was raised to an archbishopric by the bull of Pius XII. (1557), Cranganore (1609; archbishopric 1605), and Malabar (1600).

Two Franciscans, James of Borhees and Vincent of Lagos, founded the college of St. Paul at Goa for the purpose of training a native clergy.

In 1641 the Jesuits entered the mission field of India and, at the request of John III. of Portugal, St. Francis Xavier, accompanied by Paul of Camerino and Francis Mansilhaes, set out to inaugurate a new period of missionary labours. From Goa, Galle, Dondi, and Malabar, these Roman Catholic Franciscans with the support of the Portuguese East India Company, Trasquaaro (1544), Cochins, Quilon, and Ceylon. His Jesuit successors took up and carried on his work: de Nobili among the Brannam of Madura (1505-16), Padre Ferreira, de Gama, de Figueiredo, and de Perestrello, the supply of missionaries became limited. The Holy See, with so many missionary labourers in the Indian mission field, hopes of a speedy conversion of Indians were entertained, and, to some extent, had been realized to some extent, had Faith been fulfilled to the duties and sacred obligations that she had promised in connexion with the Padroado —the right of patronage—which the Holy See saw in 1792 and 1799 put 100,000 Christians to death, forced 40,000 into apostasy, and sold 30,000 as slaves to Muhammadan dealers. The dispute regarding concessions to Hindu natives of Malabar rite, commencing with de Nobili and ending with the bull of Benedict XIV., Omnimus sollicitudo, greatly divided the missionaries to the disadvantage of their work, which suffered a heavy blow by the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese dominions in 1755, in the French possessions in 1702, and throughout the world in 1773. There were at this time 150 Jesuits in Goa, 47 in Malabar, and 22 in Pondicherry. True, their places were partly filled by Capuchins, by the Missionary Seminary of Paris (1776), and by some native priests, who were ordained without a vocation or an adequate education. Thus the missions in India, which in 1700 numbered some 1,500,000 or even 2,500,000 Roman Catholics, were only ruined and wreckage (500,000 or even less) in 1800.

The archbishopric of Goa, with its three suffragans, of Cranganore, Cochin, and Malabar, numbered 340,000 members with 400 priests, and outside the Goanese jurisdiction there were four missions—Agra, with 506 converts under the care of 10 Capuchins, the Carmelites with 42,000 and 6 priests, the Carmelite missions of Malabar, with 88,000 converts and 5 priests, and Ceylon, with 1 missionary and 20 native priests for 30,000 members. This was due to the anti-Christian policy of Poubal and the neglected obligations of Portugal's right of the Padroado. The Holy See,
ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, AND THEIR FIELD OF WORK.

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<tr>
<td>Augustinians (Hermits)</td>
<td>E.S. Aug.</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>V. North Hu-nan, Cooktown; P. Amazonas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedictines</td>
<td>O.S.B.</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Prel. Rio Bravo; Abbeys of New Nuncia; Seoul; V. Dar-es-Salam; P. Katanga and North Tanganjika; M. Dradeville River; Indians in U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capuchins</td>
<td>O.F.M. Cap.</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>D. Candia, Syr, Alexandria, Lahore; A.D. Slinia; V. Arabia, Caroline-Mariannu, erythrea, Galba, Somail, Gejiara, Guzun, Seychelles, Sopia; P. Aruacania, Bettlah, Southern Bororo, Coqueta, Upper Solomon, Bilo Calunga, Belgium-Ubangi, Kajpitsa, Bunatra; M. Martin, Syria, Treilzond, Kpeloneia, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmelites (Oiscalced)</td>
<td>O. Carm.</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>D. Qullon, Veracilly, Mesopotamia, Kedestan, Armenia; M. Bagdad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dominicans</td>
<td>O. Pr.</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>V. Anno, Canegus y Masca, Corujo, Fe-ken, Central and Northern Tanganjika; P. Shihoko, Urbamana; M. Menzil, Trinidad, E. Ueule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesuits</td>
<td>S.J.</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>D. Cabacuta, Bombay, Oalde, Madura, Mangolise, Pooa, Trinomolopy, Tremonei; V. Bassein, Kiang-son, S.-E. Chibi, Central Madagascar, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica; P. Alaska, Kongo, Zambesi; M. Albania, Syria, Tico, Armenia, Ada, Syria, Philippineis, Australia, U.S.A., Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentine, Brazil, Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazarists</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
<td>1555</td>
<td>V. Fiji, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Central Oceanica, Samoa, Solomon Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marists</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>V. Brin, Delaware, Coast Table, Nile Delta, Ivy Coast, Liberia; P. E. and W. Nigeria, Kgori; M. Negro Missions U.S.A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>M.E.P.</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>V. Hu-nan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parma</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>S. Shen-su, Lower California.</td>
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<td>Steyl</td>
<td>S.Y.D.</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>V. Kenia ; P. S. Kafa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turin (da Consolata).</td>
<td>C.S.S.</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>V. Sudán.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verona</td>
<td>F.S.A.C.</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>United in 1848.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Algerian Miss. or White Fathers</td>
<td>P.B.</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>V. N. and S. Nyans, Kiru, Uuaymayembe, Tanganyika, Upper Congo, Nyamsa, Bangweelo, Salama; P. Ghadira; M. Sudan, Algiers, Jerusalem, captivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulicians</td>
<td>P.S.M.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>V. Camerons; M. Kimberley, Australia, Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblates of Mary Immac</td>
<td>O.M.I.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>D. Jaffra; A. D. Coloma; V. Alabacena, Esenbo, Keewait, Macrene, Natale, Oranje, S. Transvaal, Kimberley; P. Lower Chimbeasa, Yukon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of the S. Heart</td>
<td>M.S.C.</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>D. Fort Victoria; V. New Ponerrit, British New Guinea, Obilert Islands, Marshall Islands; P. Dutch New Guinea, M. Philippineis, Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of Don Bosco</td>
<td>C. Sal.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>V. Mendes-Gualaniza, N. Patagona; P. S. Patagonia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of immac. Heart of Mary</td>
<td>C.M.F.</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>V. Fernando Fo; P. Choco.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Company of Mary a Montfort</td>
<td>S.M.M.</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>V. Llanos de S. Martin, Shire; M. Heyti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests of S. Heart of Jesus</td>
<td>S.S.C.</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>V. Stanley Falls, M. Belgica Congo.</td>
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Salvatorians (S.S.S. 1851), P. Assan; Premonstratensians (O. Prem. 1120), P. W. Ueule; Silvestrians (O. Silv. 1253), D. Kandy; Trappist Missionaries (K.S.M. 1869), Natal; Trinitarians (O.S.C.C. 1369), F. Beradit; Redemptorists (C.S.A. 1850), B. Sahara; Augustinians (A.A. 1725), B. Kaffraria; Missions in the Orient; Salesians of Annecy, D. Napier; Oblates of St. Francis of Sales, Great Namaqualand, Orange River.
recognizing the inadequacy and the unwillingness of Portugal, began to provide for the neglected field of India. Hitherto only missionaries of Portuguese origin had been allowed, and these by way of Lisbon and Goa. For years Portugal left the bishoprics vacant and in 1827 withdrew all material subvention. The misery was too evident, and Gregory XVI. took matters into his own hands, and the closing of the mission schools of Portugal. India was opened to all Roman Catholic missionaries irrespective of nationality or religious orders. In 1857 the French Jesuits entered Madras, and the English, followed by the Germans (Bombay and Poona 1854, 1857), the Belgians (Calcutta 1859, Galle 1895), and the Italians (Mangalore 1878). The Missionaries of Paris took up their work in Malacca (1840) and Burma (1857), those of Milan in Krishnagar (1855), Hyderabad (1863), and F. Burma (1866), the Oholates in Jaffna (1847) and Colombo (1855), etc. In 1832 the Propaganda asked Portugal either to fill the vacant see or remonstrate the Padroado. As no answer arrived for two years, Gregory XVI. began to institute vicars-apostolic in Bengal and Madras (1854), in Ceylon and Pondicherry (1856), etc. But this action was now challenged by the Portuguese Government protested against sending missionaries into India and against the establishment of new vicariates without the consent and the agreement of the Pope and of the diocesan Roman Catholic Government of Portugal, of the patriarch of Goa placed himself at the head of a schism in India—the Goanese schism—which was maintained under the patriarch of Goa, Joseph de Silva y Torres and Joseph de Matta. Pius IX. tried in 1857 to come to a settlement, but this was accomplished only by Leo XIII. on 23rd June 1886. A million and a half of native Christians were then under the allegiance of the Holy See when on 1st Sept. 1886 Leo XIII. established the hierarchy in India—8 archbishoprics: Goa, Verapoly, Colombo, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, and Bombay, to which Simla was added in 1916, the patriarch of Goa holding the dignity of primacy, and twenty-five dioceses, etc. For the furthering of the mission work Leo XIII. also established a papal delegation for India in 1884, which since then has been administered by the titular archbishops Agiardi (1884-87), Ajuti (1887-92), and Zaleski.

The first thirty years of the Indian missions after the reorganization under Gregory XVI. was a period of tremendous growth of the hierarchy, and the strengthening in the faith of the remnants of the old Roman Catholic congregations. With the decline of the Goanese schism and establishment of the hierarchy a steady flow of conversions began, and since then remarkable progress has been made, more conspicuously among the Tamil races in S. India and Ceylon, less so in the Aryan lands of the north. In 1887 the numbers of Roman Catholics in India were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Catholics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>928,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>297,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three vicariates of Burma</td>
<td>12,347</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

According to the Census of 1911 (including Burmah):

- Native Roman Catholics of the Latin Rite: 1,294,900
- Native Roman Catholics of the Syriac Rite: 413,142
- Eurasian and European Roman Catholics: 97,144

Total: 1,804,246

Ceylon (native Roman Catholics): 222,163

Total for India and Ceylon: 2,026,409

To complete the survey of the Roman Catholic missions in Britain, we subjoin the general statistics taken from the 'Annuaire Universel des Missions Etrangères' (1903): the hierarchy consists of 9 archbishoprics, 22 dioceses, 3 vicariates, and 4 pretrechures, with 180 foreign and 1250 native priests, 636 brothers, 3808 sisters, 5776 catechists and 1348 native coadjutors. In Ceylon there are 203 Catholic churches, 5300 native clergy, 1000 native religious, 87315 Catholic families, with 500000 Catholic children, 37000891000 Catholic poor, 36000000000 Catholic books, 20000000000 Catholic pamphlets, 200000000000 Catholic newspapers, 200000000000 Catholic societies, 200000000000 Catholic charitable institutions.

2. China.—The revival of Roman Catholic missionary activity in China after the close of the mediæval period dates from the time when the Jesuit Father Ricci came to Peking and the China Temple in 1601. Ricci and the Jesuits set about the work of proselytizing among the Chinese (1653). Science was to pave the way for religion and missionary work. In 1600 Ricci went to Peking and with the help of his Jesuit brethren started missions at Canton, Nanking, and Kian-si, receiving converts to the faith by the interest of the population, till his death in 1610. The persecution which broke out in 1617 was brought to a speedy end by the invasion of the Manchu Tartars. In 1628 the Jesuit Adam Schall arrived in Peking, gained great influence by his learning, and turned it to the advantage of religion. In the meantime the Dominicans, who in 1625 had established themselves on the island of Formosa, had opened missions in Fu-kien. One of these Dominican missionaries, the native priest Gregory Lopez, or A-lo, known as the Chinese Bishop, the first and the only Chinaman who has been raised to the episcopate, rendered the greatest services to the Roman Catholic Church in his native land (1654).

At the request of Bishop Pallu, Clement x. divided China, which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic missionaries, into two territories—Kiao-chou and on the north part to Gregory Lopez, consecrated bishop at Canton in 1685. About this time the emperor K’ang-hi, a pupil of Father Schall, and Father Verbiest, another learned Jesuit, who arrived in China in 1660, became the favourite of the Mandarins, and K’ang-hi appointed him president of the faculty of mathematics and gave the missionaries permission to preach the gospel throughout the country.

Through the influence of Verbiest and his learned successors Christianity made great progress within a century, and when he died the Roman Catholic Church was in a flourishing condition, honoured at Court, professed by the highest mandarins, and numbering about 300,000 members. Since, however, the Roman Catholic religion was not officially recognized, and the natives were forbidden by law to embrace the faith, the local mandarins put many obstacles in the way and caused many a local persecution, till Father Gerbillion, in 1692, obtained an edict from the emperor giving full liberty to all Chinese to embrace and practise the Roman Catholic religion.

But whilst the Church was enjoying peace from within, it was sadly disturbed from within by a controversy about the Chinese rites, i.e. the lawfulness of taking part in the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius and of using the word Tien ('heaven') to express the idea of God, and whether the prostrations and sacrifices in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors were merely civil ceremonies or connected with idolatry and superstition. Instead of preaching the gospel, converting the infidel, and applying their abilities to other elegant duties, the missionaries of the first class wasted their talents, time, and work in useless and fruitless discussions, for Jesuits and Dominicans were divided in their opinions. Father Ricci, as well as the other Chinese bishop, Gregory Lopez, and most of the Jesuit missionaries, considered the Chinese rites as merely civil ceremonies, while the Dominicans strongly objected to this view. In 1653, however, the controversy became so intense that by the action of Bishop Matteot, vicar apostolic of Fu-kien, who condemned the rites and threatened with interdict all the missionaries who refused to conform to his command. To settle the dispute, the papal legate was sent to China in order to know by tact, only offended the emperor.
In 1706 K'ang-hi made all the priests in China promise that they would teach nothing contrary to the received usages in China, and in the following year, expelled all those who preached against the rites. Alarmed lest the Government should be provoked to harsher measures, the Jesuits appealed to Rome, asking for instruction. A new papal legate arrived in China in 1721 with letters to K'ang-hi, assuring him that the Holy See would ask nothing more than that the Christians should be allowed to pay their devotions, free from all religious obloquy, and that they retained full jurisdiction to their religion. In spite of this decision the controversy continued till 1742, when Benedict XIV. condemned the rites and forbade the Christians to take part in them. After peace was restored, Jesuits and Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians, priests of the Society for Foreign Missions of Paris and Lazarists worked hand in hand for the evangelization of China. Some shed their blood, while others, such as Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Parenin, became the scientific advisers to the Court or wrote learned books and treatises or published works of piety for their converts. The living in the long reign of the emperors of sixty years, treated the Christians with justice, revoked all the edicts against them, raised them to the highest offices in the empire, and made the ministers of the Christian religion his companions, friars, and confessors. Meanwhile, from 1721, the Jesuits, turned towards embracing Christianity, although he desired to be baptized in his last illness.

After the death of K'ang-hi, a reaction took place. His son and successor, Yung-chih (1722-35), drove the missionaries from the Court, and ordered them to leave the country, with the exception of Father Parenin and three of his colleagues. A general edict of persecution was issued in 1724, and the missionaries were seized and banished, and 300 churches were destroyed or turned into pagan temples, while 37 Manchu princes who had become Christians, and 500 of their servants, were sent into exile (1724). The accession of Kien-long (1735) to the throne of China mitigate for a time the severity of the anti-Christian laws, but in 1745 a new persecution broke out in Fu-kien, where, in the following year, Bishop Sanz and four Dominicans were tortured and beheaded, and soon the flame spread to other provinces. All the hatred was turned against the priests, who were obliged to fly to Macao or Canton.

Scarcely had the Church recovered from her trials when a new misfortune overtook her. The Jesuits, who from 1833 to 1773 had worked in China as elsewhere, were suppressed. At the request of the Propaganda, the Lazarists took charge of the Jesuit missions in China—i.e., four large churches in Peking and the missions in 13 out of 18 provinces—in 1738. For many years, however, the Lazarists were unable to send a sufficient number of missionaries to continue the work of the Jesuits; seven missionaries seem to be all that were sent from 1773 to 1793. Finally the French Revolution cut off the supply of missionaries from France, and for over thirty years the Lazarists were unable to send a single priest to China. The Roman Catholic Church in China, which in the reign of the emperor K'ang-hi is said to have numbered 850,000 members, was reduced at the beginning of the 19th cent. to 220,000, divided among the Lazarists at Peking and Nanking, the Franciscans in Shan-si, the Dominicans in Fu-kien, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Szech'wan, and the Portuguese secular priests at Macao and Canton.

Yet, in spite of the bloodshed and persecution, of cruel edicts issued by the emperors, and the anti-Christian movement fostered by the literati and carried into effect by members of secret societies, the Taiping and Boxers, the Roman Catholic Church has made good progress during the century since it received its final revocation. From the beginning of the 20th century, the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Jesuits and Augustinians, the Lazarists and the Missionaries of Paris who had been in the Church institutions for the last two centuries, have strengthened their ranks and extended their work, while new missionary societies founded in the 19th cent., such as the Schuettveld, the Steyler, and the Oblates, have opened up new fields, and all the European missionaries engaged in China have strengthened their ranks with a large number of native priests.

True, the opening of the 19th cent. did not promise a bright future, for Kia'k'ing (1793-1820) proved to be one of the greatest persecutors, having revived the old anti-Christian laws. Bishop Du-fresse was beheaded in 1825, Father Olet in 1829, and Father Perboiye in 1840. But China was shaken to her very foundations when in 1842 Britain declared war on her and compelled her to open certain ports, while she also opened up to the Roman Catholic missionaries in 1844. The Chinese Government acceded, and in 1844-45 two edicts were issued by which Christianity received legal recognition in the empire, and in 1846 a third edict ordered the religious withdrawal from all the churches which they had lost since the reign of the emperor K'ang-hi. The eighty missionaries who at this period were at work in China were strengthened in 1841 by the arrival of the first missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who were once more entrusted with one of their former fields of labour, the vicariate of Kiang-nan.

Though religious liberty was granted by the edicts of 1844, 1845, and 1846, they remained a dead letter in many of the provinces in the interior. In 1851 the emperor Hien-leng revoked them, and renewed those against the Christians. The murder of Father Chapdelaine (1856) brought matters to a crisis. France joined Britain in a war against China, and the result was the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860); the churches were restored as well as the religious and charitable institutions, the missionaries obtained free passports throughout the empire, the faithful were guaranteed unrestricted exercise of their religion, and all legal restrictions on the edicts against them were abrogated. Yet the Christians were not safeguarded from local persecutions, which broke out in Kiang-si, Kwang-tung, Sze-ch'uen, Hu-nan, and finally in Tientsin in 1870. After the accession of Kwang-su in 1873 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a long period of peace, and, though the emperor Ts'ao Hsi was not favourable to Christianity, yet she did nothing against its progress and development. In 1873 and 1889 the French minister in Peking obtained new concessions for the Christians, among them the privilege that the Roman Catholic missionaries were put on an equality with the Chinese local authorities—a privilege which was cancelled a few years later.

The political plunders of Europe in China, by taking Kiao-ho (Germany, 1897), Taliwen (Russia, 1898), Wei-hai-wei (Britain, 1898), and Kwang-chou-wan (France, 1898), resulted in the Boxer riots, which brought sad days for the missions. Bishops, priests, and sisters lost their lives; churches, schools, and hospitals were levelled to the ground; missions were wiped out, and the Boxer Peace was restored only when a strong international army entered Peking on 14th Aug. 1900 and ten foreign Powers dictated their terms in the Chinese Capital on 7th Nov. 1901. From that moment towards the Roman Catholic Church then began, a great
number of Chinese entering the list of the catechumens, and it has steadily advanced since the Boxer rising. The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China and the proclamation of a Chinese republic induced the missions to renew their missionary work. Yuan-Shi-Kai, the first president of the new republic, promised absolute religious liberty, mandarins and governors enacting the law of the Republic in 1913, which placed the Christian and non-Christian sects on an equal footing. The spiritual power of the Church through the missionaries is living examples of the poverty, zeal, and heroism of apostolic times.

During the flourishing period of the Roman Catholic Church in China, from 1583 to 1773, the hierarchy was not developed, though the Propaganda had resolved in 1651 to appoint a patriarch, two archbishops, and twelve bishops. In 1577 Gregory XIII created the diocese of Macao for China and Japan, which was divided into two, viz. Macao and Fumay (Japan) in 1587. In 1595 Alexander VII erected within the vicariates of China, but, in 1676 such vicar-apostolic, missionary bishops being sent to China, missionary dioceses (Shan-si, Fu-kien, Szechuan, and Sze-chuen). In 1800 there were in China five missionary districts divided between the Franciscans (Shan-si), the Dominicans (Fu-kien), the Missionary Societies, and the Jesuits (Peking, Nanking, Fu-nan, Hu-peh, Liang-si), and the secular priests (Macao) with 200,000 members. Fifty years later the number had increased to 18 dioceses, with 1,700,000 members. In 1890 to 40 ecclesiastical jurisdictions with 601,000 members; in 1905 we find 43 vicariates with 931,000 members, and in 1911-12, 48 vicariates and prefectures with 1,945,776 members (1913 = 1,421,000; 1914 = 1,905,107) and 456,915 catechumens.

According to the Annales Hierarchici, we find for China and her dependencies, Mongolia and Manchuria, the following statistics: 49 missionary dioceses or vicariates and prefectures, 1325 European and 721 native priests, 247 European and 66 native nuns, 35 European and 1129 native sisters, 4077 male and 5700 female catechists, 7919 native teachers, 1,106,629 native Christians and 813,022 catechumens, 1442 principal and 12,000 secondary stations, 2414 churches and chapels, 64 theological seminaries with 1650 students, 6974 elementary schools with 129,226 pupils, 187 higher schools with 6232 pupils (8000 (?) girls, 305 orphanages with 29,180 inmates, 97 hospitals, 427 dispensaries, and 21 printing presses.

3. Indo-China.—Indo-China, the bridge between India and China, one of the three peninsulas of S. Asia, is politically divided into Upper and Lower Burma (British), the Malay Peninsula (British and Siemens), Siam (independent), French Indo-China (British), which consists of Cochin China, Annam and Tonking, Cambodia and Laos, covering a total area of some 735,000 sq. miles with a population of 35,000,000 or 40,000,000 souls. As Burma and the Malay Peninsula are—ecclesiastically—only included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

The area of French Indo-China has been estimated at 152,000 or 200,000 sq. miles with a population of 16,000,000 or 21,000,000 inhabitants. The first attempts to preach the gospel in French Indo-China were made in the 16th cent. by a French Franciscan, Fr. Bellenger, who visited Cochin China, Amam and Tonking, Cambodia and Laos, covering a total area of some 735,000 sq. miles with a population of 35,000,000 or 40,000,000 souls. As Burma and the Malay Peninsula are—ecclesiastically—only included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

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Cochin China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 5 missionary and 15 native priests, 50,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris).

Tongking W.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 6 missionary and 65 native priests, 120,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris).

Tongking E.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 4 missionary and 41 native priests, 140,000 native Christians (Dominicans).

3 bishops, 15 missionary and 119 native priests, 310,000 Christians.

In the meantime a political movement had taken place in Indo-China which at first seemed very favourable to the spread of Christianity, but which in reality became the cause of serious hindrances, obstacles, and persecutions. During the war of 1857-1877, Nguyen-anh, the ruler of Cochinh China, impelled the help of the European
Power against the rebellions Tai-Shans, Britain, Holland, and Portugal willingly offered their help, but Pierre-Joseph Picqueux de Bélaine, since 1771 vicar-apostolic of Cochinchina, and as plenipotentiary of the Annamese king, signed a convention on 28th Nov. 1787, with which France was to assist Nguyen-anh to recover his throne. But to his dismay the bishop, on his return to the East, found that France had abandoned the project, and, therefore, he persuaded the enemy officers and 200 men of Pondicherry to come to the rescue of the king, who defeated his enemies and in 1802 proclaimed himself as emperor of Indo-China and Annam under the name of Gia Long.

Owing to this success Gia Long was favourable to Christianity, which made splendid progress throughout the Annamese empire. This period of peace (1802-20), however, was only a preparation for future trials. In 1819 the Christian community included 4 bishops, 25 European and 180 native priests, 1000 catechists, and 1500 sisters. Gia Long was succeeded by his son, Minh-mang (1821-41), a fanatic, that was to prove a bitter enemy of Christianity and foreigners. He dismissed his father's trusted friends, summoned all the missionaries to appear at court, and resolved to obliterate the memory of his reign. Though his object was defeated for a time, he issued a new edict in Jan. 1833, ordering all Christians to renounce their faith, to trample the crucifix under foot, to raze all churches and religious houses to the ground, and to punish all the missionaries with the utmost rigour. Hundreds of Christians, 20 native and 9 European priests, and 4 bishop's vicar-fellvictims to this tyrant—Fathers Gagassin (1835), Marchand (1835), Cornay (1837), de la Motte (1840), Mgr. Bori (1838), and Mgr. Delgado (1838), 84 years old. The persecution abated under Minh-mang's successor, Thiéu-tri (1841-47), who did not possess the energy of his predecessor, and was afraid of Britain's successes in China and of a threatened interference of France. Instead of being annihilated, the Church's missionaries and converts increased year after year in spite of all the edicts and tortures of Minh-mang. In 1846 we found:

Cochin China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 10 missionary and 27 native priests, 50,000 Roman Catholics.

Tongking: 5 vicar-apostolic, 8 missionary and 76 native priests, 160,000 Roman Catholics.

Kiai: 4 vicar-apostolic, 6 missionary and 41 native priests, 100,000 Roman Catholics.

For the sake of the work of the missions in the Annamese empire, Gregory XVI. in 1844 divided Cochín China into two vicariates, Eastern and Western, and W. Tongking into Western and Southern in 1848, while in 1850 Cambodia and N. Cochín China were also raised to vicariates.

Though King Thiéu-tri did not shed the blood of the priests, yet he did not cease imprisonment; such were Fathers Gali, Berneau, Charrier, Mico, and Duclos, who were set free by Captain Levêque of the Héroïne in 1843. This and similar interferences by the French in 1847 and 1856 provoked the resentment of King T'ou-ti (1847-52), whose reign of 36 years is one uninterrupted period of persecution of the bishops, priests, and Christians. In 1848 he issued an edict setting a price on the heads of the missionaries, and in 1853 he ordered the European priests to be cast into the sea and the native priests to be cut in two; Fathers Schiiffer (1851), Bonnard, and Minh (1852) were martyred.

In 1855 a unival Christian of Christians followed, and in 1857 Bishop Pellen, vicar-apostolic of N. Cochín China, appealed to Napoleon III. to intervene. In August 1858 France and Spain, roused by the slaughter of their countrymen, took joint action, and, at the Convention of Tourane (1858) and Saigon (1859). The persecution meanwhile raged with unabated vigour. Bishops Diaz, Hermoule, García, Cuenot, etc.—altogether 5 bishops, 28 Dominicans, 3 missionaries of Paris, 116 native priests, over 100 native catechists and Christians were put to death, 100 towns, all centres of Christian communities, were razed to the ground, 40,000 Christians died of ill-treatment, and all the possessions of the religious parties were restored. It was restored in 1862, when Annam ceded to France the southern provinces of Cochín China and guaranteed freedom of religious worship. That peace, however, did not last long; it was broken by the interference of the French freebooters Dupuis, Dupré-Garnier, and Philastre, and Mgr. Puginier, vicar-apostolic of W. Tongking, became involved to the detriment of the missions. A new treaty was signed between France and Annam on 10th March 1874, which again guaranteed religious freedom and the safety of the missionaries, and from 1874 to 1882 the Christians enjoyed a period of peace. The Annamese mandarins disregarded the treaty and compelled France to interfere. Hué was captured on 25th Aug. 1883, the Annamese were defeated, and the treaty was signed on the sandbank and on its ratification, 23rd Feb. 1886, Annam became a French protectorate. Yet, before this was accomplished, the Christians, who were considered as friends of France and enemies of Annam, had to suffer severely. At the close of the year 1866 Tongking, Cochín China, and Laos had to mourn the loss of 20 European and 30 native priests, and 50,000 Christians; in Cochín-China alone lost 8 European and 7 native priests, 60 catechists, 270 sisters, 24,000 Christians, 17 orphanages, 10 convents, and 225 chapels, etc. Yet the blood of the martyrs has been here as elsewhere the seed of Christianity, and surely during the 20 years of peace the Roman Catholic Church has made marvellous progress in Indo-China, and has never been in so flourishing a condition as she is to-day. Of this the statistics given below are a fair proof.

Siam.—The first Roman Catholic missionary who entered Siam was the French Franciscan, Bonfer, who preached the gospel there from 1550 to 1554, but without result. He was succeeded by two Dominicans,Datum, one of the Franciscan Fathers, is still in Siam, and his principal work is still the conversion of the Siamese, who converted some 1500 Siamese from 1554 to 1569, when they were put to death. The Dominicans were replaced by Jesusits in 1606 and 1624, and in consequence of a persecution the field was abandoned till 1622, when Alexander VII. made it a vicariate and in 1669 entrusted it to the Missionary Society of Paris with Mgr. Lanneau as its first bishop. The Siamese king, Phra Narai, in 1687 signed the treaty of Louvo with Louis XIV. of France, by which the Roman Catholic missionaries obtained permission to preach the gospel throughout Siam. This was done till 1727, when a serious persecution broke out which lasted without interruption for the rest of the century. After the Burmese invasions and wars were over, the 12,000 Siamese Christians were reduced to 1000 with Bishop Florent and 7 native priests in charge. In 1826 and 1830 fresh European missionaries arrived, among them Fathers Bouchot, Barbe, Pallegoix, and Courvey. In 1834 Courvey was appointed bishop. He ordered the native priests and the Bishop of Pallegoix (1840-42), the best Siamese scholar and the most successful missionary among the Laos, induced Napoleon III. to renew the French alliance with
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<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
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King Mongkut of Siam (1856). Thanks to the broadmindedness of Mongkut (1851–68) and Chulalongkorn (1868–1910), the Roman Catholic missions in Siam enjoyed peace under Palaeoix’s successors, Bishops Dupont (1862–72) and Vey (1875–1900). In 1875 there were in Siam 11,000 Roman Catholics, 17 European and 7 native priests, with 30 churches; in 1913 we find 24,000 Roman Catholics, 45 European and 21 native priests, 35 European and 87 native sisters, 23 principal and 35 secondary stations, 56 churches, 76 elementary schools with 3740 pupils, and 4 high schools with 835 students under Bishop M. J. Perros.

The missions in Laos, which were commenced in 1876 and formally opened in 1883, were separated from Siam as a vicariate in 1899. In 1913 we find there 32 European and 4 native priests, 8 European and 14 native sisters, 12,500 Roman Catholics with 23 principal and 56 secondary stations, and 64 churches and chapels with 53 elementary schools.

4. JAPAN.—The existence of the island empire of Nippon, or Ji-pan, ‘the Land of the Rising Sun,’ was first revealed to the Western world by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1295–98), under the name of Cipangu, but was not visited by Europeans until three centuries later. Famous among these was the Portuguese Mendez Pinto, who, on 23rd Sept. 1543, landed on Taneoshima and became instrumental in the conversion of three shipwrecked Japanese. Anjro and his six companions. In 1549 St. Francis Xavier, accompanied by the Jesuit Cosmo de Torres and by Brother Fernandez, set out for Japan and landed at Kagoshima, whence he returned. He founded his work in Hirado, Hakone, and Yagamachi, then formed by the Spanish. Before his departure to China in 1551, St. Francis had obtained new helpers from Goa, such as Fathers Balthasar Gago, Gaspar Berse, Edward da Silva, and Peter de Alcavan, who were later on joined by Gaspar Coelho, Vilela, Louis Frest, Melchor, and Antonio Diaz. For forty years the Jesuits remained in sole charge of the missions in Japan, and their work progressed under the protection of Nobunaga, then actual ruler of Japan (1573–82). Torres is said to have baptized 30,000 converts and built 50 churches from 1549 to 1570. Thirty years after the death of St. Francis, we learn from Coelho’s annual report for 1582 that at that time the number of all Christians in Japan amounted to 200,000 with churches great and small, and 200 in number. Down to the year 1583 there had never been more than 9, down to 1577 only 18, and to 1582, 72 members of the Society engaged in the Japanese mission-field. In 1582 a Japanese embassy, consisting of four Japanese princes and a Japanese Jesuit, went to Rome and were received in audience by Gregory XIII. In the meantime Nobunaga had died that same year, and his successor, Hideyoshi Taikosama, became a fierce persecutor of the Christians, ordering the destruction of all the churches and the immediate expulsion of all the Roman Catholic priests (1567). The return of the Japanese embassy from Rome in 1590 and the arrival of Father Valignani with new European Jesuits effected a change, however, and the Japanese Christians began to breathe more freely. In 1590 the Japanese missions numbered 56 European Jesuit priests, 11 European scholastics, 87 Japanese Jesuit brothers, 5 Japanese and 3 Portuguese novices with 23 residences, and about 300,000 or 400,000 members. The Viceroy had appointed the Jesuit Antonio Ovidio bishop of Japan with Melchor Carnero as his coadjutor, but the latter died at Macao, and his successor, Sebastian Morales, who was appointed by Sixtus V., came only as far as Mozambique. Bishop

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<tr>
<th>Missionary Society</th>
<th>Missionary District</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>No. of Missions</th>
<th>No. of Priests</th>
<th>No. of Native Priests</th>
<th>No. of European Priests</th>
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**STATISTICS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN INDIA, CHINA, AND SIAM**

**MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic)**

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Pedro Martinez, also a Jesuit, appointed in 1591 and consecrated at Goa in 1595, arrived in Japan in the following year. In 1593 four Spanish Franciscans, Fray Juan, Juan, Bello, and tholomeu Ruiz, Francis de Parilla, and Gonzalves —arrived in Japan and started work at Menko, Nagasaki, and Osaka, thus trespassing upon the privilege granted by Gregory XIII in 1586 to the Jesuits. Christians accused the Bonzes, who accused the Roman Catholic missionaries of being only political agents of Spain and Portugal, and Hideyoshi gave the signal for a cruel persecution. At least 10,000 Franciscans, 15 Japanese Tertians, 3 Japanese Jesuits, and 2 servants, known as the '26 martyrs of Nagasaki,' were put to death on 5th Feb. 1597. Instead of destroying Christianity, however, the persecution only helped to make it known. Hideyoshi died in 1598, and his successor, Jeyasu Daitusama (1605–16), left the Church in peace, which was then governed by the Jesuit Bishop Luis Susqueyra. In 1602 the Jesuits were reinforced by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, and by the year 1613 we find in Japan 130 Jesuits and some 30 priests belonging to the other missionary societies. The actual number of Catholics is probably much smaller. Between 1549 and 1598, 500,000, between 1598 and 1614, 152,000, and between 1614 and 1630, 25,000 adults were baptized, and we are told that the actual number of Christians at this time amounted to 1,800,000. But the peace and prosperity were the prelude to one of the most terrible persecutions begun by Jeyasu for some unknown reason. In 1614 Bishop Susqueyra died and was succeeded by the Franciscan martyr, Bishop Louis Sotole, who was burned alive in 1624. In order to weaken the Christians the Shogun arrested 117 Jesuits and 27 other missionaries, together with the Roman Catholic Leaders, and transported them to the Philippines (1614); but many of them returned.

Jeyasu died in 1615 and was succeeded by Hidehata, who removed the effects of his father, and from 1617 to 1640 the persecution went on without interruption. The 'Great Martyrdom' took place at Nagasaki on 2nd Sept. 1622, when 10 Jesuits, 6 Dominicans, 8 Franciscans, and 22 Japanese nobles were put to death. Jemttes, the following Shogun, is said to have killed about 20,000 every year from 1623. Over 200 of the missionaries, some 800 native catechists, and 200,000 Christians were martyred. From the year 1638 Christianity appeared to be extinct in Japan; though sporadic efforts were made by Jesuits in 1642 and later, all these failed. Father John Sidotti was the last Roman Catholic priest who entered Japan (1708), and he was put to death on 15th Dec. 1715.

The blood of so many martyrs, however, was not destined to be shed in vain. When in 1832 Gregory XVI erected the vicariate of Korea, Japan was included. In 1844 Father Forcada and Ko, a catechist, landed on Liu-Kiu Island, and they were joined by Father Leturdu in 1846. In the same year the vicariate of Japan was erected with Father Forcada as vicar-apostolic. But Japan was still a forbidden land till, in 1853, the United States broke down the barriers by a treaty, which was followed by others with Great Britain, Russia, etc., and Father Petitjean was able to build a Roman Catholic church at Nagasaki, which, on 17th March 1855, became instrumental in lining the Philippines with Roman Catholic missions. In Christian villages with several thousand Christians who for 200 years had kept the faith. In 1866 Petitjean was appointed vicar-apostolic. Though some minor persecutions broke out, the Church made progress, and in 1873 the laws and edicts against Christianity were abolished. In 1876 Japan was divided into two vicariates, and under Leo XIII, two more were added in 1888 and 1901, till on 15th June 1901 Leo XIII re-established the Missionary Vicariate of Japan, i.e. the archdiocese of Tokyo with three suffragan sees of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate, which were placed under the care of the Missionaries of Paris, to which have since been added the provinces of Shikoku (1904) and Niigata (1912) under the care of the Dominicans and the Missionaries of Steyl. The number of Roman Catholics, which in 1579 amounted to 16,000 with 13 priests, reached 25,000 in 1623, 44,000 in 1891 with 82 European and 15 native priests, 63,000 in 1910 with 150 European and 33 native priests, and 89,755 in 1915.

Korea.—From 1636 to 1578 Chosen, 'the Land of the Morning Calm,' was known only under the name of the 'Hermit Kingdom of the Far East' on account of the rigorous enforcement of her policy of isolation against all foreigners. Yet Roman Catholic missionaries made their way and found their faithful children in Korea, whose very name became known in Europe as the symbol of persecution and martyrdom. When, in 1592, Hideyoshi sent his soldiers to Korea, the Jesuit Gregorio de Cespechez accompanied the troops as chaplain to the numerous Roman Catholics in the army, and in his spare time instructed the children in the Faith; on his return to Japan in 1593, some 300 Korean prisoners of war. Nothing, however, is known of the fate of his converts in Korea, as in the beginning of the 17th cent. all traces of Christianity had disappeared from the land. In 1783 Seng-hun-i, one of the Korean literati, joined the annual embassy to Peking and interviewed there Alexander de Goves, the Franciscan bishop, who baptized him by the name of Peter. On his return he was joined by two friends, Piiki and Il-sini, who became the pioneers of Christianity in Korea. From 1784 to 1794 they received some 4000 neophytes into the Church, who were persecuted by the Bonzes from 1785 to 1791. An attempt made by de Remedios in 1791 to penetrate into Korea failed. In 1794 Father Jacob Tae (alias Padre Jayme Vellozo), a Chinese priest, succeeded in entering, and for six years continued the apostolate, during which time he baptized 6000 converts and thus increased the flock from 4000 to 10,000 souls. In 1801 new edicts were published ‘against the foreigner’s faith,’ among the martyrs were Peter Seng-hun-i, Father Tae, and 300 of his flock. For thirty years the Christians in Korea remained without a pastor in spite of repeated requests both to Peking and to Rome, owing to persecutions in China. In 1827 the mission field of Korea was entrusted to the Société des Missions Étrangères of Paris, and on 9th Sept. 1831 Korea was made a vicariate with Bruguère as its first bishop, Fathers Chastan and Malamúnt being his only assistants. The bishop died in the sight of Korea, while Fathers Malamúnt and Chastan reached Seoul in 1836 and 1837 respectively. At the end of the year the newly-appointed bishop, Imbert, arrived and found the flock reduced from 10,000 to 6000, which was increased to 9000 two years later, when the bishop and the two priests were put to death (1839). In 1845 Bishop Perroté, accompanied by Fathers Daveluy and Kim, the first native Korean priest, took over the field, but the latter died the death of a martyr in the following year. From 1846 to 1866 the Church in Korea struggled for compensating peace, during which numerous converts were made both under Forstél and under his successor, Bishop Berneux—from 11,000 to 25,000. This was the most flourishing period in the annals of Christianity in Korea, in which there possessed 2 bishops (Berneux

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and Daveloy) and 10 priests. In 1866 the persecution raged again, and during it the 2 bishops with 7 priests were put to death and 3 priests had to leave the country. In 1867 attempts were made to reopen the mission, but failed. In 1899 Ridel was appointed bishop, but was not able to enter Korea until 1874, was expelled in 1877, and died in 1884. The treaties of Korea with Japan, the United States, Britain, France, and America in the end opened the gates of the Hermit Kingdom. Bishop Blanc found on his arrival in 1883 only 13,000 Roman Catholics out of 25,000 in 1866, but the flock numbered 16,500 at his death in 1890. During the long reign of Bishop Mutel (since 1890) the missions in Korea, which was declared an independent kingdom in 1893, a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and a Japanese general residency in 1910, have enjoyed freedom. In 1897 we find 2 European and 3 native priests with 32,217 members in 497 stations, in 1899, 46 European and 10 native priests with 68,016 members. At the request of Bishop Mutel, Korea was divided into the vicariates of Seoul and Taiku, and numbered, in 1913, 58 European and 17 native priests with 59 principal and 978 out-stations, and 150 churches with 50,500 members.

II. AFRICA.—There is hardly a more glorious chapter to be found in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church than that of Africa. After the death of Jesus Christ and for a few centuries, the remnant of the converted people wandered from tribe to tribe. The desert was their home, and God's work was done by the power of the Holy Spirit. In the 7th century, the Arabs began to cross the Sahara, and the African coast was opened to the Moslem world. In 978 there was a large merchant expedition into the African interior, but little more is known of the Moslem work than that which is recorded in the diaries of the explorers. In the 15th century, the Portuguese, under the leadership of Henry the Navigator, son of King John 1. of Portugal, began their discoveries and expeditions along the west coast of Africa, passed Cape Bojador (1433), reached the Rio de Oruro (1444), and doubled Cape Verde (1444), they unfurled the banner of the Cross. In 1471 they crossed the equator, Diego Cam discovered the Congo (1484), Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope (1487), while Vasco da Gama came as far as Mozambique, Malindi, and Mombasa (1497). Pope Alexander VI. in 1494 assigned to Portugal all the lands discovered or to be discovered 570 miles west of Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all the land to the east, with the one obligation to further the propagation of Christianity and to support mission work in the east.

The Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites, supported by secular priests, vied with one another in carrying into effect the command of Christ 'to teach all nations.' Bishops were founded on the adjacent islands of the Dark Continent, viz. Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, Funchal in Madeira (1514), São Thomé on Cape Verde (1522), São Thiémot (1534), etc. King Emmanuel of Portugal took a special interest in the evangelization of the Congo, and from 1505 to 1512 sent annually some small number of different religious orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians), who, supported by the native King Alphonso, made good progress. The bishop of St. Thomas (Gulf of Guinea) was the first to accept the title of bishop of the Congo, transferred his see to San Salvador, and erected a chapter consisting of 28 canons. As the missions already engaged in the Congo did not suffice for the growing number of converts, and in 1590 the king of Portugal, sent some Jesuits—among them Fathers Vas, Rivera, Díaz, Several, Noguera, Gomez, etc.—who founded a college at San Salvador. From 1544 to 1592, 8 bishops occupied the see of San Salvador, and, when in 1592 the bishopric of Angola was united with that of the Congo, the see of San Salvador was transferred to St. Paul de Loanda. With the growth and expansion of Portuguese power in the E. and W. Indies, however, Portugal again opened a field to the Church with a sufficiency of missionaries, so that in 1857 we find only 12 priests for thousands of Christian villages. King Alvaro II. therefore applied to Rome for help in 1598; but it was only in 1640 that an Italian Carthusian and 4 Franciscans of Pamplona were sent, and these were strengthened between 1648 and 1833 by Italians and Portuguese, such as Dionysius Mareschi, Bonaventure Carrilgo, Joseph of Anguera, Jerome of Fuebla, Francis of Monteleone, and Anthony Zucchi, as well as by Carmelites who arrived in the Congo in 1636. It seems that these earlier missionaries extended their work as far as Stanley Pool and to the valley of the Kasai. Carmelites, Franciscans, Jesuits, and secular priests also started missionary work in Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Benin, Angola, and Upper and Lower Guinea. Among these pioneers we may mention the Jesuits Barreiva (? 1612), Fernandez, Barros, Almeida, Netto, and Alvarez, and the Capuchins Bernardino Renard and Angela Daveluy. Except for the missions in the Congo, missionary work was commenced soon after its discovery—in Mozambique by the Jesuits Sylveira (martyred 11th Aug. 1601), Acosta, and Fernandez; at Sofala by the Dominicans (1616) John dos Santos, John de Pietate, and Nicholas de Rosario; in Madagascar by the Lazarists (1648) Nacequart de Champmartin, Gondron, and Bourdais (1657). In Egypt the Franciscans continued their work among the Copts, and the Jesuits among the Ethiopians (Bermudez, John Nuñez, Andrew Oviedo, Melchior Carneiro, etc.). The various wars waged between the Dutch and the Portuguese, the slave-trade which was encouraged by the Christian European Powers, the civil feuds among the natives, the more promising colonies in the east and in the west, and the decrease of Portuguese power in Africa soon made the Portuguese forget their solemn obligation, and, instead of furthering the welfare of Christian civilization, they only became a standing obstacle to the work of evangelization, since they would not allow any rivals to establish themselves in the new colonies. Unable—or, rather, unwilling—to support the missionary work, the flourishing churches on the west and east coasts of Africa became weaker and weaker, and social, political, and religious disturbances, such as the sectarian policy of Pombal, the anti-Roman Catholic attitude of Holland and England, and, finally, the French revolution, brought every missionary enterprise in Africa to a standstill. According to Louvet (Les Missions catholiques au XIXe siècle), the total number of Roman Catholics of continental Africa at the beginning of the 19th century, including the Uniate Copts and Abyssinians, amounted to 47,000.

With the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1822 we perceive the first signs of a change for the better. The country of Algiers by France in 1830, which broke down the ramparts of Muhammadan fanaticism, and the re-opening of the missions among the Copts in Egypt and their re-establishment in Abyssinia in 1858 were the preludes to the Christian awakening of the Dark Continent. The son of a Jewish Rabbi was destined to take up anew the Roman Catholic missions in Africa and to inaugurate the magnificent apostolic enterprise. Pius IX. Libermann became the founder of the Missionary Society of the Holy
Heart of Mary and the Holy Ghost, usually called the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, whose members (since 1546) have devoted themselves to the evangelization of the heathen in the regions of the Congo and Guinea (1544) Sierra Leone (1564), the Portuguese Congo (1587), French Guinea (1578), Timbuktu (1579), Kandahar (1582), Loango (1588), Lower Nigeria (1586), and the plantations of the Guinea Coast. The Lazarites (Abissinia, S. Madagascar), the Jesuits (C. Madagascar, Kwango, Zambesi), and the Missionary Seminary of Verona (C. Africa), the Benedictines of St. Ottulien (Dar-es-Salaam, Lindi), the Trappists (Natal, Congo), the Belgian, English, and German missionary societies of Scheut (Congo Free State), of Mill Hill (Upper Nile), of St. Togo, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Natal, Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cimbebasia, Basuto, etc.

Besides these three African Missionary Societies *per excellence*, work is also carried on by the orders which in days gone by were pioneers in Africa, such as the Franciscans (Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco), the Capuchins (Erythrea, Gallia, Somaliland, Seychelles), the Trinitarians (Benadir), the Lazarists (Abissinia, S. Madagascar), the Jesuits (C. Madagascar, Kwango, Zambesi), and the Missionary Seminary of Verona (C. Africa), the Benedictines of St. Ottulien (Dar-es-Salaam, Lindi), the Trappists (Natal, Congo), the Belgian, English, and German missionary societies of Scheut (Congo Free State), of Mill Hill (Upper Nile), of St. Togo, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Natal, Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cimbebasia, Basuto, etc."

The missionaries, if they do not precede the explorers or conquerors, accompany them nowadays, they are nothing. They get from the valleys of the basin to the highland plains of Abyssinia, from the Sudan to the Cape, on the great rivers and lakes, in the desert plains and in the equatorial forests, in the heart of the continent and in the islands, the Cross of Calvary is found to-day set up as the sign of redemption. Where the missionaries have been able to labour they have laboured, and where they could only die they have died. According to the *Katholische Missonen*, Oct. 1912, Africa, as far as it is a missionary country, consists of 6 dioceses, 44 vicariates, and 28 presbyter apostolic, 1 prelate nullius, and 7 independent congregations, with 1,100,000 native members and some 600,000 catechumens. When we add the dioceses of Africa and her islands which are not under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, and, therefore, do not fall under the heading of the African mission field strictly speaking, we find the total number of Roman Catholics amounting to 3,742,000—insignifi- cant as compared with the 180,000,000 or 180,000,000 even 200,000,000 souls.

11. N. AND S. AMERICA.—When, in 1542, Christopher Columbus and Bartolomeu Dias found a brown-skinned people whose physical

appearance confirmed him in his opinion that he had at last reached India, and he called the inhabitants, therefore, 'Indios,' or 'Indians.' Subsequent navigators and explorers found that the same race was extended over the whole continent from the Arctic shores to Cape Horn, and that the people were more or less everywhere alike in their main physical characteristics, whence they extended the name of 'Indians' to the native tribes in both S. and N. America with the exception of the Eskimos in the extreme north. Much has been written about the atrocities and cruelties of the white invaders—Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English—committed against the Red Men, the original inhabitants and owners of the soil. The Roman Catholic Church, from the very outset of the political conquest of S., C., and N. America, has acted as the protectress of the downtrodden Indians, and her missionaries—Francis- cans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Hieronymites such as Las Casas, Montesinos, Nolos, and Anchiceta—have taken up their cause of liberty and religion. Lopez de Vega, one of the greatest Spanish poets, unfolds the whole aim and purpose of the Spanish conquerors in S. America in two lines:

*At riesce e tieni
Y a dies infinitas altas,*

i.e. 'to extend the boundaries of the Spanish empire over the vast territories of the new world and thereby to gain an apostolate for God.' Religion was her great end and aim, her all-pervading motive. The soothing influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries in S. America is still to be seen in the splendid churches and colleges and the thousands and millions of devoted converts; and, as long as Spain remained faithful to her solemn obligations, she was successful and prosperous. The destruction of the Indian missions, in which the Roman Catholic missionaries had worked for two hundred years, was due to the anti- Roman Catholic policy and legislation of Spain and Portugal; the revival is to be ascribed to the efforts of Pius IX., Leo Xll., and Pius X., who worked in harmony with the rulers of the different States and republics through their apostolic delegates. To describe the Roman Catholic missionary work among the Indians in S. and C. America would mean to write the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the colonial period of these countries from 1520 to 1820. It may suffice to note the work of the Franciscans and the Jesuits during this period.

Franciscan missionaries accompanied Columbus in 1493, and they were followed by others to the Antilles in 1500, to Mexico or Nova Hispania (Peter of Ghent, Martin of Valencia, Molina, Ribeira, the famous Zumarraga (1548), the first archbishop of Mexico, and Martin of Coruña), to Yucatan (Dideaus of Landa (1579), Guatemala and Honduras (Peter of Betancour and Maldonado, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In S. America the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela (John a S. Philiberto [1527], Louis Zapata, and Ferdinand Drees) with some 200,000 baptisms, Indians in Peru (Mark of Nizza and Jodokus Ryko), in Ecuador and Ucayali (Philip Luyando, Dominic Garcia, and Francis Alvarez (1696). At the request of the king of Spain, Franciscans went to Chile (1550) (Martin of Robleda and Angelus of Espinera (1773)), to Bolivia (Andrea Herrera (1583) and Antonio Conmenos (1814)), and into the Pampas of Argentine and to Tucumán (Francis de Saldanha), etc. The Indian missions of St. Bonaventure (Bernard Armenta, John de los Barrios (1547), Bernardine of Cardenas, and Louis Bolaños (1629). Between 1565 and 1572 Jesuit missionaries went to Florida, Mexico, and Peru. In 1603 the Jesuits, with Acquaviva (1681-1615), the second successor of St.
ignorant, to Chile and Paraguay, and later on to Maranhão. Names such as Núñez, Correa, Norregia, and Anchieta have become household words among the Indians in S. America, while the name of Azenedo, who, with 30 of his fellow-missionaries, spent 14 years in Brazil (1570) is associated with his loyalty to duty. At the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus the Jesuits were represented in Brazil by 445, in Maranhão by 146, in Paraguay by 184, in Peru by 311, in New Grenada, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador by 192, 242, 236, and 209 members respectively.

Equally famous among the defenders of the Indians are I. Damián and the Las Casas, Louis Bertrand, Antonio Montesino, Dominicus de Betanzos, Dominicus Ortiz, the Augustinian Francs John de Medina. With the suppression of the religious orders and the downfall of the Spanish supremacy in S. and C. America came also the destruction of the flourishing missions. The Christian Indians and Negros were allowed to drift, may, were often driven back into paganism, were slaughtered by their cruel white taskmasters, their plantations were destroyed or ruined, their schools and churches were reduced to ashes, and the missionary work which had been accomplished before the suppression and the subsequent upsurge of Christianity among two hundred years with the greatest outlay of money and valuable lives was destroyed. The political upheaval and the masonic inquisition, in the beginning of the 16th cent., with the subsequent scare of priests in the S. American Republics, scarcely allowed the missionaries to resume their work among the remaining Indians and Negroes. In recent years the Propaganda has once more appealed to willing workers among the various religious orders and missionary societies for help to establish missionary work among the Indian tribes. It remains a difficult task to obtain a precise record of their work, since most of them are at the same time engaged among the numerous European colonists in the S. American Republics. In the following we give only the names of the vicarates, prefectures, and missions in the various States, the dates of their erection, and the missionaries engaged.

Colombia: V. Guajira (Capuchins), 1800; V. Casamayor (Augustinians), 1856; V. Llanos (Society of Mary), 1903; P. Casquet (Capuchins), 1904; P. Choco (Immaculate Heart of Mary), 1893.

Guiana: V. Deenara (Brit. Guiana) (Jesuits), 1837; V. Surinam (Dutch Guiana) (Redemptorists), 1825 (1839); Cayenne (Cayenne Province of the Holy Ghost), 1846; in Ecuador: V. Oriente y Mecas (Dominicans), 1838; V. Mendes (Guayaquil) (Society), 1829; V. Nara (Jesuits), 1849; V. Zambos (Franciscans), 1836.

Peru: V. Trujillo (S. Leo) (Augustinians), 1900; P. Ucayali (Franciscans), 1900; P. Uruambala (Dominicans), 1901; P. Pumomayo (Franciscans), 1912.

Brazil: P. Bonfim (Franciscans), 1802; M. Rio Branco (Benedictines), 1897; P. Araguaia, 1911; P. Rio Negro, 1911; P. San Roque (Capuchins), 1916; P. Trava (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1910.

Argentina-Paraguay: V. Patagonia N. (Salesians), 1884; P. Patagonia S. (Salesians), 1883; Gran Chaco and Pampas (Franciscans).

Chile: V. Antofagasta (Secular priests), 1903; V. Tarapaca (secular priests), 1894; P. Arica (Capuchins), 1810.

Saxion: V. Chiloe, 1874.

Central America: V. Gerona (Honduras) (Jesuits), 1888 (1893).

Antilles: V. Coracao, 1842; V. Janina (Jesuits), 1837.

Kroo (sp. etc.) reckons the number of the unbelieving Indians in America at 1,500,000 or 3,750,000, i.e., Brazil, 600,000; Paraguay, 100,000; Argentina, 250,000; Chile, 50,000; Peru, 250,000; Bolivia, 100,000; Mexico, 300,000; Guatemala, 150,000; Venezuela, 60,000. To these must be added some 200,000 or 250,000 Coles, Negroes, and Chinese. In these missions European colonists live side by side with the Indians, etc. According to Kroo there are 500,000 negroes in S. America, and allowing some 150,000 as being heathen, the remainder are Roman Catholic Indian and Negro population of 650,000 souls. In the whole missions there are 175 priests, 250 brothers, 126 deacons, 413 stations, and 349 churches. In C. America and the W. Indies there are 350,000 or 600,000 Natives, among whom 50,000 Jesuits, Dominicans, Redemptorists, and Lazarites are at work, some 180 missionaries among 330,000 native Roman Catholics.

The United States of America are composed of former British, Spanish, and French colonies, and their population—91,972,556 (Census of 1910)—consists of a small remnant of the original American Indians (270,000), according to some, 530,000 or 444,000, according to others, Negro slaves and their descendants (9,827,765), of yellow or Asiatic immigrants (146,863), and of white or European settlers and their descendants. In California and Colorado the Colorado (New Mexico) and French (Louisiana) colonies the Roman Catholic missionaries have worked for the conversion and Christian civilization of the Indians, the beginning of the colonizing decades. Dominicans entered Florida in 1566, and they were supported in 1568 by the arrival of 12 Franciscans, 5 secular priests, and 8 Jesuits, among whom we may mention Fathers Martinez, Segura, de Quiros, and de Solis. In Texas and New Mexico Spanish Franciscans—Marcos de Nizza, John of Padilla, and Louis of Escalon—had commenced in 1539, but made little progress. In Arizona Francis of Porras (1683) and in California Juniper Serra (1784) commenced missionary work among the Indians, and along the Mississippi we find Father Marquette. The conquest of N. America by the white immigrants drove the Indians, their 'spoliation, outrage, and murder' were the orders for almost one hundred years. According to H. G. Game (The Indian Mission Problem, Past and Present, 1914), there remain in the United States some 270,000 Indians, of whom 100,000 are Roman Catholics, 40,000 Protestants (74,000?), 110,000 Negroes, 20,000 of whom have no church affiliation. According to Struth (Atlas Hierarchieus, 1914), there are in the United States 440,031 Indians, of whom 64,741 (67,285) are Roman Catholics. These are attended by 306 churches, and are attended by 103 priests (Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, etc.) and 391 sisters; 10 schools are attended by 7359 children. Famous among the Indian missionaries in the 19th cent. are Father de Smuet and Bishop Marty.

The Negro population in the United States (one-tenth of the whole population), descendants of the slaves who for two hundred and fifty years had been imported from Africa, and for the last fifty years been emancipated, but are still treated as outcasts. Owing to hostile legislation, the Roman Catholic Church had for many years a poor chance to convert the millions of the Negroes, since baptism was considered inconsistent with the state of slavery. After the emancipation of the Negroes (1863) and the second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866), Archbishop Spalding raised his voice for their conversion. The same course was pursued at the third council (1884) by Archbishop (Cardinal) Gibbons, who established a commission for Roman Catholic missionary work among the Negroes and the 'Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People.' It is difficult to obtain the exact number of Negroes professing the Roman Catholic religion in the United States; since some live in the South while others are mingled with the white population, and of the latter a report is hardly ever made. The Catholic Encyclopedia (xii. [1911] 629) gives the number of them professing in 200,000 or 250,000, while, according to the Atlas Hierarchieus, there are only 103,436 scattered in 33 dioceses, with 109 churches, 162 priests (Josephites, Missionary Society of Lyons, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, Mission of Stell), and 175 schools with 14,181 pupils.

The 'Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People,' in its semi-annual publication, Our Catholic Missions, 1914, gives the following statistics: churches, 72; priests, work.
In Canada the descendants of the aborigines are divided into four families: (1) the Huron Iroquois, (2) the Innuits or Eskimos, (3) the Dénés, (4) the Algonquins. In 1905 their total number amounted to 107,857, of whom 85,535 lived inside, the others outside the reservations. In the earliest days of the French colonial period Franciscains in 1615, Jesuits in 1625, and Sulpicians in 1657 devoted themselves to the conversion of the Algonquins and the Huron Iroquois — some 100,000 souls. Famously among these missionaries are d'Oleme, Le Caron, Viol, Sagard (Franciscains), Bérenger, Lallemant, Lejeune, Garnier, Chabane, Daniel, Jogues, Joliet, and Marquette (Jesuits). In 1659 the ecclesiastical hierarchy was established in Canada, and the Church entered from the missionary to the colonial period among the immigrants.

Of the 107,637 Indians to-day 25,060 are Roman Catholics; the remainder, with the exception of 10,906 who are still pagans, belong to various Protestant denominations and are divided in 27 dioceses. The Roman Catholics are attended by some 160 priests in over 110 stations, with 104 schools, and 300 sisters.

OCEANIA. — The southern realm of islands which stretch from the Pacific Ocean has been named Oceania, and for convenience of reference has been divided into four districts, viz.:

Australias with Tasmania.
Micronesia (Marianne, Carolines, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands).
Polynesia, comprising all the smaller islands between Hawaii in the north and Easter Island in the east.

Discovered in the 16th and 17th centuries by Spanish and Portuguese admirals, such as Balboa, Magellan, Mendana, Quiros, and de Torres, who were followed by Dutch, French, English, and German explorers — Roggeveen and Tasman, La Perouse and Dampier, and others — the maritime nations of the sea remained more or less in obscurity till the beginning of the 18th and even the 19th century. That Roman Catholic missionaries set their foot in the islanders long before their discovery, although only occasionally, is certain. Padre Pigafetta accompanied Magellan to the Ladrone Islands in 1521, another priest landed on the Marquesas in 1595, two Spanish missionaries visited Tahiti in 1774, and Abbé de Quinzi converted a few natives in the Hawaiian group in 1819. As Spanish and Portu- guese supremacy declined, the discoveries were of little consequence to Christianity, and, owing to the political and religious revolution in Europe, the suppression of religious orders, and the scarcity of missionary vocations and pecuniary support, the Roman Catholic missions were to a large extent neglected in the Pacific. The Marianne and Caroline groups were the only ones where progress was made. The former was visited by the Jesuit Diego de San Vittor, who landed with four other Jesuits on Guam in 1668, and these were followed by no more in 1870; but nearly all the Spanish missionaries were killed in 1670, 1672, and 1684. From 1700 to 1766 the Marianne missions were entrusted to German Jesuits, who in 1724, after a long interval, were restored to the Carolines. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Marianne Archipelago was handed over to Spanish Augustinians in 1756, and the latter were replaced by German Capuchins in 1897.

Several attempts were made by the Jesuits on the Philippines to open a mission in the Carolines Islands in 1700, 1708, 1709, and 1721, but all of them failed, till Father Cantova succeeded in 1731. Owing to the serious loss of life, however, the Jesuits abandoned the field, and it was only in 1868 that twelve Spanish Capuchins were able to resume missionary work once more in the Carolines; they remained in charge till 1904. In 1911 the German Marianne and the Carolines were united into one vicariate-apostolic with Wallersee as its first bishop, while the United States possession of Guam was made an independent vicariate in charge of Spanish Capuchins. The vicariate of Guam numbered, in 1915, 12,000 Roman Catholics, and that of Marianne-Caroline had 5,595 in 1914. With the exception of these two island groups, the beginning and development of Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in the Pacific belong to the 19th and 20th centuries. It was on 7th July 1827 that Alexis Bouchot, accompanied by Abraham Guerin, Patrick Sorin, and Robert H. Pepeus, landed in Honolulu (Hawaii) to resume the apostolate in Oceania, the whole of which was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Solages, then prefect-apostolic of Mauritius (1839). Three years later the vicariate of Oceania was established, and in quick succession the Roman Catholic missions were extended to the various island groups and entrusted to the two pioneer missionary societies in the Pacific, viz. the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Pepeus) and the Society of Mary (Marists). From 1827 to 1845, under Cardinal Prefect Capellari of the Propaganda and under the pontificate of Gregory Xv, the Society of Pepeus sent its missionaries to Hawaii (1827), the Gambier Islands (1834), the Marquesas (1838), and Tahiti (1841), while the Marists went to Wallis, Tonga, New Zealand (1837), New Caledonia (1840), Fiji (1844), and Samoa (1845). Gregory Xvi divided Oceania into two distinct vicariates: Eastern (1833-44) and Western Oceania (1836-48), from which Central Oceania was separated in 1842. These three vicariates form, so to speak, the roots of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Pacific. From the Eastern vicariate were separated those of Hawaii, Marquesas, and Tuamotus, and from the Central those of New Caledonia (1847), Samoan (1851), and Fiji (1863-87), while W. Oceania was divided into the vicariates of Melanesia (1844-80) and Micronesia (1844-97). From Melanesia were separated New Guineas and New Pomerania (1889), and from Micronesia the Gilbert (1897) and the Carolines (1866). Some of the groups were again divided and subdivided, such as New Guineas and New Pomerania, from which were separated the Solomans (1897-98) and the Marshall Islands (1905). The Marianne group depended upon the diocese of Cebu (Philippines), till it was made an independent vicariate. The divisions demanded new helpers in the ever-expanding field, and during the colonial period of Oceania (1882-1903) three other missionary societies were engaged. These were the Society of Jesus, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (1886 and 1904) and the Marianne Islands (1907), the Pious Society the Cook or Hervey Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmland E. W. (1915), to the Society of the Divine Word (Liberty) Kaiser Wilhelmland W. (1897). In 1906 the Marists the New Hebrides (1887) and the Solomon Islands (1889), and, finally, to the Congregation of the Sacred Heart (Issoumn) New Pomerania (1892), New Guinea (1892), New Pomerania (1902), the Gilbert (1888) and the E lite
### STATISTICS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1913.

| Mission districts | Year of Foundation | Missionary Society | European priests | Native priests | European brothers | Native brothers | European sisters | Native sisters | Chinese catechists | European catechists | Chinese Catholic converts | Native Roman Catholics | Non-Roman Catholics | Principal stations | Secondary stations | Churches and chapels | Catechetical seminaries | Pupils | Catholic schools | Elementary schools | Pupils | Higher schools | Boys | Girls | Orphans | Orphanages | Blind and deaf | \[400\]
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marianne and Carolines, V.</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4,793</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>27,838</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Pomerania, V.</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>2,416</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaiser Wilhelmland E. P., F.</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaiser Wilhelmland W. P., F.</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>4,767</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,268</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Guinea, V.</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>149</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. Solomon Islands, F.</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Solomon Islands, F.</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New Hebrides, V.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>10,783</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>22,234</td>
<td>10,783</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7,474</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>255</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshall Islands, M.</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gilbert Islands, V.</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>350</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Fiji Islands, V.</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>247</td>
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<td>12,000</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Oceania, V.</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>18,820</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1,414</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samos (Navigator Island), V.</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>7,654</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandwich (Hawaiian Isl.), V.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marquesas, V.</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2,458</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tahiti, V.</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>50(1)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch New Guinea, P.</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to *Katholische Missions*, July 1914, the Roman Catholic population of the Marianne-Carolines is 6,995, that of Guan, 12,400.
Islands (1897), and, lastly, the Marshall Islands (1960).

Where eighty years ago there were—with the exception of the Marianne group—scarcely any Roman Catholics, and no priest or bishop, we find today an established hierarchy, with 14 bishoprics, 4 prelatures-apostolic, and 1 mission with 131,000 native and 63,000 European members, 427 priests (8 native priests), 227 brothers, 418 sisters, 1,000 stations, 990 churches and chapels, and 700 schools with 30,000 pupils. The population of Oceania proper (without Australia and Tasmania) amounts to 2,650,000 or (without New Zealand, no longer a missionary country) 2,000,000, or, according to others, 1,340,000 souls. The Roman Catholic population is, therefore, comparatively small, and the work, especially in New Guinea, the Solomon group, and other islands, is little advanced. But, bearing in mind the social, moral, religious, political, ethnological, and linguistic problems of the various groups and their natives, the unhealthy climate, in many cases absolutely unsuitable for Europeans, the variety of dialects even among the inhabitants of the same islands, and, lastly, the hostile attitude of some of the European Powers that have divided the islands among themselves towards every Christian enterprise, and the fierce opposition displayed against the Roman Catholic missionaries from 1830 to 1880, the Roman Catholic Church has made slow but sure progress. She has become a Christianizing and civilizing factor in the Pacific, and as such is now acknowledged by the various European governments and their representatives, by explorers and tourists, and by missionaries of every denomination, whatever their attitude towards the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church may be.

Famous among the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific are the two pioneer missionaries (later bishops), Bataillon (1843–77) of C. Oceania, the founder of the missions in New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoan, and Rotuma, and his fellow-worker, Pompallier of W. Oceania, Bishop Epalle, who was murdered in 1845, Bishop Roucoux of E. Oceania, etc. Nor must we forget Father Champe, the proto-martyr of the Pacific and the apostle of Futuna (1841), Father Damien Devenster, the leper apostle of Molokai, or Fathers Bontems of the Gilbert and Castanié of the Cook Islands, and, lastly, Brother Eugene Eyraud, the lay apostle of Easter Island.

As space does not allow of a detailed history of the interesting work of Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in the Pacific, we give on p. 726 a table of statistics which will tell the story of the heroic work which the missionaries have achieved within the years 1830–1913 under very trying circumstances of persecution, hunger, poverty, and death.

In the following table of statistics we give the summary of missionary work during the 19th cent. and the results of previous centuries since the Reformation. These statistics we borrow from Kroeze (op. cit. p. 123).


**A.**—**SUMMARY OF R.C. MISSIONS IN THE 19TH CENT. (STATISTICS, 1908).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission field</th>
<th>Roman Catholics</th>
<th>Priests</th>
<th>Mission helpers</th>
<th>Stations</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Of European origin</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>6,329,955</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>9,086</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>2,303</td>
<td>11,996</td>
<td>23,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and Oceania</td>
<td>170,054</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>818,561</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>1,842</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>5,988</td>
<td>3,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>898,092</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>1,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total A</td>
<td>3,321,303</td>
<td>485,000</td>
<td>13,305</td>
<td>5,309</td>
<td>4,903</td>
<td>17,284</td>
<td>39,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>21,985,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals A and B</td>
<td>30,306,000</td>
<td>465,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


**B. RESULTS OF FORMER CENTURIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission field</th>
<th>Roman Catholics</th>
<th>Priests</th>
<th>Mission helpers</th>
<th>Stations</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Of European origin</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>6,700,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,088,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>19,000,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total B</td>
<td>21,985,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals A and B</td>
<td>30,306,000</td>
<td>465,000</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant).**—**I. INTRODUCTION.**—The missions of the Reformed Churches of Christendom seem at first sight to be discontinuous from those of the medieval Church and from the post-Reformation missions of the Roman Church. While the Roman Church carried on...
extensive missions from the 16th to the 18th cent., the Reformed Churches during the same period were doing practically nothing. Indeed, their divines, when they touched the subject of the Christian obligation to evangelize the world, were mainly occupied in elaborating arguments to show that the command of Christ, "Go do this had lapsed in their day. The causes of this inaction are complex.

After the great crisis of the Reformation the Protestant countries of Europe had not only to adapt their systems in the Malay, Javan, and Chinese, but also to maintain their political existence against powerful hostile combinations. Meanwhile it was to Spain and Portugal, the great representatives of the old creed, the community of faith with other peoples of the Cape route to India had fallen. To them, accordingly, the pope had committed authority over the newly-found regions of America and Africa as well as the Indies, and this dominion they were able, to a considerable extent, to make effective. The revival of the Roman Church which followed the Reformation naturally threw much of its best force into these national undertakings sanctioned by 'holy Church.' With the armies and administrators of Spain and Portugal went the priests and friars, whose task it was to bring these new territories into the Roman see.

With the 17th cent. began the colonial expansion of England, which resulted in the Christianization of N. America, not by the labour of missionaries, but by the migration of peoples. A little later the Netherlands, freed from the rule of Spain, began to take over the dominions of Portugal in the East, and eventually founded a greater empire. Western Europe, on the other hand, lessened its activity. In the 19th cent., the missionary sphere of the Protestant nations was opened up, so that, when their religious life was effectually revived towards the close of the 18th cent., the missionary call of an open world for which they were specially responsible came to be Reformed Christendom with irresistible force.

When we have indicated the main features of the expansion of Protestant nations, we have indicated also the main lines of their missionary development as compared with that of the primitive and the medieval Church. At first Christianity was conscious in principle of its universal destiny, but was practically confined by a limited world-outlook and the lack of communication between East and West. In the Middle Ages the Church on the one side was straitened by Islam, and on the other was grappling with the problem of absorbing and training the barbarian nations of Europe. In both these periods the evangelist and the evangelized were, on the whole, of similar races and of cultures not radically different. In the modern period the world-outlook has become complete and practical, while, with the facility of intercourse, the immensely greater progress in arts and sciences since the Reformation than before has made the intellectual and social difference between the Christian and the non-Christian far greater than at any earlier time. This is once the advantage and the impediment of modern missions as compared with ancient.

Modern missions are continuous with the primitive expansion of Christianity, and in the case of Protestant missions in particular we must go back to the primitive records of the faith and to its early history in order to estimate their work. But in so doing we are at once struck by certain outstanding contrasts connected with the historical situation. Since in primitive times the missionary and his hearers belonged broadly to the same level of culture and conditions, and were members of the same or similar communities, the whole range of problems connoted by the terms 'home base' and 'foreign field' was far more uniform and less problematic in modern missions.

The propagation of the faith was the work of the Church in each place, whether through its officers or through its ordinary members, for the Church itself was the evangelizing body. Hence in the early records of expansion the professional missionary, as distinguished from the ordinary minister or layman, is conspicuous by his absence. There were great leaders in the work of evangelization among the bishopric of the Church, but for associations distinct from the Church, set apart for evangelism, there was no place. Finally, the political relation of the missionary to his hearers in the 16th cent. was either that of a different empire, or of the same great empire or that of a stranger from a land of no very different conditions.

Following on the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Roman State, the irradiation of the barbarians, and the rise of monasticism, these conditions were modified. The missionary trained and sent apart for the work appears on the scene, more often as a member of an order than as an evangelist. The conversion and control of virile and turbulent barbarians seemed to demand a stern discipline than the Church alone could exercise; repeatedly the idea of the State was vigorously used, and orders came into existence that were half-monk, half-warrior, such as the Knights of St. John and the Order of Teutonic Knights. The Christianization of the West was largely accomplished by means of state agents, though the individual missionary was not absent. In Asia the wide-spread missionary work of the Nestorians had little of the political element, but it went down before the great onrush of Asiatic migrations—either under the military impact of Islam or under the unified forces of Buddhism. On both sides of the world the faith spread or receded amid the reciprocal contact and strife of nations whose land-frontiers were contiguously. The more stringent organization of missionary work and the training of the worker had made progress, but the political factor had deteriorated its texture.

The doctrine of the Reformation insisted on the liberty of the individual conscience and the freedom of individual access to God, together with the absolute sovereignty of the individual in the task of inscribing and training the barbarian nations of Europe. In both these periods the evangelist and the evangelized were, on the whole, of similar races and of cultures not radically different. In the modern period the world-outlook has become complete and practical, while, with the facility of intercourse, the immensely greater progress in arts and sciences since the Reformation has made the intellectual and social difference between the Christian and the non-Christian far greater than at any earlier time. This is
of free associations, working on a basis of voluntary co-operation. The missionary orders of the Roman Church have indeed a very historical organization, adding new orders, as needed, on a similar basis; but the missionary societies of Protestant Christendom are, in effect, and for the most part, the outcome of the exercise of individual freedom has been combined with obedience to superimposed organization and discipline for a common purpose. It would not be correct to say that Protestant missions are differentiated from those of Catholicism only by a lack of direct subordination to Church authority, for many of them are directly administered by the governing bodies of their Churches. There is, however, this obvious difference, that the missions of the Roman Church are all co-ordinated and guided by a single central authority which is conspicuously lacking in Protestant Christendom. On the other hand, the Protestant organizations are now systematically endeavouring to gain the benefits of unity, together with those of freedom, by voluntary cooperation and co-ordination in missionary work, not only as between Churches but also as between nations.

II. HISTORY.—1. Formation and development of societies.—Up to the 18th cent. the missionary societies in Britain and on the Continent were chiefly denominational. The Society of the London Missionary Society, founded in 1602, was enjoined by its charter to care for the conversion of the heathen in the newly-won possessions of the Republic, and it appointed preservers for the purpose, but the work was carried on mechanically under government pressure.

After a century the number of registered Christians in Ceylon was 330,000, in Java 100,000, and in Amboyna 40,000, but few were left of these myriad converts in Ceylon after English rule came in, and only a small minority in Java under Dutch rule. In New England the Pilgrim Fathers at first had to defend life and property against the Indian tribes who surrounded them, but in 1646 John Eliot, pastor of Roxbury, gave himself to work among the aborigines, learning their language, carefully teaching them, and gathering them into organized churches—the first real Protestant missionary enterprise. In 1649 the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was formed, and it is still extant, but its activities have consisted chiefly in the collection of funds. In 1686 the efforts of Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire, resulted in the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. During the 18th cent. this aided the Danish-Halle Mission and other missions in India, but its principal work since 1813 has been the publication and circulation of Christian literature, both at home and abroad. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded to provide clergy for the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain and also to take steps for the conversion of the natives; but little was done for the latter object till after 1817. These three societies are connected with the Church of England.

The revival of spiritual religion in Germany known as Pietism (q.v.) resulted in two missionary movements during the last century. Frederic William iv. of Denmark, feeling responsible for his colonial dominions, found the men whom he needed in Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pietschau, followers of the great Pietist leader, Hermann August Francke. They were sent out in 1705 to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in S. India, and there founded a work which was developed by many successors of note, especially Christian August Ehrenfels. Their work was partly maintained by the S.P.C.K. The other far-reaching missionary movement of German origin was the Moravian. Members of the Unitas Fratrum of Moravia, driven from their homes in 1722 by the tyranny of their rulers, Nikolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, on his estate at Herrnhut in Saxony in 1722. Very soon their zeal led them to send missionaries to the heathen. In 1723 the Negros of the Spanish Guinea, who had been evangelized by the Norwegian, Hans Egede, were left after his return uncared for. This was the beginning of a world-wide work, carried on by a community never numbering more than 40,000 souls in Europe, but that converts abroad, and a roll of more than 2000 missionaries, sent out since its foundation. See, further, art. MORAVIANS.

The Presbyterian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in Scotland in 1799, deserves mention, because among a few missionaries whom it sent to the Indians of N. America was David Brainerd, the evangelist of the Delaware Indians. He died after only three years' work, but his biography powerfully influenced William Marsden of New Zealand, William Carey and Henry Martyn in Bengal, and many others.

By the middle of the 18th cent. these early movements of Protestant missions had greatly slackened owing to the religious deadness which had overtaken the various Churches. But thearyl growth of religious life on the Continent, the evangelical revival connected on the Continent with the names of Francke and Zinzendorf, and in England with those of John Wesley (1703-91) and George Whitefield (1714-50). The inevitable result in the revival of zeal for the evangelization of the outside world became manifest towards the end of the century. The two great leaders and their immediate followers were the ministers of the Church of England, but, owing to the deadness of her leaders and people, the movement, while powerfully influencing the Church, resulted in the formation of the strongest of the Protestant bodies, the Methodists of England and America. But it was another dissenting body that the missionary call first came effectively. The great pioneer William Carey and his followers founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1702. In 1795 followed the second society, at first called simply the Missionary Society. It was founded by Church of England, Independent, and Presbyterian ministers. In 1796 two Scottish associations were combined, known as the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies. In 1799 Evangelical members of the Church of England decided to establish the Church Missionary Society, and the undenominational society already mentioned became known as the London Missionary Society. Though others are not excluded, it has since then practically remained the organ of the English Congregationalists. The British and Foreign Bible Society was set on foot in 1804 by the joint action of churchmen and dissenters. The Wesleyan Methodists had already been carrying on missionary work in East and West since 1786 under the personal guidance of Thomas Coke, but after his death in 1814 they established their own society. The societies named, together with the revived operations of the S.P.G., represent the formative beginnings of Protestant missionary work in Great Britain. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, formed mainly by Congregationalists in 1810, and the American Baptist Missionary Union (1814) were the earliest societies in America. Before sketching the development of these and indicating the minor societies, it is desirable to mention two outside movements which greatly influenced the history of missions in Africa and Asia. It is reckoned that the African slave-trade during the hundred years preceding 1786 conveyed
no fewer than 2,000,000 Negroes into British colonies, chiefly the W. Indies and British N. America; but even in England Negroes were sold and bought till the judgment pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772: 'As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free.' This formed the starting-point for the campaign against the slave trade, which possessed, carried on within and without Parliament by William Wilberforce from 1789 till its victorious climax amid the throns of the Peninsula War in 1807. The abolition of the slave-trade had not as yet done away with slavery in British possessions outside the United Kingdom, nor with the slave-trade carried on by foreign nations. But it gave a powerful impulsion to missionary work among Negroes, and arrangements were made at Sierra Leone for the reception of liberated slaves, of whom many thousands were settled there under the care of C.M.S. missionaries, the same thing being done later on the E. African coast near Mombasa. Meanwhile, the agitation against slavery in the British dominions was continued by Wilberforce and his successors till it was crowned by the Emancipation Act of 1833, which liberated 1,000,000 slaves in the W. Indies at a cost to the State of £20,000,000 paid to the owners as compensation. Slavery in the United States, and the trade that fed it, continued till the Peace of Paris (1814). Since then what remained of slavery under Christian rule has been abolished, and slavery in Muslim and pagan lands has been greatly limited. As a result of the abolition, or rather more correctly, of the slave-trade there are now some 12,000,000 Christianized Negroes in the United States and W. Indies, apart from those who have been brought in through missionary effort in Africa.

The East India Company dates its charter from the year 1600, but for 150 years little was done for the spiritual benefit of its European servants, and nothing for the evangelization of the natives of the land. After the battle of Plassey in 1757 things improved somewhat among Europeans, but, when Parliament, on the motion of Wilberforce, in 1789 was ready to afford facilities for missionary work in India, the opposition of the E.I.C. threw out the clauses, and for the next twenty years Christian missionaries were rigorously excluded from its territories. In 1813 the E.I.C. charter was once more revised, not only was the entry of missionaries conceded, but an ecclesiastical establishment was provided for Europeans, the representatives of which have done not a little to forward the cause of missions.

1. BRITAIN.—The later development of British societies, especially Anglican, was strongly influenced by several religious movements. The Irish Revival of 1839 affected England in 1840 and gave an impetus to the formation of undenominational societies, such as the China Inland Mission. In 1875 Dwight L. Moody's first revival in London and at the first Keswick Convention marked the beginning of a movement which resulted in an immense growth of missionary zeal, both in offerings and in service on the part of university men, especially in connection with the C.M.S. The Tractarian Movement had influenced one side of the Church of England for a generation before it began to appear extensively on the mission-field during the last half of the century. It was pronounced by Lord Bishop C. H. Cobbold of the Anglican.—"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1817 was supporting a few clergy and schoolmasters in the N. American colonies and churches that were established in its mission-field to non-Christians (1823) by sending men to Bengal and to S. India, where Robert Caldwell was distinguished as linguist and bishop. It has carried on all its missions under the direct superintendence of the diocesan bishops in the mission-field, and it has included in its activities the provision of ministration to white men in the colonies and on the continent of Europe. Its work among non-Christians has steadily increased and now absorbs £165,000 out of the entire £250,000 under which India it has occupied Calcutta, Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Assam, and Burma. In 1821 it advanced to S. Africa, in 1845 to Borneo, in 1862 to the Pacific, in 1863 to N. China, in 1873 to Japan, in 1882 to Korea, in 1892 to Manchuria, and in 1903 to Siam. By constitution the S.P.G. is as broad as the Church of England, but as a matter of fact it has represented mainly the High Church side. It has of late in varying degree done missions of the same type as the missions of the Church. The Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1881) is now independent; the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and the Cawnpore Christ Church Brotherhood are still connected with the S.P.G. Its most flourishing missions are those to the Tamils of Tinnevelly and to the Kols of Chota Nagpur, both in India.

The principal English societies of this type are:

1. The Methodist Missionary Society, founded in 1816 by George A. Selwyn, afterwards bishop of Lichfield, and carried on by the martyr John C. Patteson;
2. The Universities Mission to the South Sea Islands, established by the General Synod of 1822, and carried on in cooperation with the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; and
3. The London Missionary Society, founded by the Rev. H. R. Selwyn, who appeared to the youth of Oxford and Cambridge to carry on his work. Bishop Edward Steere was its most distinguished scholar and statesman.

The earliest missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, like those of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., were Germans, and the Basel Missionary Institution, established in 1807, is one of the C.M.S. missionaries, including the Arabic scholar and writer, K. G. Pfander, and the E. African explorers, J. Reimann and L. Krapf. Its first mission was in W. Africa (1834). Its last mission was in W. Africa (1834). Its last mission was entered in 1813, when Abd-al-Math, the disciple of Henry Martyn, opened work at Agura. In 1814 Madras and New Zealand were occupied; Traversere in 1816; Ceylon in 1818; N.W. Canada in 1823; and in 1830 C. T. R. A. Smith founded a work in Tinnevelly. In 1827 L. Krapf first went to E. Africa, and in 1841 H. W. Fox and L. L. Noble began the Telugu Mission in S. India. In 1847 China was entered upon by W. H. B the E.I.C. charter was once more revised, not only was the entry of missionaries conceded, but an ecclesiastical establishment was provided for Europeans, the representatives of which have done not a little to forward the cause of missions. The C.M.S. represents the Evangelical school of the Church of England, in touch with the more pronounced Anglicanism on the one side and with nonconformist and interdenominational effort on the other. Its missionaries, after the first supply of German recruits, were drawn largely from its college at Islington, but of late years they have been furnished in increasing numbers by the universities. It is the largest of the Protestant missionary societies, with a missionary roll of 1940, an annual income of £400,000, and 450,000 adherents in the mission-field.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, founded in 1860, works chiefly with the C.M.S. in India and China. In 1913-14 it had 224 women missionaries, 27,239 pupils in zemans and schools, and an income of £60,000. The South American Missionary Society has in its activities 311 missionaries on the Patagonian work begun by Allen Gardiner, and also works in Paraguay and S. Chile.
Most of these societies have associations in Ireland and Scotland, but the contributions and missionaries from those countries are not separately given.

(b) English Free Churches. — Only the chief societies can be dealt with here. The earliest is the London Missionary Society (1739). The discoveries of Captain Cook and the efforts to send their first mission to the South Sea Islands, where John Williams, after years of work, was martyred on the island of Eromanga (1839). In 1788 S. Aitchison occupied, and the labours of Robert Moffat, followed by those of his yet more distinguished son-in-law, David Livingstone, became classical. The most remarkable of L.M.S. missions was that in Madagascar, founded in 1820, and resumed, after long expulsion of the missionaries, with extraordinary fruitfulness. In N. and S. India L.M.S. work has been going on since 1801, extending to Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras, and Travancore. Robert Morrison of this society was the first missionary to enter China (1807), and missions are now planted in S., C., and N. China. C. Africa was taken up as a memorial to Livingstone by the Society in 1866, and William Yule had 216 missionaries, an income of £124,000, and 316,000 adherents.

The Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1782, has an income of £29,000, and 25,170 Church members.

The Wesleyan Methodists had already begun work in the British W. Indies under Thomas Coke in 1786, and in W. Africa from 1811. After his death the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was founded as a separate organization, and the work advanced in 1814 to Ceylon, in 1815 to S. Africa, in 1817 to India, in 1822 to Australasia, and in 1831 to China. In the last region, and in S. Africa and the W. Indies, many of the churches are no longer under the management of the society. Like the Baptists in the north of India, the Wesleyans in the south have done much for the cause of vernacular literature. In 1913-14 their missionaries numbered 965, their income was £130,000, and their adherents 307,000.

Of societies connected with the minor sects of Methodism it must suffice to mention the Methodist New Connexion (1814), working in China; the United Methodists (1837), in China, E. and W. Africa, and Jamaica; and the Primitive Methodists (1849), in Africa. The Methodist missions generally are an integral part of the Church organizations. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (1810) are, properly speaking, Presbyterian. They have an exceptionally successful work among the Khasis of Assam.

For convenience we may add here the Friends' Foreign Mission Association (1855), working in Madagascar, India, Ceylon, China, and Syria. Like the Moravians, though very much later in time, the Friends prosecute their missionary operations to an extent that is in striking contrast to the smallness of their community, reckoned, as it is, at some 30,000 members.

(c) Presbyterian. — The Presbyterian societies, like the Methodist, are part and parcel of the Church organization.

Scottish Churches. — The Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Societies, founded in 1766, carried on their work in the neighborhood of the influence and even opposition. In 1824, at the instance of John Inglis, the General Assembly undertook a mission to India, and the sending out in 1829 of Alexander Duff, followed by Murray Mitchell and John Wilson, marked an epoch in the history of educational missions in India, which these men opened up with marvellous ability and zeal. The work at Lovelace in Kaffraria (1841) became famous among industrial missions. At the Disruption in 1843 the missionaries in India and Kaffraria cast in their lot with the Free Church, and this new body soon greatly increased its operations, adding Natal, Nyasaland, and S. Arabia. Since the union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterians the United Free Church field has included operations in W. Africa. The W. Indies, a mission founded by the Established Church was also revived and extended in India, C. Africa, and China.

The English Presbyterian Church (1847) is working in China, Formosa, the Straits Settlements, and India; the Irish Presbyterian Church (1840) in Manchuria and India.

All these societies have their organizations for women's missionary work, in some cases distinct from the main body, but mostly as a department of it. Generally speaking, the women's societies or auxiliaries are later developments, for it was hardly practicable to send out unmarried women as missionaries till after the middle of the last century; before this, work among women was carried on by the wives of missionaries, to whom some of the most important organizations owe their foundation and development. In the figures given the women's work is included in that of the main society.

(d) Undenominational. — Among undenominational societies we notice the two most prominent. The Indien Protestant Normal School (1824) was founded for the educational purposes indicated in its name. In 1850 the majority of the Church of England members seceded, and started the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. Under the name of the Zenana, Bible, and Medical Mission the original body has continued to co-operate with Church of England and Presbyterian missions in India, and has developed medical work. The China Inland Mission was founded in 1855 by J. Hudson Taylor, who had already worked in China as an evangelist from 1853. Vocation and spiritual preparation are insisted on, but not high educational attainments; careful training, however, is given in language-schools on the field. No direct appeals for funds are made at the home base, and no fixed salary is guaranteed to the missionary. The plan of advance has been to 'occupy' province after province by stationing missionaries in the inland provincial capitals, instead of remaining in or near the treaty ports on the coast. The sending out of seven Cambridge athletes in 1855 created great enthusiasm. The work of the C.I.M. has spread rapidly and given an impetus to advance by other societies into the rebellious box.
MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant)

Salvation Army has been doing missionary work, principally in India, since 1853; its operations have been mostly of a social kind, such as industrial undertakings and reclamation of certain criminal tribes. The North Africa General Mission works mainly in Algeria and Morocco; the Egypt General Mission as indicated by its name; the Regions Beyond and the Sudan United Missions in W. C. Africa.

(c) Missionary publishing societies.—In all Protestant missionary work the rule has been to give converts and others access to the Christian Scriptures as soon as possible. The results have, in fact, been greatly limited by this rule. It has been a great hindrance, but, as shown in the preceding pages, a translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the non-Christian world has been one of the most signifort production, and it is believed that this may have resulted in premature productions which have afterwards been the cause of misunderstanding or hindrance, but, taken as a whole, the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the non-Christian world has been one of the most signal and fruitful achievements of modern missions. The Bible, as a whole or in part, is now printed in about 500 languages and dialects. The great bulk of this work has been done by the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), which has issued 487 of these versions up to 1914. The number of these is being increased year by year, and it is estimated that these and other revisions of old versions in the light of the best scholarship is constantly proceeding. Many scores of these languages possessed neither book nor script before they were reduced to written form. The missionaries have now followed up the spelling-book and the school-reader with the Gospels, and gradually added the whole NT and in many cases the OT also. The B. and F. B. S. circulated, in 1914, 12,082,059 copies of the Scriptures. It received a charitable income (exclusive of sales) of £90,000. The National Bible Society of Scotland and the Trinitarian Bible Society in the same year circulated respectively 2,792,010 and 154,552 copies in 13 and 2 languages (besides those dealt with by the larger society).

For the production of Christian literature of a more general kind the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (already noticed, is the oldest society. It helps Church of England missions in all parts of the world, principally with books of devotion and theology, but also with works of a more general nature. It has published in 99 languages. The Religious Tract Society (1799), with an income (apart from sales) of £17,196, does a similar work on an interdenominational basis, and it has been a means of founding several daughter societies in India, China, and Japan. The Christian Literature Society for India was founded in 1855 as a Christian reply to the mutiny. Under John Murray (1859-1904) it developed a wide-spread activity in production, both of educational works and of religious and general literature. A similar Christian Literature Society for China has done much in producing high-class literature under the leadership of Timothy Richards and others. The Nile Mission Press at Cairo (1902) produces Arabic literature for missions to Muslims in the Near East. But the mission presses at work in the four quarters of the globe run into many hundreds.

2. America.—The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, founded in 1810, was the principal missionary organization of its time, but, owing to the hostile attitude of the E.I.C., they did not secure a footing in W. India till 1814, and in the same year they entered Ceylon. The other principal steps forward were to Oceania (1819), W. Africa (1826), S. Africa (1851), India (1844), and Japan (1869). Since the separation from this board of the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian missions the A.B.C.F.M. represents the Congregationalists of the U.S.A. Income, £200,000; missionaries, 615; adherents, 195,742.

The American Baptist Missionary Union came into existence in 1814, when Adoniram Judson entered Burma. In 1827 he began a remarkably successful work among the Karen tribe, which has come over to Christianity. Another Indian mission of the A.B.M.U. in the Telugu country (from 1840) has been the sphere of a large movement. The Union entered China in 1843, the Congo Territory under Hermon (1857), and Malaya (1859). The Southern Baptist Convention, an off-shoot from the main body, carries on missions in China, W. Africa, and Japan. Income, £222,885; missionaries, 701; adherents, 505,900.

The Methodist Episcopal Church represents the Wesleyan movement in the U.S.A. The larger, or Northern, branch carries on its missions to non-Christians in S. India (1859), China (1847), N. India (1856), Japan (1873), Korea (1859), and Malaya (1889). The Southern branch began missionary work in 1846, and carries it on in India, China, and Japan. The foreign work of this denomination has spread rapidly. It has already occupied missions in Syria, Persia, India, Siam, W. Africa, China, and Japan. Its educational work in India especially is of a high order. The Presbyterians of the Southern States (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; 1861) work in China, Japan, Congo Territory, and Korea. The United Presbyterian Church (1839) maintains a vigorous work in China, India, and Egypt (the last named chiefly among Copts); In their Panjnad Mission accessions have been very large. The Dutch Reformed Church (1832) works in China, Japan, India, and on the Persian Gulf. The Disciples of Christ have missions in China, Japan, India, and Turkey. The first of these denominations in 1914 had an income of £261,142, 1,357 missionaries, and 370,238 adherents.

The Lutheran Churches of the U.S.A., numbering over 2,000,000 communicants (and, say, 10,000,000 adherents), are divided into six chief sects, whose first mission was undertaken in 1841. They work mainly in W. Africa and the most important mission in the Telugu country. Income, £68,907; missionaries, 81; adherents, 70,426.

The total figures for Protestant Missions in N. America amount to 6627 missionaries and 1,386,621 adherents.1

Canada has eight leading Protestant missionary societies. The principal of these are the Baptist, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Anglican. In addition to the Boards connected with the various Churches, one organization, connected with no Church in particular, has powerfully influenced the missionary life of all, not only in America, but in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe. The going out of the 'Cambridge Seven' to China in 1854 excited great interest among the students of America as well as among those of Great Britain. The movement continued in 1832, and in 1886 by Moody at Mount Hermon, Mass., the Student Volunteer Missionary Union was formed on the basis of a declaration by each member of his or her intention to become a foreign missionary. The movement continued in a less organized form in Britain till it was formally established there also, in Edinburgh, in 1892. It soon became evident that the appeal for missionary

1 It is impossible to estimate accurately the distribution of the income between home and foreign missions.

1 The figures given are exclusive of work among Indians or other tribes in home countries. Unless otherwise specified, they are for the year ending Dec. 31st. Generally speaking, these American Boards are part of the official organization of their respective Churches. The principal ones only are mentioned.
service could not be effective without a strengthening of the general Christian life of the student world at large, and in 1893 the Student Christian Movement for Great Britain and Ireland was started. This has now a membership of over 9000 students, including those in theological colleges, and it is affiliated to the World's Student Christian Federation, with a membership of over 190,000 students in some 40 countries. The S.C.M. has become a department of the more general work. Since 1896 it has systematized the study of missions among its members and outside by the formation of centres of training for missionary work. The Union sends out no missionaries itself, but only through the societies.

iii. Germany.—In the latter part of the 18th century a missionary movement, its missions being taken over by other societies. The Moravians quietly continued their work and celebrated their first centenary in 1832 with much cause for rejoicing; their influence was felt, too, in new undertakings. During the second half of the century the work has increased till it embraces 21 mission-fields, mostly in America, but also in Africa, Australia, and India. The income from home contributions is little more than one-third of the total expenditure, the balance being met from free-will offerings in the mission-field, government grants, and trade profits. The fields of work are largely the most remote and inhospitable lands, such as Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, the Mosquito Coast, N. Australia, and Lesser Tibet.

Other German Protestant missionary efforts began with the training of missionaries for societies outside of Germany. Johann Jaenicke from 1800 to 1827 carried on a missionary seminary in Berlin whose alumni were sent out from Holland and England. They included pioneers in Timnevelly (C. T. E. Rhewals) and Chins (J. A. Knauth). In S. Germany Christian life was strongest in Württemberg, Baden, and German Switzerland, and here missionary interest developed in the foundation of the Basel Mission and India Mission, from which 88 candidates were passed on to the C.M.S., many of whose early missions were founded or conducted by them. In 1822 the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society was founded, largely through the efforts of Christian Gottlieb Barth. Their first permanent mission was started on the Gold Coast in 1828. In 1843 work was begun on the south-west coast of India, in 1846 in China (Kwangtung), and in 1856 Kammerun, becoming a German colony, was taken over from the Baptist Missionary Society. The Industrial Association connected with the Basel Mission has taken a lead in industrial work in the Basutoland Mission, tile-making, etc., at Mangalur and other centres. The Berlin Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries to Africa in 1834, and in 1872 it took over work in S. China, and in 1891 in E. Africa. The valley of the Wupper in Rhenish Prussia was a strong centre of active Christian life, and here, after much preliminary work, the Rhenish Missionary Society was founded in 1828. This, too, began work first in S. Africa, extending in 1834 to Borneo, in 1862 to Sumatra, in 1863 to Nias, in 1846 to China, and in 1887 to Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The missions in S. Africa have attained a large measure of self-support, and in Sumatra many Muslims have been brought in, together with masses of pagans.

The year 1836 saw the foundation of three German societies. The Brethren Missionary Society has had a chequered career. It was founded in 1833 in W. Africa, where the deadly climate has carried off many missionaries. The Leipzig Missionary Society was first established in Dresden, and transferred to Leipzig, K. M., in 1851. It makes more use of university graduates as missionaries than do the other German societies, which generally employ seminarians. It also employs a higher percentage of Lutheran elements. The Leipzig M.S. in 1849 took over what remained of the old Danish-Halle Mission, and in 1892 it opened work in German E. Africa. The Goessner Missionary Society was founded by a Berlin pastor of that name. He began on his own responsibility to train missionaries in Scripture and the devotional life, and within 22 years he had sent out 175 to Australia, British and Dutch India, N. America, and W. Africa. Not a few of them proved able and successful evangelists. After Goessner's death in 1858 many of them joined other societies, but the work among the Kols of Chota Nagpur, which had been specially fruitful, was put under a board, since then known as the Goessner M.S. Notwithstanding the secession of several missionaries with their flocks to the S.P.G. in 1858, the Goessner Mission (15,000 adherents) represents the largest group of Christians in the Province of Bengal.

Another mission which belongs to the extreme Lutheran section of German Protestantism, and which also owes its origin to the enterprise of a single man, is the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, begun by Ludwig Harms in 1849. After parting with certain fields to others, this mission has work now in S. Africa and India.

Besides the eight societies mentioned above, the following have been founded later: Schlesiwig Holstein (1877), Neukirchen (1882), General Evangelical Protestant (1884), Berlin Missionary Society for E. Africa (1886), together with a number of minor bodies, including several small societies for women's work. The G.E.P. Society is the only body representing a modernist standpoint approximating to Unitarianism. It has a few missionaries in Japan.

iv. Holland.—Owing, perhaps, to the State propagation of the faith in former years, independent missionary undertakings have not been so rapid as elsewhere. The Dutch Missionary Society, founded in 1797, has worked in the Malay Archipelago, and the results of its work have largely—especially in Minahassa in Celebes—been taken over by the Established Church, which maintains 36 pastors and 26 assistants, who minister both to converted and to colonists. A number of minor societies have been formed from time to time. The Dutch missions have had considerable success among the Muslims of their colonies.

v. France.—In France the cause of Protestant missions is represented by the Société des Missions Évangéliques, founded in Paris in 1824. Its chief mission is the very successful one among the Basutos in S. Africa with which the name of Francois Collard is associated. It has also taken over work from English and American societies in territories such as Madagascar, Gabun, and the Society Islands, which had come under French domination. In French Switzerland the Mission Évangélique was founded in 1876; it works in Transvaal and Délégation Bay.

vi. Scandinavia.—In Scandinavia the Danish Missionary Society was founded in 1862, and works in S. India and China. The Norwegian Missionary
missions among the Zulus and in Madagascar. There are minor missions connected with the China Inland, the Alliance, and other societies. Sweden also has had its own Swedish Missionary Society since 1835, working in S. India and S.W. Africa. Its African members, who are mainly in Algeria, the Congo, Ural, Persia, China, and Chinese Turkistan, besides minor associations. Finland has a Lutheran Missionary Society, a Cincinnati Missionary Training School, and Free Church missions in China and India.

vii. British Colonies.—The British colonial Churches of various denominations maintain a considerable and increasing amount of missionary work. This is done partly through societies locally formed, partly by assisting the older societies in home lands. Australia and New Zealand, in addition to work among their own aborigines, send men and women principally to Asiatic countries, the S. African churches to the pagans of their own territories, the now independent W. Indian Churches to their own neighbours and to their rival-fellow tribes. In India and China, though very few churches are as yet self-supporting, various indigenous missionary societies have been formed, such as the Tinnevelly Missionary Society and the Mission Board of the church at work in various parts of India. These two had 2416 adherents, 5 missionaries, and an income of about £4000 in 1912.

2. Preparation of missionaries.—In the beginnings of societies the first step taken was frequently the establishment of a missionary seminary. As a rule, the candidates required some school training before entering on their theological course. The fact that many of them had been engaged in trades or handicrafts rendered them all the better suited to the pioneer work which largely fell to their lot, but not a few distinguished scholars developed among them. The Free Churches in England and America have drawn their missionaries mainly from the theological colleges of their denominations, but the Scottish Churches have usually sent out graduates of the universities. In the Anglican Church, missionary seminaries have a more important position, the most prominent being the C.M.S. College at Islington (797 missionaries trained) and a School of Missions at St. Augustine's College at Canterbury (307 and 5 respectively). On the Continent the great majority of missionaries are seminarians, but their training is different from that of the missionaries who seem to have produced as many scholars in proportion as the university-trained men. In America missions it is difficult to distinguish accurately between university and non-university men, but in any case, both there and in Europe the S.V.M.U. has greatly tended to bring men and women of good university attainments into the missionary ranks—a tendency emphasized by the rapidly increasing demands of higher education in the mission-field.

Till recently good theological training with a university degree was considered the ne plus ultra of missionary preparation from the intellectual side. The century to 1912 has seen the conviction has been gaining ground that the task of the missionary demands, besides these, a technical training proper to it. This opinion was voiced by Convocation of the Edinburgh Conference, which recommended the establishment of Boards of Study for the special preparation of missionaries both in Britain and in America. This was carried into effect in America. missionary Study, and Studies is working on a somewhat wider basis, taking in theological subjects as well as others, whereas the British Board of Study, by mutual agreement, as an interdenominational body, deals only with general subjects (history and methods of missions, phonetics, linguistics, comparative and special study of religions, ethnography, anthropology, sociology, hygiene, business methods, educational methods). Some colleges already give themselves more or less to the teaching of these subjects: S. America has her School of Missions at Hartford, Conn., the Missionary Department of Yale University, the Bible Teachers' Training School, New York, the College of Missions, Indianapolis, the Cincinnati Training School, and in Britain the U.F.C. Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh, and the Kingsmead Training Institution, Birmingham, take up many of these subjects, and it is in contemplate of merging the British Board of Study in a Central College of Missionary Study.

3. Missionary conferences.—The lack of unity and co-ordination in Protestant missions has long exercised the minds of their promoters, and the effort has been made to overcome this difficulty by gatherings for common counsel. The general missionary conferences thus far were held in Liverpool in 1889 (126 members); London, Mildmay Park, 1873 (153 delegates); London, Exeter Hall, 1888 (194 delegates); New York, 1900 (300 members); and Edinburgh, 1910 (1206 delegates). The bulk of the members of the member societies are now delegates of missionary societies and boards, supplemented by missionaries from the field and experts of eminence. The composition of these conferences has become increasingly international, and in Edinburgh not only did High Anglicans attend as members, but messages of greeting were received from Greek and Roman Prelates, while theological courses for Scandinavians, Americans, and Europeans of many nationalities took part. The conferences have no legislative or executive authority, but the ‘findings' which are formulated as the result of these gatherings have a great practical influence on missionary work and methods. The reports of these conferences form a valuable record of the progress of missionary life and policy and a storehouse of missionary thought and argument. The report of the Edinburgh Conference especially (in 9 vols., London and New York, 1910) is indispensable to the student of missions. Its investigations and discussions are carried on by a Committee of Communication which publishes the quarterly International Review of Missions.

The same kind of work has been carried on in the mission-field by periodical conferences of representatives from the different fields of missionary work, as at Madras and Shanghai, and in 1912–13 J. R. Mott convened a series of Continuation Committee Conferences in India, China, and Japan, the findings of which are published in a bulky volume (New York, 1913). By these and other means a large amount of practical union in work has been attained, and the tendency in the mission-field and at the home base towards closer unity has been promoted.

4. The field. — i. America. — The spread of Christianity in this continent has been mainly through immigration. Paganism is now only a fringe of the total population of 170,000,000. The work of Protestant missions has been chiefly in N. America, among Eskimos, Indians, and Negroes. For our purposes the W. Indian Islands and Guiana together with N. America. S. America has been touched in Patagonia and Paraguay.

(a) Eskimos.—The Norsemen who immigrated to Greenland in the Middle Ages had a bishopric of their own, but the bishops of Missionary Work have died out before the 16th century. In 1721 a Norwegian pastor, Hans Egede, having heard of them, repaired to the west coast of Greenland and began work among the Eskimos under great difficulties owing to their utter indifference. It was continued, how-
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However, by his son, and eventually taken up by the Danish M.S. The west coast population in this region is Christianized, and missionary work is going on among the pagans of the east coast. For many years the Moravians, beginning in 1733, founded the settlement of New Hermnit, and from that centre Christianized the tribes, so that in 1899 they were able to band over the territory in the care of the Danish Church. In Labrador since 1771 the scattered Eskimos have been mainly brought in by the Moravians, and they are cared for with the help of trade carried on by the mission ship 'Harmony.' On the other side of the continent the U.S. territory of Alaska contains a relatively considerable population of Eskimos, besides Aleutians, Indians, immigrant Chinese, and white men. In 1857 a Presbyterian mission was founded, followed by Moravians, American Anglicans, and others, totalling about 6000 Christians. The race, about 40,000 in number, is intellectually anathetic and feeably organized; hence its contact with white traders has been unfavourable to the development of independent Church life, but missionary work has meant their salvation from extinction through strong drink, disease, and exploitation.

(b) Indians.—These number now in the U.S. and Canada under 400,000. Over one-half live on reservations; the rest are scattered among their white fellow-citizens. From the 17th century onwards the relations of the white men, English or Dutch, with the Indians were those of perennial warfare and commercial exploitation, till the peace of the country was fully established and a more sensible and humane policy was gradually introduced. Missionary efforts were never entirely wanting. John Eliot (from 1646), David Brainerd (from 1743), and David Zeisberger (from 1745) gained for the American Indian Christians congregations of peaceful citizens, but again and again their work was destroyed by civil war. The later and more gradual settlement of Canada was advantageous to the Indian population, as the missions of all Churches were able to gain a hold, before land-grabbing and commercial greed came strongly to the fore. The first Protestant mission was begun in the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1820; it has been developed largely by U.S. M.S., and much heroic work was done by its pioneers among the sparse native population before the colonists came in. Now the whole dominion is parcelled out by the various Churches, and work among the Indians is carried on by other denominations also, Presbyterians and Methodists being specially active. Since the separation from England the evangelizing of Indians in the U.S. has been more and more taken over by the various Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the Republic is still an incomplete process.

(c) Negroes.—These number (including coloured or mixed population), in the U.S. 9,827,765 (1910), and in the W. Indies 1,280,000. Their introduction into the latter dates from the Spanish conquest, into the U.S. up to 1640. The M.S. and Moravians among the U.S. Negroes practically began about 1800, but during their time of slavery large numbers had been Christianized, especially by the Methodists and Baptists. In the south the West Coast; the Moravians, in 1813 they contributed about $20,000 for home and $10,000 for foreign missions, besides many books, etc., are now connected with the various Protestant Churches. In 1873 they had about $50,000 African slaves been brought there, chiefly by British cruisers. In years great loss of life was experienced among the C.M.S. and other missionaries who worked there, and among the wellestablish church, and work among the Indians is carried on by other denominations also, Presbyterians and Methodists being specially active. Since the separation from England the evangelizing of Indians in the U.S. has been more and more taken over by the various Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the Republic is still an incomplete process.

(d) S. America.—The territory of Guiana is closely connected with the W. Indies. Anglicans, Moravians, and Methodists have gathered converts amounting to 50,000. These are partly from among the E. Indian indentured coolies working on the sugar-plantations (who are also to be found on the islands). Cathedrals and clergy of Indian nationality work among the Kemos have been brought in by the Moravians, and they are cared for with the help of trade carried on by the mission ship 'Harmony.' On the other side of the continent the U.S. territory of Alaska contains a relatively considerable population of Eskimos, besides Aleutians, Indians, immigrant Chinese, and white men. In 1857 a Presbyterian mission was founded, followed by Moravians, American Anglicans, and others, totalling about 6000 Christians. The race, about 40,000 in number, is intellectually anathetic and feeably organized; hence its contact with white traders has been unfavourable to the development of independent Church life, but missionary work has meant their salvation from extinction through strong drink, disease, and exploitation.

2. Africa.—(a) W. Africa.—It is this part of the continent that, owing to the slave-trade, has had the earliest and most intimate connexion with Protestant lands, especially with N. America. The endeavour to influence Africa directly by means of the liberated slave is chiefly represented by the little republic of Liberia, founded in 1824 by the American Colonization Society. The Negroes who settled there were hardly ripe for administering the Free State proclaimed in 1847, but from this centre work is being carried on by the Free African Churches among the neighbouring non-Christians. A certain number of American Negroes have been sent as missionaries to Africa by their Churches in the U.S.A., but the effective shaping of their work is a problem that awaits solution.

The north-west coast of Africa as far as the Senegal borders on sparsely-inhabited Muhammedan territory which has scarcely been entered as yet. From this to the mouth of the Congo is the region of Protestant mission-work. At Sierra Leone the settling of liberated slaves began in 1808, after the abolition of the slave-trade, and its capital received the name Freetown. Up to 1840, 50,000 African slaves had been brought there, chiefly by British cruisers. For years great loss of life was experienced among the C.M.S. and other missionaries who worked there, and among the wellestablish church, and work among the Indians is carried on by other denominations also, Presbyterians and Methodists being specially active. Since the separation from England the evangelizing of Indians in the U.S. has been more and more taken over by the various Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the Republic is still an incomplete process.

The German colony of Togoland, next on the
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east, has considerably developed missionary work from that country, during the last few years, among the Ewe nation. Good linguistic work has been done. The community numbers some thousands. The work in the lower basin and delta of the Niger has assumed increased importance since the constitution of Nigeria, the richest of Britain’s African possessions, as a Crown Colony, with a population of more than 8,000,000. The first mission station (from 1846 onwards) was started to look after natives of the Yoruba country who had returned from Sierra Leone to their own people. Lagos, the great port of the palm-oil trade, and the large interior towns of Abeokuta and Ibadan were occupied, and considerable Christian communities were gathered, amounting (1913) in the Yoruba province to 50,000. Economic development is going on rapidly, and the demand for education, especially in English, is increasing year by year.

After the Niger had been opened up by three voyages of exploration (1841, 1854, 1857), an African prize of the C.M.S., Samuel Crowther, was sent to this region. He planted several stations, and in 1864 was consecrated bishop. The work was carried on by Africans, with some vicissitudes but with that country’s approval. Crowther’s death in 1891, when W. Equatorial Africa was placed under an English bishop, assisted by two Africans, the wealthy churches of the Delta being granted self-government. N. N. Makoko, the most important of the stations, had been occupied in 1865, but it was not till the end of the century that an effective advance was made into this territory, where a predominantly Muslim population alternates with large patches of paganism, while the spread of Islam continues in a southerly direction. The work here is still in its beginnings. Calabar at the south-east corner of Nigeria is a Christian community of 11,000 has been gathered in by the U.F.C. mission.

Kamerun, a German colony since 1884, was originally evangelized by English Baptists, but their work was taken over mainly by the Basel Society, who were pushing inland for back country before the outbreak of the great European war. The Christians number about 15,000 out of an estimated population of 5,000,000.

The Congo River was first opened up completely by Stanley in 1876–77, and the Congo Free State, under the protection of Belgium, has been the scene of rapid missionary advance along the river. Yaundé, the northernmost town, near Stanleyville, is 1200 miles from the mouth. Among the pioneer explorers in detail were the English Baptists G. Grenfell and W. H. Bentley from 1879 onwards. Other missionaries of various nationalities followed. Owing to the difficulties of climate and the great multitude of tribes and languages, progress has been limited, but some dozen societies are now at work in this area. Indigenous churches are being formed, and elementary education is being pushed.

The characteristic problems of the W. African missions generally are presented by the constant advance of Islam from the north, the demoralization of commercial traffic by the liquor-trade, and the unsettling effects of a rapid acquisition of wealth formerly undreamt of. On the other hand, the removal of the evils connected with tobacco and, the growth of Christianity, and the creation of a Christian standard of conscience and morals, with the opportunity given to the natives of rising to a higher life, are elements of promise towards the regeneration of the Negro peoples.

(b) S. Africa.—In this we include the regions south of the river Kunene on the east and the Zambesi on the west. It contains three African races: the Bantu (including Zulus and Kaïrs), the Nuna or Hottentot, and the Bantu, the last two scarcely remaining pure, the first virile and prolific. The climate being temperate, Christianity has spread by immigration from western nations, and the white population is reckoned at 1,300,000. Hence the above problem is at its acutest in S. Africa, and it specially affects the work of missions, which aim at raising the native populations to a higher level, religious, moral, and social, and at giving them the means of self-support. They are capable of assimilating. The earliest Dutch colonists regarded the natives as an inferior class of beings whom it was both lawful and expedient to keep in subjection, and this attitude has not been confined to one section of the white races. Thus there has been a persistent prejudice against, and often actual antagonism to, the work of missions, sometimes aggravated by lack of prudence on the part of the missionary and by unbalanced policy on the part of the government. The conviction is gaining ground, however, that without the moral influence of Christianity the problems resulting from the contact and blending of two cultures cannot be thoroughly solved. Among some 4,000,000 natives there are now about 750,000 Christians, the result of the work of 30 missionary societies belonging to the three nationalities constituting Christianity, and in evidence in the ‘Ethiopian Movement,’ composed of groups of congregations who in 1892 formally seceded from their missionary connections. Some of them in Kaffrarian town of Zululand by the ‘Ethiopian Order’; the remainder do not appear to be progressive either in internal life or in external expansion.

In what became in 1886 German S.W. Africa the principal work has been done by German missionaries of the Rhenish Society since the forties. The fruits of their persevering and systematic efforts have suffered greatly through colonial wars. Protestant Christians in the colony number, by last figures, 13,000.

The largest indigenous Christian population is in Cape Colony, numbering 1,145,000 out of a total of 2,900,000; it comprises chiefly, broadly speaking, bastardized Hottentots, and, eastwards, Kaïfs of relatively pure race. The Moravians, who began work in 1757, were followed in 1799 by the L.M.S., whose missions in Basutoland are remarkable for their great pioneers, R. Moffat and, above all, Livingstone. Through the persistence of John Mackenzie and the intervention of the British Government, all attempts to block the northward progress of the first existing European settlers, and the path of the gospel was opened up to the C. African lakes and eventually from the Cape to Cairo. The converts of the L.M.S. in Cape Colony now form a Congregational Union with some 35,000 adherents. Efforts of later dates are represented by the adherents of the Wesleyans (over 90,000, now independently organized), Rhenish (16,000), Berlin M. S. (50,000), and Scottish Presbyterians (25,000). The majority of the white colonists belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, which for a long time held aloof from missionary work. Since 1860, however, it has used its parochial clergy. The Anglican Church in the three dioceses of the Colony claims over 70,000 adherents.

Among the Zulus and Swazis of Natal the work of many denominations has been greatly hindered by frequent and destructive wars, but Christian congregations have grown, and some converts have been gained from among the Indian coolies. Basutoland, blessed with a more quiet development since
it became a Crown Colony in 1884, has been worked principally by the Paris M.S., which now counts about 70,000 adherents. Among the Bechannas of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Dutch, Anglican missions have gathered a Christian community of considerable importance. The problems of moral and social development are greatly complicated by the constant risk of abandonment by non-Christian, in the nine compounds of Johannesburg and the Rand. The thinly-populated Bechuanaland Protectorate includes Khama's Country, where a Christian mission has gathered a few people well.

Madagascar has been a land of great vicissitudes in missionary work. The first missionaries of the L.M.S. began work with considerable success among the Hova, the ruling race of the central province, in 1820. In 1839 the accession of a hostile queen brought about the expulsion of the missionaries, and for twenty-five years the Christians were severely persecuted, yet they increased considerably. In 1861 a new ruler recalled the missionaries, and, when another queen was baptized in 1869, conversions began in masses. To cope with the situation other societies, Friends, S. S., and C. M. S. of C. M. S. mission islands on the north of Madagascar was annexed by France, and Protestant mission work was so severely hampered that the L.M.S. was far to give over a large part of their work in the island. The total number of Protestant Christians in Madagascar is estimated now at 287,000, while the scholars number 44,577.

(3) E. and C. Africa.—Missionaries helped to open up these lands both from the east coast and from the interior southwards. In 1844 Ludwig Kräf, a German in C. M. S. service, landed on the island of Mombasa and began work on the mainland opposite. His plan was (1) to carry a chain of mission stations across Africa from Mombasa to Gabun; (2) to establish on the east coast a colony for liberated slaves like that in Sierra Leone on the west, (3) to found an African ministry under an African bishop. The second of these objects was accomplished at Freetown in 1874; the first and third are in process of realization now. In 1846 Kräf was joined by Johann Rebmann. After nine years Kräf was recalled and the mission held on for twenty-nine years. By their discovery of the snow-peaks of Kilimanjaro and Kenya on the equator, and of the great inland sea of Nyassa, their explorations on the Nile and the Congo, and their linguistic labours prepared the way for later workers in a fruitful field.

The greater work of David Livingstone is part of the history. From his first station of Kolobeng in S. Africa he constantly pressed northwards, crossed Africa from east to west, and opened up the lake regions of Nyasa and Tanganyika, exploring ceaselessly till he died at Inala in 1873. In his opinion the end of the geographical feat was the beginning of the missionary enterprise. He desired to uproot the slave-trade, and to open up Africa to legitimate commerce and to Christian culture with fifth achievement. After his death the Mission to Central Africa undertaken by members of the Church of England, the L.M.S. mission on Lake Tanganyika, and the Scottish Presbyterian missions in Nyasaland are the direct results of his life-work; but it affected the whole missionary enterprise of inland Africa. To Stanley it was given to complete the work of Livingstone by his exploration of the Congo valley, and in the course of it he gave the impulse which has resulted in the formation of the Virile Christian State in the centre of Africa, now the kingdom of Uganda. Stanley founded the king, Mutesa, hesitating at the claims of Christianity and Islam. Through a

Swahili Christian interpreter he put the Christian case before the monarch and straightway appealed to English Christendom to enter this open door. The result was the sending of the well-known C. M. S. mission in 1855. The murder of James Hannington and the barbarous persecution of the early converts only served to increase zeal and enthusiasm. After sundry conflicts and imminent risk of abandonment by the Colonial Office, Uganda became a British Protectorate, under which mission work has gone forward peacefully. The country now contains 96,000 Protestant Christians, with a somewhat larger number of Muslims and a smaller number of Muhammadans. The schools contain scholars up to a secondary standard. The growing Church now forms an effective breakwater against the rising tide of Islam.

The two protectorates of E. Africa, the English and the German, have each brought the country under civilized administration, and the British Government has opened up its territory by a railway, preceded or accompanied by missionaries. The English work in German territory has been partly made over to German missions since the establishment of the colony in 1884, but a group of C. M. S. and L. M. S. missionaries and another of the U. M. C. A. opposite Zanzibar. The German work is chiefly on the northern frontier and on the north shore of Lake Nyasa, and its result has been to establish a series of German and Protestant Protectorate are those of the Scottish churches, with the two industrial centers of Livingstonia in the north and Blantyre in the south—a fit memorial of the great Scottish missionary pioneer. His successors have seen the slave-trade wiped out and fierce animist tribes subdued by the influence of Christian love, exemplified in medical missions, and brought under training in civilized industry and commerce. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in its Muhammadan parts is closed to missionary effort by government ruling; among the pagan Dinkas, Azand, and other tribes missionary work is in its first stages.

iii. OCEANIA.—Missions in Oceania date from 1768, and owe their first impulse to the interest excited by the story of Cook's voyages in the South Seas. The major part of this area is inhabited by European colonists, and the aborigines belong to more or less primitive states of culture, in which their physical as well as mental stamina has remained weakly. Owing partly to this and partly to unscrupulous innocence by Western traders, the result of contact with the white races has been the rapid diminution, and in some cases, as in Tasmania, the entire extinction, of the native races. The work of missions has therefore largely consisted in the rescue of weaker races from extermination through contact with exponents of higher civilizations not imbued with the Christian spirit. In no part of the world have the results of missions been more rapid and wide-spread, but stability is sometimes lacking. The effects of kidnapping, strong drink, and disease have been appreciated counteracted.

Work in New Zealand was started by Samuel Marsden in 1814, and after a time made rapid progress. In 1840 the islands became a British colony; unfortunately wars broke out, and in 1864 the strong Hau Hau apostacy, a recurrence of pagan cults mixed with Christian heresies, drew away great numbers. In spite of this the leading missions of the C. M. S. and Wesleyans were able, before the end of the century, to transfer their converts to the local Church organizations. The New Zealand Parliament also has its Maori members. The Maori population of New Zealand is about 50,000, of whom some 30,000 belong to Reformed communities. There appears to be some
hope that, in place of declining, the native population is beginning to increase.

In Australia, the aborigines have dwindled to 74,000, living mostly in the northern parts of the continent. After several abortive attempts missions, with a strong industrial element, have been continuously carried on since 1851 by English bodies of various denominations, as well as by Moravians and Dutchmen. Despite the aborigines have proved susceptible to the elevating influence of the gospel, and decadence has been to some extent arrested, though independence is not yet in sight. The number of Protestant Christians is computed at 6000.

The Islands of the Pacific may be roughly grouped into Polynesia (south of Hawaii), Melanesia (west of Polynesia), and Micronesia (north of Melanesia). Among the larger islands of Polynesia, Hawaii, now a United States territory with Honolulu for its capital, was first evangelized by the American Board from 1820 onwards and Christianized within fifty years. It has sent out and supported missionaries to several other islands. Tahiti, occupied by missionaries of the L.M.S., had a short, nest-hunting, but after the annexation of the group by France it became necessary to transfer the work to the Paris M.S. Raiatea, the sphere of the famous John Williams, has remained in British connexion. In the Tonga and Fiji, islands to which the Moravians have from 1820 onwards sent their workers. Practically the entire population is Christian, and is efficiently ruled by princes of the same faith. Education is widely spread, and evangelism among the Fiji have carried the faith to many other islands.

Melanesia has a population of 475,000, of whom 111,000 are Protestant Christians. The gathering in these numbers has created few missionary lives, owing to resentment on the part of islanders who had been oppressed by traders. The missionaries are British, German, Dutch, and Norwegian. The martyrdom of Bishop Patteson in 1854 called forth much enthusiasm and service, and during his long life John G. Paton of the United Presbyterian Mission saw 20,000 natives converted in the New Hebrides and contributing £13,000 in one year for Church purposes.

On the Micronesian Islands, now under British, German, and American protection, developments since 1832 have been similar. Missionaries from Australia have had much success. For instance, the Roman Catholics claim 12,000.

New Guinea, or Papua, was first entered in 1871, when Christians from L.M.S. missions in Polynesia volunteered for the work, in which many of them laid down their lives. They had a great leader in James Chalmers (1878–1901). The Christians now number 35,000. Anglican, Wesleyan, German, and Dutch missionaries have taken part.

In various parts of Oceania, especially Australia, Hawaii, and Fiji, missionary work is carried on among the Asiatic immigrants from India, Japan, and China with the help of native preachers from those countries, not without some result. The barriers of race and social opposition are less rigid than in other parts, and the pretexts of conventional morality are also loosened.

The total population of Oceania, excluding Australia and New Zealand, is reckoned at some 6,000,000, of whom 2,000,000 are Christians.

iv. INDIA.—The impact of Christianity on India has been conditioned by certain outstanding features of the land and people. The peninsula is isolated by the desert, the land and the sea. The culture of the people ranges from the highest to the lowest, from the stationary, form. Its religion contains a similar variety of cults, ranging from spiritual adoration to cruel and obscene orgies, all bound together intellectually by a subtle pantheistic philosophy of the same by the unique system of caste (q.v.). Its contact with the outer world during recent centuries has been mainly through the immigration of foreign invaders, who have brought with them the monotheistic religion and political philosophy of the Persian, and the classical East, thus now constituting the largest Muslim nation of the world. Most recently, however, India has come into connexion with a seafaring nation of the West more intimately than any other Asiatic land.

Here, as elsewhere, the missionary has employed in the first instance the agencies of preaching and persuasion, but the form which the results of his work have assumed has mainly been determined by the conditions of the classes to whom he has addressed his message. To bring out the chief features of it, we may deal with 'mass movements,' education, and philanthropy as main channels of evangelization.

The earliest form of Christianity in India is that of the Syrian Churches of Travancore and Cochin, which probably owe their origin to a similarity of language and manner of life between the former and Phoenician traders who traded with the Malabar Coast in their early days. From about the 4th cent. a trading and looting community accepted the Christian faith, and has continued as the principal day of business. Early in the last century they were aroused to lethargy by contact with Anglican Christianity, and the work of the C.M.S., first in combination, and afterwards side by side with the Syrians, has stimulated reform and progress, both in education and in evangelizing zeal. The work of St. Francis Xavier, Roberto de Nobili, and other great Roman Catholic missionaries in the South is principally in evidence now in the masses of fisher folk and other labouring castes in the west and south of India; and in the earliest Protestant missions the same factor of community movements appears. In the Danish-Halle Mission of the 15th cent. the greatest name is that of C. F. Schwartz (lived 1750, died 1798). The 20,000 Christians whom he gathered in Tanjore and elsewhere were mainly from the village labourers. After his death the work dwindled, till it was taken over by the Anglican Church, and during the first half of the 19th cent. the work of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. in Travancore (with the Timnevelly Mission, better called Timnevelly (Catholic work), together with that of the L.M.S. in S. Travancore, yielded much more than half the entire number of Protestant converts in India, and naturally also the best organized churches. In 1831 these missions had 51,355 adherents, the remainder of the Madras Presidency 23,921, and all the rest of India 16,916. In the succeeding sixty years these missions and others in S. India have greatly developed, largely through the agency of American societies. The Protestant Christians now number 870,425 (besides over a million and a half Roman Catholics and Syrians), and they contribute £23,727 towards the support of worship and schools. The Indian ministry includes 492 ordained men as against 487 foreign missionaries, and the self-administration of the churches is on the increase. In the self-extension of the activity of more than one mission of the Indian Churches. The largest is the Timnevelly Missionary Society, with an income of 12,900 rupees, 4 ordained ministers and 130 converted people, which they carry on in the Nizam's territory. Part of their work was made over to the above of the first Indian bishop, V. Azariah of Dornakal, when he was consecrated in 1911.

In Travancore, and more recently in Kerala, a high movement has made headway in the L.M.S. and C.M.S. missions, which
now number 75,000 and 57,600 Christians respectively, still more widespread is the movement in the Telugu country north of Madras. Here, especially since the great famine of 1877-78, the out-caste village labourers have pressed into the churches in myriads. The Christians belonging to Anglicans, American Baptists, Lutherans, and others are estimated at some 150,000.

In Bengal an elder movement in the forties of the last century left a considerable church in the North. More recently the missionaries of E. Bengal are turning their hopes towards Christianity, and the B.M.S. has admitted some hundreds from among them. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the Grahams (leather workers) and sweepers have been principally gathered in by the American Methodist Episcopalian, who record congregations numbering 102,000 adherents, while other Protestant missions have 22,000. The most rapid movement during the last decade was in the Panjab, where the Christians entered in the government Census returns had increased from 57,000 in 1901 to 103,000 in 1911 chiefly in the American Presbyterian missions.

The movements among the Indian village proletariat which have resulted in these large and growing congregations go back to the pre-Aryan period: one upward tendency of populations representing pre-Aryan inhabitants, enslaved by the Aryan conquerors and kept for millenniums in servitude, but now struggling for emancipation by rulers whose political and social ideals are bound up with Christianity and whose rule has been accompanied by active Christian efforts of teaching and philanthropy. The effect of these efforts in raising up the masses who have responded to them is expressed thus by the Hindu Census superintendent of the Mysore State:

"The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts, and their sober, disciplined and busy lives" (Census of India, Calcutta, 1915, vol. i. pt. l. p. 123).

To this we may add that evidences of spiritual regeneration and devotional life are also to be found.

The populations so far referred to are the 'untouchables' who live among the Hindus and Muslims in the plain, the number may number (accuracy is very difficult to secure) some 30,000,000. But there are some 10,000,000 more of non-Hindu aborigines, living mainly in hilly regions, among whom the Christian faith has found ready entry. Such are the Karsens of Burma, the Khilais of Assam, the Kols and Santals in Bengal. The Christian communities among these amount to some 263,000 persons. Both among these and among the out-castes the expansion of the movement appears to be limited only by the capacity of the Christian Church adequately to shepherd and educate the candidates for discipleship. The effect of education and Christian influence in raising the status of the Christian community as compared with its Hindu and Muhammadan neighbours has been very marked. Some progress has been made in improving the sanitary condition of the people in the Panjab the Christians have been recognized by Government as an agricultural tribe, and in the irrigation colonies there are several flourishing villages of Christian cultivators, holding land directly from the State.

Education of a simple kind, including that of girls, was from the first a regular part of missionary work in this part of India. The work was spread by the Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff (1830-57). He set out to evangelize the upper classes of Bengal by means of higher education, given through the medium of the English language, which through the efforts of Macanlay and others, had already been adopted by Government as the vehicle of learning for India. Duff was assisted in his plans by Raja Ram Mohan Ray, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj (q.v.). Duff's converts were counted rather by the hundreds than by the hundreds, but they included men who made their mark on the Christian Church as leaders throughout N. India. His school also had a powerful effect on the development of the Bible Samaj and other liberal movements in Hinduism, and not less did he influence the educational policy of the Government of India, which in 1854 founded departments of public instruction, and in 1857 established universities in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, followed later by others in Lahore and Allahabad, and recently by a Hindu university at Benares and a Muslim one at Aligarh. Duff's school soon developed into a college, and no fewer than 8 other colleges were founded in different parts of India during Duff's lifetime. The most noteworthy contemporary of Duff as an educator was John Wilson of Bombay, who founded the college which bears his name, and added to his English work a profound acquaintance with Hinduism. There are now 38 Protestant missionary colleges in India, containing, in 1913, 5,447 students, of whom 61 women, the latter practically all Christians. Of the total, 4,481 students were Hindus, 530 Muhammads, and 436 Christians. There is a fully-organized missionary college for women in Lucknow; and a college for department work in connection with a girls' high school in Lahore.

The work of elementary and secondary education was powerfully forwarded by the system of grants-in-aid which the Government introduced in 1854. The grants are made in proportion to the educational efficiency of schools, regardless of the religion of the managers. Educational efficiency being greatest among the missionaries, they have earned the chief portion of the grants, though their lead in this respect is no longer so marked as it was. Their secondary schools number 283, with 62,662 boys and 840 girls, 3,800 boarding-schools contain 22,169 boys and 17,566 girls, all Christian. In 87 theological schools 1892 students are in training, and 157 training-schools have 1904 male and 1173 female students. The boarding-schools are partly secondary and partly primary. The rate of secondary education in conversions has been small, but the influence on social ideals and practice and on religious thought has been very great. The education of the whole of the Christian community, especially the women, has made it, with the exception of the Parsis, the most literate in India, far above the average of the Hindus generally, and little, if any, behind the Brahmins. The number of Christian officials and teachers is large in proportion to the size of the community, and it is not easy to keep pace with their need for a highly educated ministry, while satisfying the wants of the large rural populations. The provision of elementary education for these is the most urgent missionary problem of the day. True, the elementary pupils in mission schools throughout India number 290,000, but the great majority of these are non-Christian. In missionary colleges and schools of every kind 576,371 persons were being educated in 1912—about one in ten of all pupils.

Christian literature took its first effective start with the work of the great pioneer, William Carey (1785-1834). Together with Marshman and Ward, he worked chiefly in the district of Chittagong and in the hilly range of the Bengal hills, converting a multitude of different languages, and also founded a missionary college in Scarpore. Most of these versions were mere baloon d'esani, but the Bengali became the foundation of all further work in that.
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Henry Martyn at the same time produced his remarkable Urdu version of the NT, and a long line of translators and authors followed, supported by the publishing societies mentioned above. Krishna Mohan Banerjee among Hindu commentators, Ismail-al-Din among Muslims, and John Murdoch among English writers and publishers of Christian literature are outstanding names. Besides Bible versions there is also an incept Christian literature in all the principal Indian languages, composed of countless hundreds. These are directed both to the training of the Christian Church and to convincing and persuading outsiders.

The practition-and philanthropic auxiliaries of the gospel message, medical work takes a foremost place. The effective prosecution of this in India dates from the middle of last century, when W. Lockhart of the L.M.S. was sent to Travancore, and Henry M. Sudder of the American Board to Ceylon. The chain of medical missions on the N.W. Frontier was begun in Kashmir in 1854, and has since then extended to Peshawar, Bannu, Derā Ismiāl Khān, and Quetta. The attitude of a turbulent, fanatical, and treacherous Muhammadan population has been greatly modified by the work of medical missionaries, while outpatient services have shown their faithfulness in martyrdom, Christian Scriptures and literature, illustrated by the example of disinterested Christian love, have penetrated far into regions otherwise inaccessible to the missionary. Since 1886, this work has been aided by the introduction of the caste-proud Hindu, and, while suffering is impartially relieved, regardless of creed or condition, the ministry of healing has brought many to the Saviour of the fallen. The first qualified woman-doctor came to India in 1880, though medical work by women had been carried on long before. Medical missionary women have led the way in relieving those once hopelessly suffering of socioindian womanhood, given over to treatment by ignorant and clumsy midwives and barber-women. Of the Indian women-doctors now serving under the Dufferin Fund and other public bodies the great majority are Christians, with a sprinkling from the Brāhma Samaj.

Closely allied with general medical work is that of the leper missions. Of the unfortunate leper community, hitherto untraced for, several thousands are under care in Christian institutions, and many of them have accepted Christianity. Christian institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb are of recent date, and in part unpublished. Famine orphans are common, and have furnished an appreciable fraction of the Christian community, especially in N. India; these have in recent years found imitators among non-Christians, and, owing to the influence and example of mission schools and colleges, the conception and practice of social service are spreading among Indian students, as shown by the society of the ‘Servants of India,’ promoted by G. K. Gokhale.

India affords the largest and most influential sphere of work among the Muslims of the world. Its Muslim community numbers 65,000,000, and it is both specifically Indian in type and, cosmopolitan by ties of religion—a fact which gives this community a greater political importance than its numerical proportion to the Hindu population would warrant. The largest Muhammadan community of India, that of Bengal, now numbering 24,000,000, came under British rule after the battle of Plassey in 1757, but the first effective Christian work among them was done by the chaplain of the missionary Henry Martyn when he translated the NT and much of the OT into the Muhammadan lingua franca of India—the Urdu, or camp dialect of Hindustāni. His one convert, 'Abd-al-Masih, was the forerunner of many ex-Muslims who have joined the Christian ministry. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of converts among the laity, but with their descendants they must run into several myriads. The circulation of the Scriptures, which the Muslim professedly recognizes as divine, is especially effective as a means of evangelism.

Among the Buddhists of Burma and S. Ceylon the results of work have been similar to those among the Hindus, though the results have been sporadic, occasionally in families, with here and there outstanding personalities. The Census of 1911 gave the number of Protestant Christians in India as 1,452,700, co-existing with 970,385 in 1901. The largest proportion is in S. India (252,000), where the work has been established longest and is most systematic. The distribution elsewhere varies chiefly according to the incidence of mass movements. Protestant Christians in other parts number: Bengal, 178,000; United Provinces, 135,000; Pānjbā, 155,000; Bombay, 51,000; Central Provinces and C. India, 24,000. In the native States they are generally fewer—e.g., Haidarābād, 29,000; Mysores, 9,000; Pānjbā States, 500; Kashmir, 700.

Syncretism, in the shape of reform movements, both religious and social, is much in evidence. The earliest organized body of this kind is the theistic Brāhma Samaj, founded in 1828 by Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy—a small sect, but influential owing to the man who has been its leader and philanthropic zeal of its members. The teaching of its sections ranges from a modified Hinaism to a kind of Unitarian Christianity with Indian atmosphere. The earliest qualified medical work by Dayànār Sarasvāti, represents a crude modification of original Hinaism, professing to hold to the Vedas as absolutely inspired, and accordingly formulating once hopelessly suffering of socio-Indian womanhood, given over to treatment by ignorant and clumsy midwives and barber-women. Of the Indian women-doctors now serving under the Dufferin Fund and other public bodies the great majority are Christians, with a sprinkling from the Bhāra Samaj.

These bodies, following missionary example, are beginning to interest themselves in the alleviation of the depressed classes by education, and the Arya Samaj actually admits them and also Muhammadians into the ‘Vedic religion’ by a ceremony of purification (puñâda). Modernist movement among the Muhammadians dates from the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, who began in 1838 to arouse his fellow-religionists to the imperative need for English education, which resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh and the All-Indian Muslim Conference. It has also produced something of a school of liberal theology. A more widespread movement was inaugurated by Ghulām Ahmad of Qsidin in the Pānjbā in the year 1879. He, like Dayànār, harked back to his sacred Scriptures, and treated the Qur’ān as verbally inspired, interpreting it in a new fashion with an attitude towards the world as a whole. He, like Dayànār, is strongly opposed to Christianity, and some members of it have started a mission to England at Woking. Despite their attitude of opposition, these new sects all owe more or less of their origin to the ‘Vedic religion’ by a ceremony of purification (puñâda). The Indian national movement has a tendency to bring the reformed sects nearer to the Christian community, to which it is possible to say that the Muslim religion is better fitted for the Indian community also in a certain toughness and impatience of foreign influence. At the same time there are signs of an increased feeling of responsibility for the evangelization of
India, marked by the establishment of the National Missionary Society and other efforts.

The Dutch possessions known as Indoneisia were purchased from the 12th cent., they have gradually been overrun by Muslim chiefs, and out of the total population of 38,000,000 all but 2,000,000 are now Mahometans. The Dutch East India Company, while building up its Eastern possessions, has taken care of the civilizing of the natives after a fashion, but their condition at the beginning of the 19th cent. was very low. Since then it has improved, and the so-called permanent congregations (gevestigde gemeenten) are under the care of clergy appointed and maintained by the State; churches of later converts are from time to time placed under this organization. Modern missionary work began in the second decade of last century, and has been carried on mainly by Dutch and German missionaries on the four principal islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and Borneo, as well as on some of the smaller ones. Large numbers of converts have been gathered in Java, in the Batak country on the north coast of Sumatra, and in the Minahassa district of Celebes. In the second of these an effective barrier has been erected to the Island advancement of the number of converts from Islam in these islands is estimated at 40,000.

v. CHINA.-In contrast with India, China has brought the standard language and literature, and may therefore be regarded as a unity, despite its size and diversity. Modern missionary work was begun by Robert Morrison of the L.M.S. in 1807. He baptized the first convert in 1814, and before his death (1834) he had translated the Bible into Chinese, besides writing many pamphlets. But neither he nor his colleague, Robert Milne, was able to enter the jealously-guarded empire of China; they could only reside in the Portuguese settlement of Macao or in British territory at Malacca. The opening of China to foreign intercourse, including missionary effort, was the result of a series of wars, internal and external, the first of which, while it helped to admit the missionary, did much to discredit his message. The three ‘opium wars’ of 1842, 1856, and 1860 resulted in the opening of twenty-four ‘treaty ports’ to foreign intercourse, and it was in these, especially Shanghai, Hangchow, Tientsin, and Canton, that Protestant missions first gained a footing. Up to 1856, 3 English societies, 1 German, and 7 American had been at work, and the corresponding number of converts amounted to 100. The preponderance of American workers in China became more marked as time went on, and the same is true of Japan.

The next great convulsion was an internal one, the Taiping rebellion, which lasted from 1850 to 1864, and was eventually suppressed by the ‘ever victorious army’ of a Western leader, General Charles George Gordon, himself in deep sympathy with Christian missions. The leader of the rebellion had once come under the influence of a Christian missionary, and he claimed to have received a divine revelation to destroy idolatry and to put an end to the Manchu dynasty. The second of these aims was accomplished half a century later by another great convulsion, and we may believe that the Taipings did much towards preparing the way for the first, which is yet to come; but we may also be thankful that their iconoclasm did not prematurely succeed before the constructive forces of Christian faith and practice were ready to step in. By the latter half of the 19th cent. were increasing their work, and the year after interior China had been quieted (1865) Hudson Taylor formed the China Inland Mission, which led the way to the more officials on a network of stations during the last half cent.uary, extending to the remotest interior of the Republic. This mission alone now numbers 1076 foreign missionaries, as against 475 of all societies and nationalities in 1877. In that year the number of converts was reckoned at 13,000.

The final break-up of the Manchu dynasty was first marked by the Boxer outbreak of 1900, directed, with the connivance of the Empress, against both foreigners and Christian missionaries, with 53 of their children, were killed, and some 16,000 Chinese Christians were massacred, many of them accepting death willingly rather than deny the faith. Another strong impulse was created by the refusal of missionary societies to accept a money indemnity from the Chinese Government for the missionary lives laid down freely for the gospel. During the succeeding decade the number of foreign missionaries in China increased almost 50 per cent (3785 to 4175, including wives of missionaries), and the number of converts more than doubled (294,572 to 469,538 in 1910). In 1913 the number of ‘full members’ was given as 255,363. Counting children and other adherents who are not included in their statistics by many bodies, the total may be estimated at about 200,000. Foreign missionaries, including wives, are 5186, and Chinese workers 17,879.

The revolution of 1911-12 was the final stage in the opening up of China to Western culture and Christianity. To some extent it was a reaction from the abolition of Confucianism as the religion of the State, but a stronger power than the iconoclasm of the Taipings is shaking the foundations of the old edifice, namely the re-casting of the world-old system of Chinese education in Western and 20th cent. moulds. Moreover, the official request made by the Chinese Government on 27th April 1913 for the prayers of its Christian subjects, whatever motives of policy may have inspired it, was a recognition of Christianity as a power affecting deeply the interests of the nation; and Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Cantonese revolutionary section and almost of the Republic, is a Christian who seeks to model his political policy on the principles of the Bible. Happily, too, the establishment of the Chinese Republic has coincided with the final abolition of the Indian opium traffic once forced on China by Britain.

The situation thus created has offered to the Christian Churches unexampled opportunities of access to the educated classes of China. These had hitherto looked unapproachable, and in very few cases could master the intricacies of their literature, but now they are ready to welcome Western language, literature, and science. Great efforts have been made, especially by the American missions, to grapple with the task of providing centres of higher education on a Christian basis throughout China, and in this, as well as in general work, the tendency towards co-operation between allied bodies is strong and helpful. No fewer than 9 university colleges are in effective operation, 7 in coast provinces, 1 in the centre, and 1 in the west. In several the medical faculty is strong, and Christian missions at present lead in the training of qualified doctors for China. There are some 264 mission hospitals (1913) with 120,778 in-patients and 2,129,774 out-patients for the year. Among the agencies which have been particularly active in taking advantage of the present opportunities the Y.M.C.A. has been specially in evidence. The evangelical meetings conducted by J. R. Mott, and the large Sunday schools, with over 60,000 children were attended by large audiences of educated Chinese, sometimes up to 4000, in many of the principal towns of China. Among the hearers the higher officials of high rank, of whom one was baptized, while thousands of non-students to
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the Bible, and hundreds have actually joined the Christian Church.

The creation of a Christian literature for China has been carried on mainly by missionaries, and to this end they have represented in the Christian Literature Society for China, under the guidance of Timothy Richards and others. The rapid opening of the mind of China to appreciation and reception of Western thought has given many scholars both the opportunity and the task of providing not only religious but general and scientific literature for readers, whether Christian or non-Christian. Both the Bible and the work of Bible translation in China have been greatly facilitated by the existence of a common standard of written language, though versions of the Bible are being produced in several local vernaculars, as also in a popular form of the Mandarin. The circulation of the Bible is increasing by leaps and bounds; in 1910 a million and a half copies of Bibles, New Testaments, or single books were circulated; in 1912 two million and a quarter.

The first L.M.S. woman missionary to China was appointed in 1855. The work among women has been greatly hampered by the custom of foot-binding and by social prejudice, but these have been in great measure overcome, largely as the result of missionary effort, and the desire for the education of women is greatly on the increase; some are sent to the mission schools only to qualify for the medical and teaching professions, but also for social service. Over 600 members have been enrolled in a Student Volunteer Movement for the Mikado and have taken a full part in the training of the women in all the capital and provincial towns and in the outlying districts. The tendency in this class is to work for the formation of an indigenous Chinese Church free from Western control, and some progress is being made. The Sunday School is a chief feature of the work, and has helped to stimulate the interest in the study of the Bible.

In the outlying provinces of China work is still in its beginnings. It is farthest advanced in Manchuria, where Presbyterians and Lutherans have a community of some 58,000. The devoted work of James Gilmore (1850-91) in Mongolia left little visible result, and the societies which are following it up are gathering a few converts amidst great difficulty. The Chinese Church is struggling on, and the only quarter from which the gospel has entered that land is Little (or Western) Tibet, belonging to India, where Moravian missionaries have some small congregations, and have done much for the investigation of Tibetan language, literature, and history. Among the Muslims of Chinese Turkestan Swedish and China Inland missionarines are in the early stage of work.

vi. JAPAN, KOREA, AND FORMOSA.—Here, as in China, we have countries in which, after periods of notable success on the part of Roman Catholic missions, the native rulers have turned upon them as politically dangerous, and have violently persecuted the Christian Church, almost to extinction, till, through political changes, intercourse with the West has been resumed, but on a different footing, and with this the way has been opened for mission of the Reformed communions also. In the case of Japan this re-opening dates from the year 1859, when American missionaries were the first to settle in the country. The first Protestant Christian was baptized in 1854, but meanwhile persecution of Christians continued, sometimes with severity, till the Revolution of 1868, which once more brought the peaceful and friendly relations which have prevailed ever since. The first protestant mission station was opened in 1870, and during the period 1891-1913 numbered 182,000, over 19,000 children were under education in mission schools, and 40 hospitals and 23 dispensaries were in operation. This progress has been delayed by requirements of the government, the study of Scripture and by reformation of life.

vii. THE NEAR EAST.—Under this term we include the lands which the modern Arab world, in which Islam first arose and spread. Owing to the long dominance of Islam, the work of Christian
missions to Muslims in this region is either non-existent or in its infancy. For our present purpose, we are not dealing with missions to the surviving Abyssinian, Coptic, Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, or Jacobite Churches. We may, however, note that the educational work carried on by and for NT to be inspired, and, if once induced to study them, he is in many cases led to see that the theory of their corruption subsequently to Muhammad is a figment of the Oriental Christian imagination, as well as their incompatibility with the Qur'an, is a powerful influence in the conversion of the Muslims. The British and Foreign Bible Society employs 120 colporteurs and has 27 depots, through which 126,926 copies of Bibles, Testaments, and portions are circulated. Individual conversions through these means are fairly frequent, but the building up of Christian communities is a slower process, hampered by special obstacles.

In Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli, among a total population of about 14,000,000, work is carried on mainly by the American Baptists and other denominalional agencies. There are converts here and there. The principal agency, besides that of colportage, is schools, which are elements in Egypt work was begun in 1852 by the American United Presbyterians, principally among the Copts, and resuscitated by the C.M.S. in 1882. Considerable access has been gained among the Efiendi class, and a number have been baptized, while others have been reached through the masses, in both town and country. Schools, primary and secondary, contain 17,994 pupils (largely of Coptic faith or origin), and a scheme for the establishment of full-fledged universities is being actively promoted by American missionaries. German and English missionaries are pushing out into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and, though Christian propaganda is barred among the Muslims of that region, yet in Omdurman some educational work is being done. Cairo is the chief literary centre of the Muhammadan world, and from the Christian side vigorous efforts are being made by the Nile Mission Press, an Anglo-American undertaking, to produce and circulate evangelical literature in Arabic.

In Asia Minor and Syria, Protestant work has been especially by American missions working among the ancient churches. The system of education which they have developed, from primary schools to colleges, especially the Roberts College in Constantinople, has notably affected the Muslim community in thought and attitude towards Christianity. Medical missions, in Palestine especially, have tended in the same direction. Arabia is touched on the north by the Handel and Bible Mission, and by schools, medical work, and colportage. Persia was first entered by Henry Martyn, when he completed his translation of the NT at Shiraz in 1811. In 1829 K. G. Planter visited Persia, and wrote his celebrated Balance of Truth, laying the foundation of a Persian Christian literature, built upon later by W. St. Clair Tisdall and others. In 1871 American Presbyterians organized work among the tribes of N. Persia, and in 1875 S. Persia was occupied by J. B. G. Stein of the C.M.S. Medical and educational work has developed largely, and the demand for schools on a Western model far exceeds the power of the missionaries to supply it. The modernist sect of Bahai, sprung from the 19th century reform movement, has borrowed freely from Christianity but does not so far make much return (see art. BAR, BAHAI). Throughout these missions work among women, visiting, teaching, and medical, has initiated or helped on the movement perceptible in Muslim lands for the elevation of the female sex.

viii. MISSIONS TO JEWS.—The Jewish population of the world is approximately 12,000,000. Protestant missionary work among them is carried on by 55 societies, maintaining 500 men and 350 women missionaries. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (253 missionaries; income in 1900 £8,000) is the principal one. Statistics are quite imperfect. Some 250 of the Anglican clergy are converts or sons of converts from Judaism. J. F. de Lelo estimates baptisms during the 19th century in Constantinople at 22,749; Roman Catholic, 57,100; Greek, 74,500. The theologians Neander and Edersheim, the missionary bishops Schereschewsky, Hellmuth, Alexander, and Holle, have estimated. III. GENERAL ASPECTS.—1. Principles.—As a result of the work of missions by the Reformed Churches since the end of the 18th century, there is now a growing community of some 6,000,000 native Christians belonging to the most varied races and cultures, from the primitive aborigines of Australia to the progressive people of Japan. Yet in the age which has seen this unprecedented expansion of Christianity in every direction the question has been raised whether Jesus of Nazareth ever intended that His disciples should carry the message of His redemption into all the world, though it is fully allowed that the world mission of His birth was the legitimate and necessary consequence of the principles which He enumerated and exemplified. To suppose that the Originator of this life and teaching, which have persisted in spreading their vitalizing influence to rescued races of two thousand centuries, was Himself without desire for or intention of producing such an effect would be to face the most insoluble enigma of history. The development which we see established now and in the future is clearly the mainspring of this world-wide enterprise of missions has been the conviction that its promoters and messengers were carrying out the conscious purpose and explicit command of the Saviour of the world. At the same time it would be unnatural that the reconstruction of thought which our age is experiencing in every sphere of life should leave the conception of foreign missions entirely Undeveloped. Among the Reformed Churches more especially Zinzendorf's motto of 'souls for the Lamb' as the one goal of missionary effort has expanded, under the influence of teachers like G. Warnecke in Germany and B. R. Western in England, into the wider and deeper conception of a call to regenerate the nations spiritually, morally, intellectually, and socially, and to build up the universal Church of Christ. Moreover, the results of research into Christian origins have helped us, with a truer historical perspective, to test our contemporary missionary work by the example and spirit of the Apostolic Age. From a knowledge of Roman and medieval history, too, the Churches have been learning lessons of the manifold adaptation of the form of missionary work to the conditions and needs of different ages and peoples, and of these lessons the
whole modern development is its application. But this larger sweep of outlook and effort has by no means made the first aim of individual conversion superfluous. On the contrary, this remains the vital centre of the whole, and it is as this is expanded and co-ordinated in the larger aim that the true end of missionary work is attained.

2. Methods, apostolic and contemporary.—The radical question is raised again and again whether the close following of the methods of St. Paul is not the true solvent of our most fundamental difficulties, particularly of the lack of spiritual and economic independence in our mission churches. Were the evangelist to make brief sojourns instead of settling down to devote an authority straightway on native helpers instead of keeping them in long tutelage, to demand instead of giving pecuniary assistance, Christian congregations might, it is urged, be smaller, but they would be stronger and self-reproducing. Each of these paths has been tried in modern missions, generally with scant success, for the same end under different conditions may demand different means. Where there was a Jewish diaspora standing at the threshold of Christianity, teaching and discipline had been assimilated which may now require a generation; where habitat and civilization remain the same, the transcendent new directions in daily life practically identical, the problems now arising from disparity of civilizations and distance of abode are non-existent. Recognizing these and other differences, the bulk of modern missionary work, we have to seek their solution not in the forms of apostolic, or any other, evangelism, but in the principles embodied in these forms. Thus in the adventure of faith undertaken by the C.I.M., which is followed by the French, German, and Belgian missions, we have a contemporary adaptation of the Pauline method, rapidly following the main lines of communication and occupying the chief cities of an empire which has been evangelized and where it is not a question of conversion but of raising native churches and societies, offering much analogy to that of Rome. Or, again, in the revival of community life in the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of Anglican missions we have a useful adaptation of early and medieval monasticism to the conditions of the mission-field of to-day. But both of these have the defects of their qualities.

The modern thought on the adaptation of NT principles to contemporaneous missionary work may be traced in the development of the chief missionary methods. The mission school and college have no precedent in apostolic times, and indeed, apart from the English school of the monastic missionaries, their original purpose being to serve as a means of conveying the message to the children of the literate, or would-be literate, classes who are otherwise not easily reached, and of bringing them into the Christian Church when they have arrived at years of discretion. The most notable effect of earlier educational work was the conversion of men of mark, who exercised great influence on the development of the Church. Within the last generation this aspect of the work has receded into the background; the conception of education as a naturally national and creating an atmosphere permeated by Christian ideals has exercised increasing influence on missionary educators, especially in high schools and colleges, and it is from this that the idea of evangelized, and they have lain mainly in this direction. The value of such preparation for the community for the eventual reception of Christ as Lord and Master is immense, and it may be hoped that much of the work which commonly falls to the lot of the evangelist also is not dissolved beforehand. But there is need of balanced judgment and steadfast will, lest elaboration of the scaffolding delay or even prevent the erection of the building. Similarly, in the now indispensable work of medical missions the physical benefits conferred were at first entirely subsidiary to the spiritual aim; but the conception of a Kingdom of God to be realized in things temporal as well as spiritual has led to emphasis upon the fact that the work of the missionary, whatever the immediate effects, is a worthy aim of the missionary. This involves the risk that the medical missionary may be merged in the philanthropist. The modern medical missionary would not, if he could, ignore the demand for the greatest possible scientific efficiency, for he will not allow Christian zeal to be the bane of friend of second-rate professional skill; yet he will lay the decisive emphasis of his calling on the specific aim of the missionary to carry home his message. Again, in the delivery of that message by the general missionary a comparative study of religion and sociology has modified the method of approach by the Christian messenger to non-Christians. He is less inclined to attack their observances and rites than to elicit the need latent in each human heart of something higher, less prone to enforce their doctrines and duties than to set forth Christ in life and teaching. The conviction is gaining ground among his hearers that he is no ruthless iconoclast of their national religion, but that the evangelized who is practically identical, the problems now arising from disparity of civilizations and distance of abode are non-existent. Recognizing these and other differences, the bulk of modern missionary work, we have to seek their solution not in the forms of apostolic, or any other, evangelism, but in the principles embodied in these forms. Thus in the adventure of faith undertaken by the C.I.M., which is followed by the French, German, and Belgian missions, we have a contemporary adaptation of the Pauline method, rapidly following the main lines of communication and occupying the chief cities of an empire which has been evangelized and where it is not a question of conversion but of raising native churches and societies, offering much analogy to that of Rome. Or, again, in the revival of community life in the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of Anglican missions we have a useful adaptation of early and medieval monasticism to the conditions of the mission-field of to-day. But both of these have the defects of their qualities.

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4. Results and problems.—The present condition of the world-mission-field shows offshoots of the Reformed Churches in every stage of growth. Their members, as always, vary in genuineness and strength, but everywhere they include whole-hearted followers of Christ, who are giving their lives for his sake. Their work has, in some cases, been far more successful than in others, and in a few instances it has been almost a blank failure. But in all cases the progress of the missions in the world is marked by an increasing tendency towards the conversion of the indigenous peoples to the Christian faith and way of life. This is evident from the fact that the churches in the mission-field have produced no first-class heresy, implying thereby a lack of serious intellectual striving. But other causes may more reasonably be assigned for this. The intellectual training and status of the foreign teacher is a far superior, in the great majority cases to that of his converts that it would be difficult for them to maintain positions contrary to those which he has laid down—all the more so as the possible variations of the Christian religion have been fairly fully worked out by previous heresies, the weaknesses of which have been pointed out to them. Moreover, no considerable part of the effect produced by Christian missions has been confined to the change of attitude, the new beliefs and ideas of conduct, individual and social, taken over from them by the still non-Christian world. In this process the analogues of early Christian heresies are to be found in the teachings of bodies outside the Christian Church. Thus the Bhrāna Samaj, or the reformation of Hinduism, represents a kind of Arianism; the Bahá the offshoot of Islam would stand for one variety of Gnosticism, and theology for another. Generally speaking, syncretism is largely practised, and in many cases by men of noble character who are striving for a reconciliation of the old and the new, but the religion of the foreign teacher is not more likely to stand now than in the early centuries, though it is a pitfall of which the abler intellects of the young churches need to beware.

Analogous to this is the problem of unity in the Christian Church, which is marked by the division of the so-called Reformed Churches, which have sprung up in the West from local and temporary causes have naturally no meaning to the Eastern convert; and the same holds good of many other religious sects. The result is a tendency to unity in faith and practice, in face of powerful opposing forces, is healthy and hopeful. There is, however, a danger that members of the young churches should regard all distinctions in doctrine and discipline indistinguishably as mere Western peculiarities which may be swept aside in order to construct an edifice of truly indigenous Christianity. A sound attitude of the missionary teacher towards questions of race and nationality will do much to meet this danger.

Next to the essential spiritual element no factor in missionary work is more weighty than the social progress which it has initiated or stimulated. From these successes a difficulty often springs. In the contact of two deeply-separated civilizations the convert naturally assimilates that of his Western teacher, not without the exercise of wisdom and restraint he may evolve a mere caricature of Western culture without its balance and restraint, thereby repelling alike his own countrymen and the Western fellow-Christians; and among higher races he may acquire needs and habits which will involve him in economic difficulties. Meanwhile, Western culture and commerce are ceaselessly flooding into mission lands, and the change of life connected with them is affecting non-Christians scarcely less than Christians. As a result of this the efforts of the missionary to promote a simple indigenous style of living may be resisted as intended to repress the progress of the native Christian. One of the missionary’s most difficult tasks is to decide and to convince his charges what is justly due to the decencies and progress of Christian life and what is illegitimate, and to administer to extravagance and parasitic growth.

Thus social progress is intimately connected with the great difficulty presented by the economic dependence of the mission churches on their parents at the home base. The amount annually expended by home churches on the maintenance of ministers, preachers, and teachers of indigenous races is estimated at £7,000. The amount recorded as raised by the native churches in the same connection is £1,500.00. Allowing for a liberal margin of error, the disparity is still immense, even when we consider that a large number of the converts are drawn from impoverished strata of society whose financial weakness must be great for some time to come. Almost every advance is dependent on fresh exactions made by the mother churches, who may also contribute their share of the work of worship, pastoral care, and teaching. In the last resort the economic dependence of mission churches is part of the larger problem of the economic dependence of the missionary on the mother church, and in all probability the one will not be solved without the other.

 Everywhere we are brought up against the racial problem. It was there from the first, and the success of missions has been in proportion to that of the missionary in understanding and treating with wise sympathy people of a foreign race. As the races have become conscious of their common ideals, traditions, and interests, the racial question in the mission-field has developed into the national. Everywhere the missionary is met, actively or passively, by insistence on the rights of the race in its own sphere and a demand for equal opportunity, as against the old idea of the inherent superiority of the white man. The opposition thus engendered reacts against the white man’s religion, and there is on each continent a restiveness and impatience of colonial domination by the European churches such as did not exist a generation ago.

To deal with this firmly and sympathetically as a sign of healthy growth, and as a pathway to new and fruitful opportunities is the result of a premature independence and unduly delayed emancipation both have their dangers. Smartness and efficiency may be made an idol; but it is also a temptation to take the easy path of lowering the ideals of the gospel, and this leads to deterioration. The problem is to be solved only by patient, tenacious charity on the part of the missionary who understands the national and racial feeling, and whose watchword is the responsibility of the stronger.


MISSIONS (Muhammadan).—The materials for the history of Muhammadan missionary activity are much less abundant than those for the history of the propagation of Christianity. Muhammadan
historians appear to have been singularly inclusions as to the spread of their faith, and only scanty references to conversions are found at rare intervals in the vast historical literature of the Muhammadan world. The absence of a priesthood in Islam is another fact, and thelein apart of a separate body of men as exponents of the doctrines of the faith, has had its counterpart in a lack of ecclesiastical annals; there have been no Muslim missionaries in the sense in which the term is used by the Chritians of the 17th cent., no specially trained propagandists, and very little continuity of missionary effort; even the religious orders of Islam, which have at times done much for the spread of the faith, have not cared to set on record the story of the success that has attended their preaching. There is, therefore, nothing in Muhammadan literature to confirm the claim of the historians, made in the biographies of the Christian saints, the annals of the Christian religious orders, and the immeasurable journey and other publications of the various Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary societies. In fact, the fullest details as to Muslim missionary activity are generally to be found in the writings of the Christian clergy who have written about Islam in their services to the Christian people. Yet to this poverty of information from Muhammadan sources there is one notable exception, namely, the biography of Muhammad himself. Muhammadanism and Islam begin together, with the life of the founder, and the numerous biographies of the Prophet are full of stories of his efforts to win over unbelievers to the faith (xxvi. 99).

In the Quran itself, the duty of missionary work is clearly laid down in the following passages (here quoted in chronological order according to the date of their revelation):

"Saying: the way of the Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning: dispute with them in the kinder manner (xxxvi. 100)." This sentence is repeated by those who have inherited the Book after them (i.e., the Jews and Christians) are in perplexity of doubt concerning it. For this cause summon them then to the faith, and walk uprightly therein as thou hast been bidden ... and say, if whatsoever Book God hath sent down do I believe: I am commanded to decide justly between you: God is our Lord and your Lord: we have our works and you have your works; between us and you there be no strife: God will make us all one; and to Him shall we return" (xli. 14). "Say to those who have been given the Book and to the ignorant: Do you accept Muhammad as a Prophet sent from the Lord of the Worlds. If you do, then ask not of my Lord for guidance; and if they turn away, then thy duty is only praying" (iii. 10).

"Thus God clearly sheweth you His signs that perverseness ye may be guided; and that there may be among you a people who invite to the Good, and enjoin the Just, and forbid the Evil. And know that God is well-acquainted with that ye do" (xxvii. 91 ff.)." To every people have we appointed observers which they observe. Therefore let them not dispute the matter with the Quraysh: Let them say to the Lord, Whom have thou appointed our Guide: and if they dispute with thee, then say: God best knoweth who shall be deluded and who shall be guided. And if any one of those who join gods with God ask an asylum of thee, grant him an asylum in that order that he may hear the word of God; then let him reach his place of safety" (xix. 6).

Further, the faith of Islam was to be preached to all nations, and all mankind were to be summoned to belief in the One God.

"Of a truth it (i.e., the Qur'an) is no other than an admonition to all created beings, and after a time shall ye surely know its meaning" (xxviii. 76 ff.). This book is not other than an admonition and a clear Qur'an, to warn whoever liveth (xxvi. 97)." With an allusion to this: they have given us mercy that we created beings (xxvii. 107): cf. also xxv. 1 and xxxiv. 29. "He it is who hath sent His apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make manifest that wherein the peoples have been divided over every other religion, though the polytheists are averse to it" (iv. 9).

In the hour of Muhammad's deepest despair, when the people of Meecca turned a deaf ear to his preaching, when the converts that he had made were tortured until they died and others had to flee from the country to escape the rage of their persecutors, the promise was revealed: "Who does not raise up a soul among every nation" (xvi. 90).

The life of the Prophet himself presented, for succeeding generations, an example of Muslim missionary activity. When he began his prophetic career, his first efforts were directed towards persuading his own family; his earliest converts were his wife, Khadijah, his adopted children, Zaid and Ali, and some members of his immediate circle. He did not begin to preach in public until the third year of his mission, but he met only with the scoffing and contempt of the Quraish.

In the fourth year of his mission he took up his residence in the house of ‘Ali and there, for the first time, many Muslims dated their conversion from the days when the Prophet preached in this house, which was in a central position, much frequented by pilgrims and strangers. The conversion of ‘Umar b. al-Khattab about two years later was a source of great strength to the little band of Muslims, who now began publicly to perform their devotions together round the Ka‘bah. Though Muhammad continued to teach for ten years, the number of converts remained very small, and an attempt to win adherents outside Meecca, in the town of ‘At-Tali, ended in complete failure; but some pilgrims from Yathrib (or, as it was afterward called, Medina) showed themselves to be more receptive, and Muhammad sent one of his early converts, Mas‘ab b. Umair, to Yathrib to spread the faith in that and neighborhood. It was not successful; in the following year he was accompanied by more than seventy converts in the pilgrimage to Meecca; they invited Muhammad and his followers to join them. They were accompanied by a large entourage that migrated thither in September 622—a date which was afterwards adopted as the beginning of the Muhammadan era. In Medina the little Muslim community gradually developed into a political organism that spread over the greater part of Arabia before the death of Muhammad in 632, and political expediency tended to thrust purely religious considerations into the background; but the proselytizing character of the new faith was not lost sight of, and the Arab tribes that submitted to the political leadership of Muhammad accepted at the same time the faith that he taught. But of distinctively missionary activity there are only scattered notices, and for some time after the death of Muhammad there is a similar lack of evidence of distinctly proselytizing effort on the part of the Muslims during the forty years following the Arab rule over Syria, Persia, N. Africa, and Spain, though in all these countries large numbers of persons from among the conquered populations passed over to Islam, and Muslim influence was conspicuous. A notable exception in the case of the pious ‘Umayyad Khalifah, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (717-720), who was a zealous propagandist and endeavoured to win converts in all parts of his vast dominions from N. Africa to Transoxiana and Sindh.

With the decline of the Arab empire the Muslim world was faced with the task of converting its new rulers. The conversion of the Turks proceeded very slowly; the earliest conversions appear to have been the Turkish soldiers who took service under the Khalifah in Bagdad; there are a few legends of proselytizing efforts in Turkestan, but the history of the conversion of the Turkish tribes is obscure, and Islam seems to have made little way among them before the 12th cent., when the Seljuc Turks migrated into the province of Bukhara, and there adopted Islam. The conversion of the main body of the Afghans probably belongs to the same period or a little earlier, though national tradition would carry it back to the days of the Prophet himself.

A more formidable task was the conversion of the Mongols, and here Islam had to enter into competition with two other missionary faiths, Buddhism and Christianity, both of which at the outset met with greater success. The devotions
of the Mongols had brought ruin to the centres of learning and culture in the Muhammadan countries which they overran, and it was only by slow degrees that Islam began to emerge out of the ruins of its former ascendancy, and take its place as a dominant faith. From the latter part of the 13th cent. converts began to be made from among the Mongols, and a new epoch in Muslim missionary history then commenced, in which the relations, causes, and the characters of the Muslims were distinctly prominent. In the profound disorganization which followed the Mongol conquests, the Muslim religion after the flood of the Mongol conquest had poured over them their first refuge had been in mysticism, and the pûr, or spiritual guide, who during this period began to exercise an increasing influence, became of special importance among the proselytizing agencies at work. The first Mongol ruling prince to profess Islam was Barak Khan, who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1256 to 1267; according to one account, he owed his conversion to two merchants whom he met coming with a caravan from Bukhâra; but the conversion of their prince gave great offence to many of his followers, and half a century later, when Uzbek Khan (who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1313 to 1340) attempted to force the Ayyubids aforesaid from Islam, they objected, 'Why should we abandon the religion of Jenghiz Khan for that of the Arabs?' In other parts of the Mongol empire the same language was spoken at one period or another, and more or less fluctuating, and it did not become the paramount religion in the kingdom of the Ilkhâns of Persia until 1296, or among the Chaghatays Mongols until three decades later. The first Muhammadan king of Kâshgar (which the break-up of the Chaghatay dynasty had erected into a separate kingdom) was Tuâqlu Timûr Khan (1347-68), who is said to have owed his conversion to a holy man from Bukhâra, by name Shaikh Jânuâl-Îdîn; but so late as the end of the 16th cent. a dervish named Ishaq Wall found scope for his proselytizing activities in Kâshgar and the neighbouring country, where he spent twelve years in spreading the faith.

The extension of Mongol rule over China gave an impulse to the spread of Islam in that country; though in numerous instances had been found in the coast towns from a much earlier period, the firm establishment of their faith in China dates from the 13th cent., and the settlements of immigrants from the west, which were founded from that period down into the present day, attest the close connexion of Chinese Muslims of the present day—through various causes, of which proselytism has been one. The rise of the Mongols was also incidentally the cause of renewed missionary activity in India; Islam had gained a footing in Sind and on the Malabar coast as early as the 8th cent., and in the north after the establishment of Muhammadan rule at the close of the 12th cent., but the terror of the Mongol arms caused a number of learned men and members of religious orders to take refuge in India, where they succeeded in making many converts.

To the period of the Mongol conquests—though in no way connected therewith—is traditionally ascribed the first establishment of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. Sumatra appears to have been the first island into which it was introduced—probably by traders from India and, later, Arabia; but the extension of the new faith was very slow, and even to the present day large sections of the island remained unconverted. The conversion of Java, according to the native annals, began in the 15th cent. and spread from this island into the Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and, later, of the Spaniards, in the 16th cent. checked for a time the growing influence of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, and the rival faiths of Christianity and Islam entered into conflict for the adherence of its peoples. But like its place among the Berbers in Africa, Spain, and the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, the Spaniards and their attempts to enforce the acceptance of their religion ultimately contributed to the success of the Muslim propagandists, who adopted more conciliatory methods for the spread of their faith, internecine warfare having been partially succeeded to their manners and customs. The missionary activity of Islam has been carried on spasmodically in these islands up to the present day—for the most part by traders. From the very nature of the case, there has been little historical record of their labours, and this little is chiefly found in the reports of Christian missionaries. Legendary accounts of the arrival of the earliest apostles of Islam in several of the islands have been handed down, but they are uncreditable and of doubtful historical value.

The history of the spread of Islam in India by missionary effort is not quite so scanty, but it has largely been overshadowed by the absorbing interest of political events; for, though the Indian Muhammadans have produced a large body of historical literature on the subject, the propagandists of their faith in these histories are few. The biographies of saints, however, and local traditions contain many references to a successful propaganda, as authentic and fantastic, there is evidence of the activity of a number of missionaries from the beginning of the Muhammadan period. Among these may be mentioned Shaikh Isâlî, a Bukhâri Sayyîd who preached in Lahore in 1005, Sayyid Nâdir Shâh, the patron saint of Trichinopoly (where he died in 1029), and Abd Allah, who landed in Cambay in 1067, and is said to have been the first missionary of the Munàli Ismâ‘îlî sect (known in India as 'Bolboraïs'). Towards the close of the same century another Ismâ‘îlî missionary, but of the Khoja sect, Nûr al-Dîn (generally known as Nûr Salâqâr), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindî kingdom of Gujarât. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khwâjâ Mu‘âmîn al-Dîn Chishtî, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindî rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later died one of the apostles of Islam in Bengal, Shaikh Jalâl al-Dîn Ta‘âhirî, the forerunner of a long series of missionaries in that province. Of importance in this connexion is the settlement in that part of India of saints of the Suhrawardî order; e.g., to the preaching of Bâhî al-Dîn Zakariyyâ, and of Sayyîd Jalâl al-Dîn and his descendants, many of the tribes of the Panjâb owe their conversion. These are but a few out of the long series of preachers of Islam who carried on a distinctively missionary work, side by side with the various influences, social and political, that contributed to the spread of Islam in that country.

Of the vast history of the spread of Islam in Africa it is not possible here to give more than a brief sketch. For the early period of the African conquest of Egypt and N. Africa, though conversions took place on a large scale, there is little evidence of active missionary effort. The opposition of the Berbers in the west and the Nubians in the Nile valley checked for a time the southward movement of Muslim influences. By slow degrees, however, Islam penetrated among the Berbers, and acquired to a certain extent the land remains unconverted. The conversion of Java, according to the native annals, began in the 15th cent. and spread from this island into the Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and, later,
MISSIONS (Muhammadan)

trader, to extend his influence in districts previously closed to him and to traverse familiar ground with greater security.

Throughout the course of Muhammadan history Islam has at times received large accessions of converts for missionary enterprises, wholly unconnected with missionary enterprise, at the same time it has always retained its primitive character as a missionary religion, without, however, having an effective organization to serve as a medium for its expression. Societies for carrying on a continuous propaganda were unknown in the Muslim world before the last decades of the 19th cent., and such Muslim missionary societies as are now found in Egypt and India appear to have owed their origin to a conscious imitation of similar organizations in the Christian world. The most characteristic expression of the missionary spirit of Islam is, however, found in the proselytizing zeal of the individual believer, who is prompted by his personal devotion to his faith to endeavour to win the allegiance to it of others. Though there have been religious teachers who may be looked upon as professional missionaries of Islam, especially the members of the religions orders, it is the trader who fills the largest place in the history of missionary propagandism. The confession or occupation unites the believer for the office of preacher of the faith, nor is any priestly ministrant needed to receive the convert into the body of the faith. Indeed, the social respect for their knowledge of the Muhammadan world, have gone so far as to say that every Muslim is a missionary:

"A tout musulman, quel qu'en soit le propagandiste sensible à l'examen de l'histoire, il (Staunton Sugronje, RIIR IV, [1908] 60). 'The Muslims is by nature a missionary, and carries on a continuous propagand on his own account and at his own cost.' (F. W. Münzinger, Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1887, P. 41).

However exaggerated such an opinion may be, stated thus as a universal, it is certainly true that there is no section of Muslim society that stands aloof from active missionary work, and few truly devout Muslims, living in daily contact with unbelievers, neglect the precept of their Prophet:

'Summon thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning' (Qur'an, xvi. 126).

Even the Muslim don, on occasion take the opportunity of preaching his faith to his captors or to his fellow-prisoners. The first introduction of Islam into Eastern Europe was the work of a Muslim juriscult who was taken prisoner, probably in one of the wars that took place between the empire and its Muhammadan neighbours, and was brought to the country of the Pechenga (between the lower Danube and the Don) in the beginning of the 11th cent.; before the end of the century the whole nation had become Muhammadan. In India, in the 17th cent., a theologian, named Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid, who had been unjustly imprisoned, is said to have converted several hundred idolaters whom he founded in the prison. Women as well as men are found working for the spread of their faith; the influence of Muhammadan women is noticeable in the wives making itself felt in the conquerors, especially the wives of Christian princes, who had to pretend a conversion for the occasion of their marriage, brought up their children in the tenets of Islam and used every means to spread their faith. In the present day the Tatar women of Kazan are said to be zealous propagandists for their government and administration, and by facilitating communication by means of roads and railways, they have given a great stimulus to trade and have enabled that active propagandist, the Muslim

...
MISSIONS (Zoroastrian).—Zoroastrianism began as a distinctly missionary religion. Accord-
described as ‘desired sāra’ (dūvra-fvris-a [V. xv. 17]). On the other hand, the missionaries sometimes encountered opposition, as when Kereši sought to suppress them, but was driven from his kingdom by Hoonus, iv. ix. 9. It is, though the present writer is inclined to regard this account as an Iranian reflex of a Vedic myth, the rôle of the hero being reversed, as is the case also in certain other passages, from the point of view of older Iranian unity.  

When, in like manner, the Pahlavi Škand-gāmānīk-Vijār states (x. 67 f.), that the sons of Všaṣa ‘even wandered to Artim [the Byzantine empire] and the Hindus, outside the realm, in propagating the religion,’ the tradition of missionary activities in these countries (on which see Jackson, pp. 85-90) deserves no credence, and equally apocryphal is the statement of the Diskart (SBE xxxviii. p. xxii.) that the Avesta was translated into Greek. 

From the close of the Avestan period to the dynasty of the Sassanids (224-651), there is almost a blank in the history of Zoroastrianism, for neither Seleucids nor Parthians seem to have taken much interest in the religion.  

Nevertheless, there was considerable diffusion, if not of orthodox Zoroastrianism, then of Zoroastrian teachings. We have already had occasion to note the spread of Iranian concepts in Cappadocia as shown in the month-names of that country (art. CALENDAR [Paris, 1937]);  

And the extensive amalgamation of Semitic and Iranian religious ideas is revealed by a Cappadocian Aramaic inscription of the 2nd cent. B.C. (M. Līdzbarski, Epigraphie du Monde Orient, ii. [1892] 67-69), which runs as follows: 

‘Thou, my sister, art very wise, and fairer than the goddesses; and therefore have I made thee wife of Bīl (O).’ 

The reference to xuatu:natu:nhta (so as Markan, Zoroastrian, § 2 is also of interest.  

An inscription of Antiochus i. of Commagene (1st cent. B.C.) at Nimrud Dāgh is of much value as the expression of the religious fervour of a prince who traced his lineage on the paternal side, to the Achemenians themselves, and also as showing the character of a late Zoroastrian cult in a foreign land. The relevant portions of this text (ed. most conveniently by Dittenberger, in Numismaticzorum. Greek inscriptions, selected, Leipzig, 1905-06, no. 333 [539-543] and plates xiv.-xxiv.; also F. Camont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs au culte de Zoroastre [Paris, 1893-95], i. 11, 253, 255, ii. 99-91, and below, p. 754)  

1 considered plu (fire-altar) not only the strongest foundation of all, but even when it was not possible to pay attention to, and held it to be the criterion of every Zoroastrian, in order that the fire should be maintained, but that the fire be preserved both of fortunate power and of blessed usefulness (apart from the spiritual irrigators and aparat rethys aparat rethys); throughout my life I was seen by all to deem holiness (kīvāra) both the most faithful guardian and the inimitable delight of my kingdom’ (1:19); and to this all his success during a long and hazardous career was due. When he ascended his ancestral throne, he appointed the king of the Persians and the king of the Indians for all the gods (kuvantu watthu vātthu [V. xvi. 20]). Dittenberger, adored the images with every device according to ancient Persian and Greek regulation, and in the presence of these Masonic lustral bathes (μασενικά μύρων έτελεῦσαν καὶ μασενικά ἤλευσαν ζεύγος μύρων τῷ Κέλαρι γραφχαίνοντα κατά τοῦ Κέλαρος ἀλατολογίον θεωρούσαν θεία καὶ παραγεγράφον τέκνα [30-31]). He was not, however, content with this. Having determined to found a mighty monument to the gods, he fixed the lustral baths (μασενικά μύρων) where, after he had sent his soul ‘to the heavenly threshold of Zoro Oromine, one of the two beings’ (μασενικά μύρων) he called upon to guide him in his eternal career. ‘If there be no spot of the common investment of all the gods, who were invested in token of his pious (54-60). He made every provision for the upkeep of the shrine, the priests of which were to wear Persian vestments (71 f.). Besides the sacrifices enjoined by old and new custom alike, he directed that the anniversary of his birth and of his coronation be observed annually, and that in each month the priests should commemorate the days—the 16th and the 10th—on which the gods had caused these two events to take place. All this is safeguarded by a law which ‘my voice spake, but the mind of the gods ratified’ (121 f.).  

At the festival the images of the gods should be clad in Persian fashion and he crowned with golden diadems (123-129); incense and perfumes were to be offered (141 f.), and an abundant feast should be provided (142 f.). The service at these banquet was performed by hvorakulu (p. xvi. i.), who, with the king and his children, were invited to partake of the banquet and the feast was also the villages, etc., dedicated for the maintenance of the shrine (190-220); and the inscription closes with the hope that the deities of the temple will follow him into his next life and bestow blessings on those who observe his will and curses on those who seek to impiously violate his monument.  

Accordingly, for the same inscription which begins in closely similar fashion see Dittenberger, v. 493 (I. 251).  


According to a section (ch. xxxvi. [cxxxix.]) of the Bhāṣya Porucā written after the middle of the 6th cent. A.D., priests called Magas were brought from Sākṣkakūla of the old Pārsi priesthood, to serve the Sākṣkakūla temple. This is scarcely to be construed as Iranian propaganda; for the function of these foreign priests see art. BAKTIAN AND MAZDAISM (iii. 3, chs. x.; H. B. Spohrer, A Translation of一部分 the Sanskrit Language, 1905, pp. 405-406.  

With the rise of the house of Sāsk Zoroastrianism not merely revived, but again developed a markedly missionary spirit. According to the Diskart (ed. and tr. F. B. and D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1574 ff., vol. x. p. 12); Abura Mandae, commends that the faith be spread through the world; and in elucidating the meaning of Av. frazarvnde, ‘I profess,’ the Pahlavi commentators add that every Zoroastrian endeavour to propagate the religion among all mankind, while the highest praise attaches to the qonaim non-believer who renounces his former tenets in favour of Zoroastrianism (SBE xxviii. 1882).  

1 Cf. art. Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian (Persian). The term ‘lustral baths’ (aparat rethys) looks very like a literal translation of Av. yâzatša, ‘purification’; panegyric, of individual deity. 

2 The Modern Sanskrit may possibly translate Av. rva sharkan.  

3 For the brief and formal inscriptions in all these Dittenberger, nos. 398-399 (604-606).
MERELY ACADEMIC ATTITUDE IS AMPLY PROVED BY THE RECORDS OF PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS BY THE SASANDI RULERS IN PERSIA. THE Pahlavi portion of the Tehran Fine Arts Museum (Tehran, Bombay, 1894, fol. 16, 17) bears witness to the admission of proselytes, and the Pahlavi Matigim-i-Hazar Dastistan (ed. J. J. Moll, Poona, 1901, p. 1; tr.談 von der Morgen, E. P. 1898, 1899) states that a slave belonging to a Christian should be ransomed by Zoroastrians from his master if such a slave embraces Parsism, though he is not to be set free if he becomes a Zoroastrian together with his master.

During the period under consideration there was some extension of Zoroastrianism in China (cf. Jackson, pp. 278-280), though no details are thus far known. A few Arab discoveries made by M. A. Stein, A. grinwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot in Turkestan, where Buddhist, Persian, Turki, Greek, and Chinese ruins, which were not superseded by the Christians, or their conquered auxiliaries, or even by the sect of the Christians, and he deprived them of their property and monopoly, found it impossible to be induced to become apostates by money and high rank, saying, 'Oh that you would but receive the doctrine of the Magi into your souls! Oh that you would but exchange the livery of yours souls for the true and excellent laws of our gods!' The Magi exorted him, if he would prove his gratitude for his power and his victories, to make Zoroastrianism dominant everywhere. In the course of his endeavours the Zoroastrians promised an interesting Zoroastrian state of theology, to which the Christians replied (p. 11-20). The persecution provoked a reaction. skrive all, each of whom, under different circumstances, as well as from his own point of view, has realized the need for a realization of the racial characteristics and distinctive features of their community.

In the atmosphere of which it was felt that their own safety lay in enunciating their faith in words, this was a considerable period made impracticable for them to keep up their former proselytizing zeal. The instinctive fear of disintegration and absorption by the vast masses in which they lived created in them a spirit of exclusiveness and a strong feeling for the preservation of the racial characteristics and distinctive features of their community. Living in an atmosphere well-known with the Hindu caste system, they felt that their own safety lay in enunciating their faith in words.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of proselytizing continued as late as the 18th cent., especially in the case of slaves purchased from low-caste Hindus. Such procedure, however, instead of being welcomed as extending the faith, aroused hostility on social grounds, some Parsis being unwilling to permit such converts to prepare sacred cakes (druma) for the festivals or to allow the proselytes to be exposed after death on the Parsi 'Towers of Silence.' The question was referred more than once to the Zoroastrians in Parsi, whose replies were in favour of admitting converts. From the broad view of orthodox Zoroastrianism, there cannot be the slightest question that the ruling of the Irans (Persian Zoroastrians) was right. On the other hand, it was felt by the Parsis of India that an influx of low-caste Hindus would be prejudicial to the purity of their Iranian community.

The only cases in which proselytism has been urged in recent years have been instances in which a Parsi has married a non-Zoroastrian wife, who desired to have children born by such a wife, or by a non-Zoroastrian mistress, received into the Parsi community. In all these cases admission has been granted only on the face of intense pressure.

The motives of the converts have been, in practically every instance, wholly, not religious, and the conversions have been purely nominal. Parsis hold that such proselytes are harmful to the faith, and that, if converts are admitted at all, it must be under conditions which put the sincerity of the neophytes' religious convictions beyond suspicion. The Zoroastrian community has no organization for training new converts; the matrimonial opportunities of Parsi girls are limited by the possibility of converting prospective wives of other religions; and the admission of illegitimate children of Parsis is felt to be virtually a condemnation of immorality.

This attitude—so different from that of Zoroaster and of Zoroastrianism until the migration to India—is fraught with grave possibilities to Parsism. The age of monarchy is rising, and the shadow of the iron hand is falling. There is a steady leakage towards agnosticism (not towards conversion to Christianity, Muhammadanism, or any form of Hinduism). Even among those who regard themselves as Zoroastrians there is much laxity. Theosophy (g.v.) is making a form of 'esoteric' Zoroastrianism which can scarcely be reconciled with the Avesta. Some of the radical wing of the 'reforming' party, at the other extreme, rationalize the religion until it becomes a travesty of its real content. Against all this must be reckoned many wisely conservative Parsis, both priests and laymen, but even these, so long as concessions from without are forbidden, they can advance and extend the good religion in a question for the future.

LITERATURE.—M. N. Dahla, Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1918, together with the work of Rustani Edizzl Dastur Peshzada Sanjana to the writer (5th July 1915).

LOUIS H. GRAY.


2 On all these movements see esp. J. N. Paghary, Modern Religious Movements in India, New York, 1916, pp. 84-91, 368-369.
Mithraism.—The religion generally known by this name, which enjoyed a wide-spread popularity in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, centred in the worship of Mithra, a divinity worshipped in the Indo-Iranian period by the two most easterly branches of the Aryan race, as is shown by the fact that his name and worship are found among the gods of the Vedic pantheon and in that of Mithra in the early religious poetry of Persia. The name coincides in form with a common noun which in Sanskrit means ‘guardian’ or ‘friend’ and in Avestan ‘compact,’ and it would seem to follow that from the earliest times the conception of Mithra was an ethical one.

1. Mithra in Vedic religion.—In the only hymn addressed exclusively to him in the Rigveda (iii. 59) Mithra is said to ‘bring men together, uttering his voice’ and to watch the tillers of the soil ‘with unwinking eye’—phrases which suggest a solar divinity; and from the numerous hymns in which Mithra and Varuna are conjointly addressed it is abundantly clear that both divinities are manifested in the celestial light. In the Brähmanas, indeed, the view prevails that Mithra represents that light of day, especially that of the sun, while to Varuna belong the ‘thousand eyes’ of night. This seems, however, to be a later refinement, the beginning of a confusion which may be traced in the Atharvaveda, especially tv. iii. 18, where it is said that Mithra removes in the morning what Varuna has concealed. The theory of Oldenberg,1 that the group of divinities known as Adityas, who are said in Rigveda ix. xxiv. 3 to have a seat in the sky or the sun, is borrowed from the Persians by Varuna, is little supported by the facts. The original of Mithra is the sun (Mitra), moon (Varuna), and five planets, and was borrowed from a Semitic race, has little to commend it. It is more probable that Varuna was the supreme sphinx of the Zend world, who is also the sun in the Zoroastrian hymns. In a very ancient incantation, \( \text{V\text{\textordfeminine} \text{\textordfeminine}} \), Mithra the light which proceeds therefrom. Ethically the two gods were probably differentiated in the Indo-Iranian period, Varuna being the supreme upholder of physical and moral order, Mithra the all-seeing witness who guarantees good faith between man and man. This is not so clear in the Vedas as in the early religious poetry of Persia, where the place of Varuna is taken by Ahura Mazda (\( \text{\textordfeminine} \text{\textordfeminine} \) Wise Lord) the word Ahura corresponding to Skr. \( \text{\textordfeminine} \text{\textordfeminine} \) a term which in later Vedic literature means ‘demon,’ but in the Rigveda is applied to gods, more especially to Varuna and to the sun, and is placed in a category of words to have connotations of the possession of occult power.

2. Mithra in Iran.—Among the Iranian peoples the worship of Mithra assumed an importance which it never possessed in India. The early history of this worship is very obscure, owing to the uncertainties which beset the interpretation of the Avestan texts. From the inscriptions found by H. Winckler at Boghaz-keui in 1907, especially the treaty between the Hititte king Subbilius and Mattiuanu, the son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, it appears that Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsītya, or ‘Twins,’ were worshipped in the district of Mitanni in the 14th century B.C. Eduard Meyer (‘Das erste Auftreten der Arier in die Geschichtc,’ *SBA* iv, 1908, p. 14 ff.) regards this fact as a proof that an Aryan community existed in Mitanni in *EB* 1, xxii 290 he suggests that the Aryan in question were a caste ruling over a non-Aryan people. It is, however, uncertain whether

1 These words are connected by etymology with the base *mê/, *mâ/, *mê/s, ‘exchange,’ seen in Lat. *coniungere*, Gk. *ge-meles*, M.H.G. *gemele*, etc.; see K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1907 B., lii. 246, and especially A. Meillet, *AJA* x. 1907-143-145.

2 *Rig Veda*, p. 150 ff.

3 Six Adityas are mentioned in Rigveda ii. xxvii. 1, and eight in x. lix. 84.


we should regard them as the ancestors of the Iranians, and even possible (as J. H. Moulton has suggested, *Early Zoroastranism*, London, 1913, pp. 7, 26) that we have here the relic of a pre-historic migration backward from India to the North-West. It is to be observed that the name Varaṇa is otherwise unknown in Iranian texts, whilst Ahura Mazda is among the gods of the Aryan origin of Zoroaster and his descendants. It is suggested, under the form Assana Mazah in an Assyrian list of divinities of about 650 B.C. (published by F. Hommel, *PSBA*, 1889, pp. 127, 138), and had, no doubt, been borrowed from an Iranian people at a considerably earlier date. To the 12th century B.C. period belongs a tablet from the library of Assurbanipal in which Mithra is identified with Shamash (R. iii. 69, 5, 1. 72). Our next evidence dates from the Achæmenian dynasty. The inscriptions of Cyrus it is true, throw no light on his worship of Iranian divinities, and Darius 1. mentions Ahura Mazda only; but the evidence of epigraphic names (*Mitra*- *Yasa*—*Herod*. i. 110, 121, *Mazda*- *Sar^s* [ib. iii. 129, 126, 127], and, earlier still, *Mazdyasna*, if this is the correct reading, in *Aesch*. *Pers*. 42) makes it plain that Mithra was prominent in the Persian pantheon, 1 which bore the same name as the Persian *Apadana*. (425-350 B.C.) as names as his divine protectors Ahura Mazda, Anahita, and Mithra (*Art. Sus. a.* 4, 4, *Ham*. 5 ff. [O. Pers. text]). The cult of Mithra with the goddess Anahita is also attested, in the inscription which proves the existence of Herodotus is guilty in the passage (i. 131) in which he describes the Persian religion, and identifies Mitra with the ‘Assyrian’ Myllitta (an appellative of Ishtar).

3. Mithra in Rome.—We have seen that there was no need to next consider the position of Mithra in the religion of Zarathushtra. Adopting the position (1) that the *Gathas* go back to the time of the Prophet himself, and that this was the original (and very possibly earlier) than the traditional date (7th cent. B.C.), and (2) that the *Yodhast*, at any rate as regards the metrical portions, are not many centuries later, we see that the Mithraism mentioned in the former, and was ignored by Zarathushtra in his reform. It may even be possible to go further, and to hold that the Prophet regarded him as a *dämag*, i.e., a demon, whose worship was to be banished from the pure faith. In *Ys*. xxii, 10 we hear of the teacher of evil who ‘declares that the Ox and the Sun are the worst thing to behold with the eyes,’ which may perhaps point to a connection to the nocturnal demon (that is to say to bull) by Mithraists; and it is also possible that the Ox-Creator (*Gûnd-i-Asaxan*) named in *Ys*. xxix. 2 was a substitute for Mithra devised by Zarathushtra. These are only conjectures; but we shall find in later Mithraic ritual abundant proofs of the survival of primitive conceptions such as Zarathushtra endeavoured to eradicate. It is not necessary here to discuss the difficult questions relating the measure of success attained by the Prophet’s reform and the origin of the counter-movement (perhaps Magian) which restored the more primitive worship. It may be worth mentioning, however, that in the Persian calendar, which there is reason to think (on astronomical grounds) was introduced into Cappadoicia by Darius 1., the names of the months are derived from divine names, which indicates those of Zoroastrian


2 A popular account of the present state of the question will be found in J. H. Moulton’s *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, Cambridge, 1907, and for further details see the same author’s *Early Zoroastranism*.

3 Moulton, *Zoroastranism*, pp. 129, 357.

4 See exsursum, ib. p. 430 ff.
(but not Anahitta) and the six Amesha Spentas (or Amshaspands), which are among the most characteristic features of Zoroastrianism properly so called. For our knowledge of Mithra-worship among the Persians we naturally turn to the Mithraeum, which Eng. tr. in SBE xxiii, (1883), by J. Darmesteter, more accurately in German by F. Wolf, Avesta . . . übersetzt, Strassburg, 1910, pp. 198–221. The opening lines of the poem show clearly the high position enjoyed by Mithra, although, as a yazata (‘adored one’) he stood technically on a lower level than the six Amshaspands of Zarathushtra’s creed.

The Yazdah speaks with no uncertain voice either of the physical or of the ethical character of the god:

1. The first of the spiritual Yazatans, who rises over the Mountain before the immortals, sun, driver of swift horses; who foremost attains the gold-tipped, far exceeding, whom he surveys the whole dwelling-place of the Aryan, he, the most mighty (Yt. x. 10).

The sky is neither the sun himself nor any individual object, but the heavenly light in general, and it suits well with the recurring formula of the hymn:

To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, we sacrifice, the truth, speaking, eloquent in assembly, the thousand-eared, the shapely, the myriad-eyed, the exalted, (lord of) the broad book-out, the strong, the valorous, the wise, the great, the mighty, the mighty, he, the most mighty.

2. Here the ethical and the physical are already combined; and in the second stanza of the hymn the god and the ‘promise’ or ‘compact’ over whose fulfillment his watch is almost identified: for Zarathushtra is thus addressed by Ahura Mazda:

Break not the compact (milhem), whether thou make it with the faithful fellow-believer, for Mithra stands for both, for the faithless as for the righteous.

Throughout the Yazdah the invincible might of Mithra is invoked against the mithra-drauj, which may be translated either ‘deceiver of Mithra’ or ‘promise-breaker’. It is this guardianship of truth and good faith that gives Mithra his special character; but he is also invoked, like other divinities, as the protector of the needy.

whom the poor man, who follows the teaching of righteousness, when wronged and deprived of his rights, with uplifted hands and with the (Yt. x. 34), and his aid is sought in both worlds, in this world of the body, and in the world of the spirit (40, 93).

The last stanza may remind us that among the functions of Mithra was that of assisting the souls of those departed in the faith on their journey to Paradise.

He is implored to ‘be present at our sacrifice, come to our illusions . . . hear them for atonement, lay them down in the House of the Fire’ (Yt. x. 35).

It is natural, therefore, to find as his companions Sraosha (‘obedience’) and Rashan (‘justice’), who, in later Zoroastrianism, are found beside Ahura Mazda in the Final Judgment. In the Yazdah, however, they figure as his henchmen in the great struggle between the powers of light and darkness.

Mithra strikes terror into them, Rashnu strikes a counter-terror from them, Sraosha draws them together from every side toward the protecting angels (Yt. x. 41).

Throughout the poem Mithra appears as pre-eminently a god of battles; he was, therefore, especially fitted to become, as he did in later times, the favourite deity of the Roman soldier. Of the

1. Haran beryastai is the name elsewhere applied to the peak upon which Ahura Mazda the Creator established, for Mithra a dwelling where is neither light nor darkness, nor chill wind, nor heat, nor death-dealing sickness; not polluted, nor purged by demons, nor do miseries thereof (Yt. x. 50). To the franks this meant Mt. Alburz.

2. See L. C. Canard, Philosophy of the Mazdaean Religion under the Sassanids, Bombay, 1890, pp. 79–81; Dhalia, Zoroastrian Theology, p. 238 i.; Cumont, Teutes, 1. 37.

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the purified spirit to the sphere from which it came, we may believe to be characteristically Iranian; to Chaldean we shall attribute the elaboration of the astrological dogmas connected with the beginning of the planets in the soul in its passage through their spheres, and the prominence given to the conception of Destiny as revealed in the unchanging order of the heavenly phenomena, derived on this account from the authoritative teaching of the Zoroastrians, the adoption of which was necessary corollary of these doctrines; but its acceptance in theory did not prevent Mithraism from becoming an intensely practical cult in full of stimulus for the activity of the individual.1

(b) In Asia Minor.—It is much more difficult to say what was the effect upon Mithraism of its diffusion throughout Asia Minor.2 We have no contemporary evidence for the stages by which this took place, but it is at least probable that the later Achaemenian kings, who were, as we have seen, ardent votaries of Mithra and Anahita.3 Artaxerxes Ochus is said to have erected statues of the goddess in many places—established the worship of these divinities in the outlying portions of their dominions.4 It was not long before they became assimilated to those which were indigenous to the land; Anahita was readily identified with the Great Mother whose worship was so deeply rooted in Anatolia (see art. MOTHER OF THE GODS), and thus the creed spread for Mithras and Cybele (q.v.). Mithra himself took the shape of Men in Pontus (see below), and was assimilated in art with Attis (q.v.), in spite of the profound differences of nature and function between the two. More than this we can hardly say, for the primitive features of Mithraic ritual, to be considered later, were not necessarily borrowed, but may go back to the Iranian antiquity. The taurbolium, however, is believed by Cumont (i. 334 f.) to have been taken over by Mithraism from the cult of the Great Mother. The propagation of Mithraism in the West had its political as well as its religious side. One of the earliest conceptions of Iranian religion was that of the ‘glory,’ or hvarenə.4 This was conceived as a kind of mystical effulgence or aureole derived from the heavenly light, and possibly borrowed of some of its features from the widely diffused conception of the external soul. In the story of the Fall, embodied for the Iranians in the myth of Yima, sin entailed the loss of this property; and in the Sāt Yast (the, dash-hvarenə, ‘he of evil glory,’ is the meaning who thinks that Mithra sees not all his evil deeds and lying’ (YT. x. 108). But the hvarenə was more especially the talisman of the royal house of Iran, and as such is the main subject of an entire Yast (YT. xix.), which deals with those who have or will possess it, beginning with Ahura Mazda himself and ending with Sassanian, the future deliverer of the world from evil, but giving in the main, as Darmesteter points out (SBE xxiii. 296), ‘a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shāh Nāmāh.’ Historically, therefore, the hvarenə is of the most ancient Mithraeum and the talisman which gives victory over the Taranian. Naturally enough, the Near Eastern dynasties which sprang from the wreck of Alexander’s empire were anxious to secure this token of legitimacy, and were therefore ferve of Zoroastrians, the ‘spiritual Yasat, who rides through as the Karshu, bestowing the hvarenə’ (YT. x. 10). The prevalence of this conception is but thinly veiled by the disguise which the hvarenə attained among half-Hellenized Mithraeum,4 the coeval theory of the Univer-
sal Monarch to be established on earth (Helm. 740). It is, however, as the Onomasticon of the Hellenistic monarchs that the Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the indispensable condition of its further diffusion, was brought about. In the case of the commemorative monument is the enormous cairn set up by Antiochus I. of Commagene (60-35 B.C.) on the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh, on either side of which was a terrace with identical series of five statues.5 These, as the king tells us in his inscription, represented (1) Zeus-Oromasdes (= Ahura Mazda), (2) Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, (3) Artagnes-Hernakes-Ares (= Verethragna, ‘victory’), (4) Commagene, (5) Antiochus himself; of the last the king says that by setting up the fashion of his own form he has ‘caused the honour of ancient deities to be conferred on a new Teos.’5 The identification of Mithras and of the later Apollo ——illustrates the elastic methods of syncretism; Hermes is probably chosen as the guide of souls in the world beyond the grave, and, at the same time, it is the Sun-Pontus with whom he was assigned to him (in common with Apollo) by the Greeks, since Antiochus was a convinced astronomer and has left us his horoscope in relief on the retaining-wall of the terrace erected by Mithras is also, as so often later, identified with the sun himself. Antiochus’s father, it may be added, was one of the numerous bearers of the name Mithradates, and another of the relics of this triumph over the right-hand of Mithras, represented in Persian costume with the radiate nimbus. This grouping of the god with the ruler whom he protects is a motive which recurs in various quarters, especially, as M. I. Rostovzew4 has shown, in Scythia. On the coinage of Trapezus (Cumont, ii. 189-191) Mithras, in Persian costume, appears on horseback—in one instance flanked by the figures of Catos and Cantopes and, in another, with a cire of the zodiac and the sun.6 A notable example is the silver lytron from Kargodeouanshi,3 where Mithra, holding sceptre and drinking-horn, is faced by a Scythian prince, also mounted, who uplifts his right hand in the gesture of adoration.

5. Contact with Greece and Rome.—It was in Asia Minor that Greek art was enlisted in the service of Mithraism and created the sculptural types which were diffused throughout the West, and form the chief source of our knowledge of the cult. The group of Mithras the bull-slayer, to be described presently, though ultimately inspired by the bull-slaying cults (see below), is a new creation, and the art which sprang from it is not found, e.g., at Delos, where so many foreign cults flourished in the later Hellenistic age, its form and style of the chief source of our knowledge of the cult. The group of Mithras the bull-slayer, to be described presently, though ultimately inspired by the bull-slaying cults (see below), is a new creation, and the art which sprang from it is not found, e.g., at Delos, where so many foreign cults flourished in the later Hellenistic age, its

1 Astral theology as a system is foreign to the Avesta; the worship of Tištaya (=Siris) to whom YT. viii. is addressed forms no real exception to this rule. Of the constellations only the seven identified in the Zend texts (YT. vi. 712).

2 That Mithraism came to Asia Minor from Semitic sources is proved by the Greek-Aramaic bilingual inscriptions of Cappadocia, in one of which (from Rostovzew’s Periasth) a Persian record how he bpwymen àuioy (Compendium de Andrea, des inscriptions, 191), says this man was named in the royal list by the first names of his parents (see below), and by the fact that the form Mayuravsan is a transliteration from the Aramaic.

3 Chem. Alex. Prætext. 5


5 For this inscription see E. Humann and O. Puchstein, Reden in Ehren, and O. Puchstein, Die Brandn Zeitung, and cf. Cumont, ii. 59-91, 157-159.

6 Cf. the dedication ‘Des lerrvists Mithra Mercurius’ found at Stockstadt together with a statuette (V. Drexel, Das Kastell Stockstadt, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 36); Cumont, Mystères, p. 165.

7 Friedländer, O. Die monumentale skulptur i Skitjš i Skitjph, p. 183.


9 It. p. 1. 1.
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traces are rare (and generally of Imperial date) throughout the Hellenized East, in Syria, Egypt, etc. Even in the 2nd cent. A.D. Lucian writes of Mithras as a barbarian god, οὐδὲ ἐλληνικῷ τῷ φαντῷ (Deorum Conc. 9).

Mithras is said by Plutarch (Pomp. 24) to have been brought to Rome by Cilician pirates taken captive in 67 B.C., and there is no reason to doubt the statement; but it certainly fails to account for the popularity already attained by some other Oriental religions until almost the close of the 1st cent. after Christ, for the earliest Mithraic inscription as yet found in Rome was set up by a freedman of the Flavian dynasty (CIL vi. 732 = Cumont, ii. 101 ff.), and, although the British Museum contains a statuary group of Mithras and the bull dedicated by a slave of Ti. Claudius Livianus, prefectus praetorio in A.D. 102 (Cumont, ii. 229; cf. 106), Mithraic monuments and inscriptions do not become common in the West until the Antonine period.

6. Diffusion in the Roman world.—(a) By the army.—The diffusion of Mithraism was largely the work of the army. Pontus, Capadocia, Comagena, and Lesser Armenia—precisely those regions in which the specialized form of the cult had been developed—were already included among the provinces conquered by the Romans, even while as yet only oriental kingdoms of the empire, and still more when they were annexed and became provinces. During the Parthian wars under Claudius and Nero, Mithraism spread in the Orient very largely because of the services of the army, and, as we must assume to be the case, largely as auxiliaries, but also in the legions. Whether or not the soldiers of the Third Legion, which saluted the rising sun at the second battle of Betliracum (A.D. 69) were Mithraists, it is at least certain that the Fifteenth, which served in the Parthian wars of Nero and was transferred by Vespasian to the Danube, brought the cult of Mithras to its camp at Carnuntum in A.D. 71. Another important centre of the cult in the same region was Aquincum, the headquarters of Legio II. Adjutrix, founded by Vespasian from the sailors of the Ravenna fleet, who, as free men, were doubtless in many instances of Oriental birth. But the wide spread of Mithraism on the frontiers was largely due to the auxiliary corps—cohors and cohors—raised in the East under the Flavian and succeeding emperors, and transferred to the Danube and the Rhine or the Vallum in Northern Britain. Except for a relief found in London (Cumont, ii. 389 f.), all the Mithraic monuments and inscriptions found in Britain belong either to the legionary camps at Isca (Caerleon-on-Usk [CIL vii. 99 = Cumont, ii. 160]) and Eloracum (York [Cumont, ii. 391 f.]) or to the forts on or near the wall, such as Bovericium (Housesteads [CIL vii. 645=650 = Cumont, ii. 161, 293-306]), Amboglianna (Birdsowd [CIL vii. 381 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Breminium (High Rochester [CIL vii. 106 = Cumont, ii. 102]), Vinidadala (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), and others. So, too, in the Two Germanies the sanctuaries of Mithras (with some few exceptions) are found either in legionary camps, such as Vetera Castra, Bonna, and Moguntiacum (Cumont, ii. 389, 383 f., 391-398), or in the forts along the line of marching (CIL vii. 683-685 = Cumont, ii. 161, 293-306), Amboglianna (Birdsowd [CIL vii. 381 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Breminium (High Rochester [CIL vii. 106 = Cumont, ii. 102]), Vinidadala (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), and others. So, too, in the Two Germanies the sanctuaries of Mithras (with some few exceptions) are found either in legionary camps, such as Vetera Castra, Bonna, and Moguntiacum (Cumont, ii. 389, 383 f., 391-398), or in the forts along the line of marching (CIL vii. 683-685 = Cumont, ii. 161, 293-306), Amboglianna (Birdsowd [CIL vii. 381 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Breminium (High Rochester [CIL vii. 106 = Cumont, ii. 102]), Vinidadala (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), and others. We have already mentioned the military sites at Carnuntum and Aquincum, the Upper Danube, as centres of Mithraism; the same might be said of practically every important post on that river down to its mouth—e.g., Vindobona, Brigetio,

Viminacium, Osessa, Durostorum, and Troesmis (ib. i. 363, ii. 329, 375, 130, 491 ff., 372), to name the principal centres. In Africa also the camp of the Third Legion at Lambesis, and several military posts, such as Massalia and Siliaef (ib. i. 165, 170, 465 f.), have furnished Mithraic inscriptions, and in the countries where traces of Mithraism are relatively rare they are often found in the colonies of veterans—e.g., Emerita (Merida) in Spain (ib. ii. 160) and Patras in Greece (ib. ii. 161). (b) By slaves.—Next in importance to the army, in the diffusion of Mithraism, came the slave population employed by the State, the municipalities, or private individuals. The first class comprises especially the employés of the custom-houses and the State-properties, such as mines and quarries. Thus in the Danubian provinces, especially Dalmatia and the Pannonias, the stations of the customs-barriers at which the vicipal Illyrici was levied have furnished a number of Mithraic dedications, due to slaves and freedmen in the public service, several of whom bear Greek names and were, therefore, doubtless natives of the Eastern provinces. Again, the presence of numerous Mithraic monuments in Noricum (ib. ii. 150-152, 335-338, 472) is accounted for, not so much by the military force as by the station of Comacina, although the station of Comacina, which clearly takes its name from an auxiliary regiment, forms a natural exception—as by the mines owned by the Imperial estate in that province. Another centre of the municipalities contributed largely to the spread of the religion. At Sentinel, which has yielded an inscription (CIL xi. 5737 = Cumont, ii. 121) giving a list of thirty-five patroni of a Mithraic congregation, the slaves and freedmen of the municipality figure side by side with ingeni; a slave employed as arcarius restored a Mithraeum (CIL ix. 410 = Cumont, ii. 120). It goes without saying that private slaves—especially in the households of the wealthy in Rome itself—played a large part in the spreading of Mithraism.

(c) By trade-routes.—We may in part trace the importation of the spread of Mithraism along the trade-routes which were in communication by sea with the Eastern Mediterranean, though doubtless the merchants themselves were often worshippers of Mithras. Thus in the African provinces, apart from the military, in the first half of the 3rd cent. the only traces of Mithraism are to be found in such coast town as Cesarea, Cirta, or Rusadice (Cumont, ii. 171, 163, 170, 400 f.); in Southern Gaul we can trace the presence of Mithraeum in the spread of the cult on the trade-route which followed the valley of the Rhone and in the towns of Narbonensis, which were always open to transmarine influence from their nearness to Massilia; and Aquileia, whence the trade of the Mediterranean found its way into Central Europe, was itself both a centre of Mithraic worship and a stage in its further diffusion. It is thus, e.g., that we must explain the remarkable prevalence of Mithraic monuments in the upper valley of the Adige and on the Brenner route to the Upper Danube, as well as on the North-Eastern route via Emona and Postumia. No province of the empire is richer in remains of Mithraism than Dacia, where all the principal sites—Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Nopoca, Potissa, etc. (Cumont, ii. 131-139, 230-236, 308-319)—have furnished material of this kind. We can hardly explain this entirely by the influence of the army which occupied Dacia and the neighbouring Danube provinces, and are forced to conclude that among the settlers planted by Trajan in the

1 Four out of twenty-six, according to Toutain (see below, p. 780).
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province and drawn 'ex toto orbe Romanse' (Entrop. viii. 6) were many Orientals who brought with them their native faiths, among which the worship of Mithras soon assumed a commanding position.

7. Geographical and social distribution.—The geographical distribution of the monuments of Mithraism may most easily be grasped by an examination of the map which accompanies Cumont's volumes, upon which the sites, when they have been discovered, have been marked. It will be seen at a glance that, except in the places and districts of which mention has already been made, traces of the cult are few and far between. In Greek lands, in Western Gaul, and in Spain, taken together, the sites where its monuments have been found may almost be counted on the fingers. Hence Toutain1 has argued that the cult of Mithras never became widely diffused in the West, outside the army and certain regions in direct communication with the East, and that the notion that it was at one time not far from achieving the triumph which was reserved for Christianity is much exaggerated. Toutain leaves out of account Rome and Italy—which makes his presentation of the evidence one-sided. But he endeavours to reinforce his argument by a consideration of the social condition of the worshippers of Mithras. At any rate, two points are unjustified; the first is the assertion that the dedicatory sculptures of the builders or restorers of Mithraic sanctuaries are very largely drawn from the official classes and professional warriors, military commanders, or procurators, etc., employed in the civil administration. As early as the age of the Antonines we find leguni and tribuni militares among the votaries of Mithras in the reign of Commodus, M. Valerius Maximianus, governor of Dacia, dedicates an offering to 'Sol invictus Mithras' (CIL vii. 1122 = Cumont, ii. 133); under Septimius Severus, C. Junius Balbinus, governor of Carthage, consecrates an altar to Mithras (CIL viii. 485 = Cumont, ii. 141), and the number of similar instances is multiplied in the 3rd cent. after Christ, while imperial procurators in Noricum and Dacia follow their example. It would be natural to infer that Mithraism was at least favourably regarded by the government; and, in fact, we learn from the Historia Augusta (cap. 9) that Commodus intended to extend the jurisdiction of the Mithras cult to the whole empire, and that Caracalla, in this was found an inscription in honour of Zeus-Helios-Sarapis-Mithras, and this unusual identification is explained by Caracalla's special devotion to the Egyptian divinity. This imperial patronage goes far to explain the popularity of Mithras-worship in the 3rd cent.; it also accounts for the fact, that, though by no means confined to the public services, military and civil, it was mainly found among their members and took no general hold on the population of the western provinces, so that the withdrawal of imperial favour was a fatal blow.

8. Origin of initiation.—Our knowledge of the doctrines and ritual of Mithraism is largely drawn from the inscriptions and monuments discovered in the Mithraeum, to the interpretation of which something is contributed by ancient texts, especially those of Christian apologists. The most important of these is a passage of St. Jerome (Ep. evii.), who describes the destruction of a 'cave of Mithras' and the 'monstrous image of the bull'; an inscription of one of the votaries, who are enumerated as follows:

Corax, Gryphus (MSS syriacus or syriacum), iocis, leo, Persos, helioudromus, pater. These names are naturally taken to indicate seven grades through which the neophyte passed in succession; and this is confirmed by other texts. The inscriptions found in a Mithraeum in Rome (CIL vi. 749 = Cumont, ii. 391) mention ceremonies described by the words 'apotelesmata,' 'retrocessus,' 'isognosia,' 'persica, heliaca, patrica'; the adjectives clearly correspond with five of the grades mentioned by St. Jerome. We find also ostenderunt (or tradi- dentur) of St. Jerome, and they correspond to the equivalent to εὐφωνος, and has been substituted for the corrupt νημύθης in the text of St. Jerome. The title pater (or pater potrnum) for the highest grade is common in inscriptions; and a passage of Porphyry refers as follows to the others:

Τοὺς μὲν μειγδότας τῶν ἁγίων ἑρμηνίας μίσχων κλητοὶ, τις δὲ-γυμνοὶ νικῶν, τις δὲ εὐθυμητρίαν κοιψών: ἐπὶ τῆς τετραγωνίας... ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἑρμηνίας αὐτοῖς προσθηκόμεθα χρῶν μιράμισι (Or. De Antro Nymp. 15). The mention of ἔφωνος is preserved by St. Jerome (cf. Bonner Jahrb. für Philologie 1902, p. 12). Porphyry, it will be noticed, speaks of the animal disguises worn by the loaves. In the Questions veteres et nosti testamenti largely attributed to St. Augustine (PL xxxv. 2438) we read how 'some flap their wings like birds and imitate the voice of the crow; others roar after the manner of lions'; and the passages quoted are strikingly illustrated by a relief found at Konjíca, in Bosnia, carved on the reverse of a slab which shows the usual subject of Mithra the bull-slayer (see below).

In the centre of the scene are two figures reclining on a couch, in front of which is a table with four loaves marked with a cross; beside the table are seen a lion and a hircinum. On either side are two figures; on the left a νημυθυς, i.e. a man wearing the mask of a crow, and a 'Persian,' distinguished by his dress; to the right a lo, wearing a lion's mask, and a figure with the upper part of which is a horse. In the centre of the table is a bull represented by a crown; and the bull, though he belonged to the rank and file of Mithraeum's soldiers, was not admitted to the mysteries. The mysteries were initiated by a ceremony described by Tertullian (de Corona, 16); a crown was set before him, interpeciand platic, and then placed on his head, but removed by the neophyte, who explained Mithra is my crown.

In the passage previously quoted Tertullian speaks of a soldier of Mithras as 'branded in the forehead!'; and the καρακτήρ φυσικῆς which Gregory of Nazianzus speaks (Orat. iv. 70 [PG cxxxiv. 652]) may refer to this. Terullian mentions a Mithraic purification 'per lavamen' resembling the rite of baptism; and it is to be noted that the Mithraeum which have been excavated either contain natural springs or have been specially laid on. Of the ceremonies which accompanied the higher degrees of initiation we know little; Porphyry (loc. cit.) tells us that the Leo had both hands and tongue purified with honey, which was also used in the 'apotelesmata,' in the initiation of the votaries, as is evident from the phrase quoted above of Gregory of Nazianzus mentions the φηραδὸς to which the initiates were sub-

1 A relief from Arden, now at Aix-la-Chapelle (ARW xxii. 1912 pl. i.), shows a knotted figure wearing the 'Phrygian cap,' cap is hidden by a veil held by two other figures. Rostowzew (p. 62) connects this with reference to the phrase quoted in the text.
dicated; and his commentator Nonnus (PG xxxvi. 989, 1009, 1012) enlarges on this topic and speaks of 'eighty punishments' by water and fire, frost, hunger, thirst, and journeying over an ascending scale of severity. These may to some extent be imaginary; but it must be remembered that the Mithar Yaddi (§ 122) speaks of abductions and stabbings. Pertullian (Hist. vii. 40) uses the phrase 'imagio resurrectionis,' which suggests a simulated death; and the biographer of Commodus tells us that the emperor 'sacra Mithracina vero hominis corporis habuit.' This hint, we know, of the Mithraic rites of initiation shows that they were of a type well known in primitive religion, and carry us back to a stage far earlier than the developed theology of later Iranian times. Nor can we say more of the rites in which the initiates partook; Christian writers found an analogy to the eucharist in the Mithraic communion of bread and water (Epístola 190 5).<sup>1</sup> Hence Zoroastrianism.

9. Sanctuaries, ritual, and monuments.—The central act of worship in Mithraism, however, appears to have been the bull, the type prototype of which was the slaying of the bull by Mithras himself, represented in relief in every Mithraic sanctuary. These places of worship were described by the term speculum (CIL ii. 4420 = Cumont, ii. 146), for which we also found eretus (CIL iii. 1096 = Cumont, ii. 132) and anumrum (CIL vi. 754 = Cumont, ii. 94), and were often established in natural caves or grottoes, as, e.g., on the north slope of the Capitol at Rome, beneath the church of Arcadi. As a rule, however, the place of the grotto was taken by a subterranean crypt, approached by a stairway; the chapels attached to private houses were naturally placed in cellars—e.g., the Mithreum below the church of San Clemente in Rome. It should be noted that the Mithraeum are never of great size and, where the adherents of the worship were numerous, the number of specula was multiplied. Thus Óstia possessed five, Aquincum at least four, and Carnuntum three sanctuaries. The more elaborate examples show a fore-court, or proemus (the term is used in CIL xiv. 61), leading to a small chamber, whence the staircase descended to the crypt in which the mysteries were celebrated. This was traversed by a central passage, on either side of which were posted the 'Shrines of the Bull.' Whether, as Cumont supposes, the worshippers knelt upon these, or reclined upon them while partaking of the ceremonial banquet, it is hard to say. At the extremity of the crypt, which often took the form of an aepia (called caezubria in CIL iii. 1096), was placed the relief of Mithras and the bull, often accompanied by other sculptures, such as figures of Cautes and Cautopates or the lion-headed Kronos.

The symbolism of these monuments is not easy of interpretation, and ancient texts help us little. In the central scene, the type of which (as was mentioned above) was certainly fixed by a Persian artist, probably in the 2nd cent. B.C., Mithras, clothed in the conventional costume which in Greek art signified the Oriental, places his left knee on the back of a bull and, seizing its horn (or muzzle) with the left hand, plunges a knife into its throat.<sup>2</sup> The scene of the action is a cave, the prototype of the speculum, which sometimes contains plants or even trees. A scorpion fastens on the testicles of the dying bull, while a dog, and usually a serpent also, drink the blood which flows from the death-wound. A crow, or an ass, in ascending columns of text.

1 Vita Commodi, i. 6. The statement of Socrates (ib. ii. 2) that he was a sacer of Mithras is only a copy of the text of a Pergamene artist, probably in the 2nd cent. B.C., Mithras, clothed in the conventional costume which in Greek art signified the Oriental, places his left knee on the back of a bull and, seizing its horn (or muzzle) with the left hand, plunges a knife into its throat. The scene of the action is a cave, the prototype of the speculum, which sometimes contains plants or even trees. A scorpion fastens on the testicles of the dying bull, while a dog, and usually a serpent also, drink the blood which flows from the death-wound. A crow, or an ass, in ascending columns of text.

The 'Alexandrian' type used by the artist was a 'romantic' creation. A crown, or an ass, in ascending columns of text.
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discharge an arrow at a rock, from which a stream gushes out; a kneeling figure receives the water in his hands or represents his throat. Sometimes a serpent's head is depicted before Mithras, and implores him to perform the miracle.

The zodiac is also commonly found either as a framework enclosing the scene of the bull-slaying or, as in most of the reliefs from the Zlins speleum in which this takes place. In addition to this, the more elaborate reliefs are almost always decorated with busts of sun and moon, while many also depict the planets, or syzygies which represent them. We are convinced that the elements and the winds; and it is beyond doubt that the lion, the serpent must be combined with these last as emblems of the elements. It may be added that the sea (secessus) and the heaven (crater) are both mentioned on a stele from Hesdenheim (Cumont, ii. 156). It is clear, therefore, that in the Mithraic mysteries a complete system of cosmography was taught; nor can there be any doubt of its application to the soul and its destiny.

The doctrine of the microcosm, which pervades all the speculations of later antiquity, was popularized by the Stoics, especially by Ptolemaeus, and, together with the astrological doctrines which accompanied it, was derived from Oriental sources. It formed part of the common stock of teaching imparted to the votaries of the 'worldly' religions (of which Mithraism was one) which became diffused throughout the West from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. We should be able to give a more definite account of Mithraic eschatology if we could interpret 'Mithratismurgy' published by Dieterich from the Paris magical papyrus (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Græc. 574) deserved that name. This document, committed to writing about A.D. 360, is in the present form part of the stock-in-trade of an Egyptian magician, and is interspersed with roots magicae and supplemented by directions for its use in the sciences of the better practitioner. It is not certain whether the compiler made use of a genuine Mithraic document; this is suggested by the opening words, which may be translated as follows:

1. Be gracious unto me, Providence and Fortune, to me, who am writing down these, the first of all traditional mysteries, and grant immortality to my only child, an initiate worthy of this mighty power, which the Great God, the Sun, Mithras, made his archangel transmuti to me, that I alone, no eagle, might soar through the heavens and behold all things.

It is to be noted that this private revelation made by the initiator to his 'only child' resembles those of the Corpus Hermeticum (the product of an Egyptian school of theosophy) rather than the ritual of a community; also that the 'eagle' is introduced into the text by a conjectural emendation of Dieterich. In the revelation itself we find nothing that distinguishes Mithraism from other theosophies, and a good deal which is definitely Egyptian; Dieterich lays stress on the 'golden shoulder of the ox', which is the Great Bear, which he would recognize in the object held by Mithras in the investiture of the sun as represented on a relief from Virunum (Cumont, ii. 336, fig. 213); but the identification is extremely doubtful; other examples of the same subject show nothing at all resembling an ox's shoulder, and in any case the conception is specifically Egyptian. On the whole, therefore, it is safer to regard the papyrus as a figure a representation of Ahriman, whose worship by Mithraists is satirized by dedications 'deo Arimano' (Cumont, iii. 86, 114). A mutilated relief at York (Cumont, ii. 205) seems to represent this figure with some variation from the usual type, and the inscription (also mutilated) contains the words of an invocation to Ahrimantos.

1 On a relief from Apulum (Cumont, i. 517) we find a series of the following four objects: (a) sacrificial knife, (b) altar, (c) patera (of the shape seen on the last two). These symbols represent the elements, and their repetition indicates that each planet contained all four.

2 Ariadne was the sacra secta of Mithra philantropus ('Prae, iii. 113).
nothing more than a synergetic product. It is likely enough, however, that the ascent of the soul through the seven stages or ‘solar paths’ in the Mithraic mysteries; Celts (op. cit. Cels. vi. 22) explicitly tells us of a ‘ladder with seven gates’ made of the seven metals assigned to the planets which was shown to the initiates; Porphyry, quoting the text of a passage of the mysteries, says: ‘Zoroaster the doctrine that the ‘cave’ was a symbol of the universe, of which Mithras was the creator, speaks of it as containing ἰστός ἀναμνήσεως ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἐνοικίων ἀναμνήσεως, and it can be no accident that in one of the Mithras at Ostia six semi-circles are traced on the floor of the central passage, while six planets are represented on the walls of the podium and the signs of the zodiac on their upper surface (Cumont, ii. 243-245). Beyond this all is speculation; and Porphyry himself probably knew little more than we do about the mysteries (de Abst. iv. 16) as his chief authority on the mysteries a certain Pallas, who explained the animal disguises worn by the initiates as symbols of the zodiacal constellations or as shadowing forth the doctrine of metempsychosis (which Babelon also stated to be Mithraic). It is not necessary to repeat the astrological speculations, confused in themselves, by means of which Porphyry endeavours to interpret the symbols of Mithras, I believe, to prove that the all-pervading influence of astrology affected Mithraic doctrine. Thus we sometimes find that the figures of Cautopates and Canopic lead the symbols of the bull and the scorpion, the signs which mark the beginning of spring and winter.

11. Final phase.—In its final phase Mithraism was absorbed into the ‘solar pantheon’ which supplied Rome with the gods of the two previous centuries with a theology reconciled with contemporary philosophy and science, and became, under Aurelian, the official religion of the Roman State. Sol invictus, as the ruler of the universe was called in a phrase of Oriental associations, was represented on earth by the emperor, and his identification with Mithras was far easier than many others which syncretism was able to effect. Thus ‘invictus Mithras,’ ‘deus invictus Mithras,’ or in (full) ‘deus Sol invictus Mithras’ became the commonest title of the god. It was with this modification that Mithraism bade fair during the later part of the 2nd century to become a world-religion. The State-cult of Sol was no more fitted than the worship of the emperor to satisfy the religious instinct; but Mithraism could supply the defect through its mystical teaching and its ties of brotherhood; and it was, besides, per excellence the religion of the army and the official classes. In A.D. 307 DIOCLETIAN, Galerius, and Licinius, meeting in conference at Carnuntum, dedicated an altar to Mithras, ‘fauitori imperi sui,’ in one of the oldest centres of his worship in the empire; but the victory of CONSTANTINE disposed him in favour of a rival creed, which had struck its roots more deeply in those populations of the empire which were less immediately in touch with the legions and the official hierarchy. It became clear that the vogue of Mithraism was in large measure an artificial one, created by the powerful machinery of the imperial government. When Mithraism sank from a position of privilege to one of tolerance and freedom, and became an object of persecution, its days were numbered. It lingered on, on the other hand, in certain less civilized outposts of empire and in the Alpine valleys, while, on the other, it became the symbol of a lost cause to the group of cults and pagans which maintained the defence of paganism in the Senate-house. The emperor Julian, whose oration, ἐπάθμα θαυμά, is a characteristic exposition of ‘solar theology,’ was a votary of Mithraism and attempted to revive the defunct creed of the pagan emperors and to give it an organization resembling that of Christianity was still-born. After his death persecution began in earnest, and, as far as the evidence enables us to judge, the destruction of Mithraism was wide-spread during the reign of Gratian. The letter of St. Jerome quoted above, which enumerates the seven Mithraic grades, describes such an act performed in Rome by Gaecadius, protetector urbis in A.D. 377. The latest inscriptions in which Mithras is named are those of the group of senators belonging to the society of which Macrobius (Sat. ii. 6. 14) speaks "in which the Vettius Agorius Prætextatus (+ A.D. 385) is called ‘pater sacram’ (CIL vii. 1779 = Cumont, ii. 95) and ‘pater patrum’ (CIL vii. 1778 = Cumont, ii. 95), and these inscriptions which the latest authorities recognize as evidences of the cult. The measures of Theodosius gave the death-blow to the practice of pagan worship; and the Mithraea at Saarburg in Lorraine was destroyed in his reign.

12. Relations with other cults.—Mithraism lent itself readily to alliances with other worship, especially those of female divinities, which supplied what it was unable to offer to worships. It seems to have been specially associated with the cult of the Magna Mater. We find their sanctuaries adjoined each other at Ostia and on the Saalburg; dedications are commonly made simultaneously to both divinities; and the lastralia, which (whatever its origin) was certainly attached to the worship of Magna Mater in the West, received an added significance when interpreted in terms of Mithraism, in which the life-giving blood of the bull became the pledge of immortality. In the Danube region a curious by-form of Mithraism is revealed to us by a series of reliefs and leaden plaques which have been interpreted by Cumont in the article (in Russian) quoted above. Here a female goddess, whose attribute is a fish, no doubt a local derivative of Anahita, is accompanied by two mounted figures, in whom we must recognize a duplication of the horseman Mithras found on the coasts of the Black Sea.

LITERATURE.—The great work of Fdbos Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 2 vols., Brussels, 1896-99, superseded all previous treatises, a list of which he gives in vol. i. p. xxii ff.; he has also published an abridgment of his larger work under the title Les Mystères de Mithra, Paris, 1913, in which the bibliography of the subject is brought up to date; the earlier editions of this work have been translated into English and German. Among recent works the most important are A. Dieterich, Eine Mithradatengekritik (ed. K. Wünsch), Paris and Berlin, 1910, and J. Toutain, Les Cultes païens du temps romain,Paris, 1906-11, vol. ii. ch. 11. ‘Le Culte de Mithra, ’ Paris, 1909; Other works on Mithraism and other works in which special points are referred to in the course of the article. For the Vedii Mira see A. A. Mardouck, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg, 1907, §§ 12 and 44, and authorities there cited, especially A. Hillebrandt, Varuṇa und Mithra, Brisens, 1877; H. Osterberg, Die Religion der Frühzeit, Berlin, 1879, 1881, and the pali artziche Goti Mithra, Dorpat, 1894. For the Avesta Mithra see especially M. N. Dadlal, Zarathustra, New York, 1914, pp. 302-11.

MOAB.—The name Moab, like that of the neighbouring peoples, Amorite, Ammon, Amalek, Edom, Aram, etc., appears to have been the name of a race rather than of a district, for, as G. A. Smith has pointed out (EBI, art. Moab, § 4), in N
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21-12 (cited by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1906, p. 555, as evidence that the name Moab is a territory of Moab), in v. 12 it is parallel to the Gentile Amorite; in v. 18 also it is the people. The derivation and meaning of the name are unknown. The etymology 255, ‘from my father’s brother’; whereas in v. 12 Moab is twin brother, we may conclude that at the time when these stories took shape the Israelites considered that the Moabites and Ammonites, though of kindred stock, were by no means so closely related to them as Edom. Moab is said to be descended from Lot’s elder daughter (Gen 19:37); therefore it was probably supposed that the settlement of Moab preceded that of Ammon. Whether the Moabites themselves possessed any tradition of a migration from Mesopotamia may well be doubted, the statements of Gen 11:12-12 being perhaps mere inferences from the belief that the Israelites were connected with Mesopotamia. Since, however, the expression ‘children of Lot’ (Dt 2:18, Ps 83) scarcely rests directly upon Gen 19:25, Lot was probably more prominent in early times than the Qezer kingdom was a later point than whether the Moabites and Ammonites regarded themselves as ‘children of Lot,’ or succeeded them in the districts which they occupied, cannot be determined. The late antiquarian note in Dt 29 implies that the population of Moab was not as homogeneous, while the place-names clearly show Canaanite influence.

The constant boundary of Moab on the west was the Dead Sea and the Jordan; to the north, east, and south frontiers varied from time to time. Probably the Wady el-Hasa represents the farthest extent of Moabite territory to the south and the Hijj road that to the east. The Wady Nimrin some 8 miles north of the Dead Sea, may be taken as the extreme northern limit (see G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* § 2).

Beyond the mere mention of Moab as included in the conquests of Rameses II, nothing is known of its history before the period of the Israelite invasion of Palestine. According to Nu 21:24-25, when the Israelites arrived in the land, an Amorite king, Sihon, seized the Moabite territory to the north of the Arnon. What circumstances determined the Israelite invasion of Palestine from the east is not certain, but it is not unlikely that the Israelites attacked Sihon in response to an appeal from the Moabites (as Wellhausen, *EBRS*, art. ‘Israel,’ has suggested), and that it was only after the defeat of Sihon that the Moabites discovered that their allies had no intention of giving up the fruits of their victory. There is certainly no valid reason for disputing the general historicity of the tradition. The statement that Reuben was the first-born son of Israel naturally implies that Reuben was the first tribe to obtain a settlement, while the assignment of Moabite territory to Reuben, and the belief that Moses died and was buried there as well as the tradition that the Israelites crossed the Jordan near Jericho, all point to a belief that N. Moab was occupied at east for a time by Israel. After the invasion of W. Palestine, however, the Israelites were dis-integrated and engaged in perpetual conflict with the Canaanites, Philistines, etc. (see art. *Israel*), with the result that the Moabites were able to recover their own. The tribe of Reuben, in spite of the fact that the territory was nearly exterminated (Gen 49:10, Dt 33), and Moabite rule was extended even over the Jordan valley west of the river. For a time, indeed, Moabite aggression was checked by Edom, but we find Israel and Ammon and Moab at war during the reign of David, and perhaps also during that of Saul. But, although David’s treatment of Moab is said to have been drastic enough, Moab was not incorporated in Israel. The Moabites merely became subjects of David, and perhaps also of Saul. Whether Moabite influence was strong in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon is Jacoby so doubtful that Solomon’s idolatry is described in terms of a later age. It was probably during his reign that of Rehoboam that Moab recovered independence.

Under the vigorous rule of Omri the Moabites again felt the hand of Israel. According to the inscription of Mesha (found at Dibon [Heb. Dibbon] in 1868, commonly called the Moabite Stone), the period of Israelite domination occupied forty years. It is not necessary to suppose that Mesha’s inscription is earlier than the events recorded in 2 K 3, for it is clear from that account that the campaign of the allied kings was unsuccessful. Moreover, an ancient king in recording his achievements was naturally silent about his reverses.

The Independence which Moab recovered under Mesha was perhaps lost again in the reign of Jeroboam II. It is, however, impossible to speak with certainty on this point, for the south limit of Jeroboam’s kingdom is given as the sea of the Arabah (2 K 15:18) and not the sea of the north of the Dead Sea. For the sea of the Arabah Amos (6:4) speaks of ‘the brook of the Arabah,’ which has been identified with the ‘Ardbkkim’ or ‘willows’ (Is 15), which by some has been identified with the Wady el-Hasa. These identifications are, however, by no means certain, and the order of names in the preceding verses of Is 15 suggests that ‘the brook of the willows’ is to be sought in the north of Moab. Amos (29) mentions a judge of Moab in lieu of a king, and it has accordingly been argued that at the time Moab punished his king of its own; but this cannot be decided with certainty.

During the Assyrian period Moab appears to have shown more prudence than its sister kingdom in accepting no tribute north of the Wady el-Hasa exacted tribute, and, although in 711 B.C. Sargon mentions Moab in conjunction with Philistia, Judah, and Edom as having formed an alliance with Egypt, Moab probably avoided an invasion by a timely submission. It continued subject to Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Assurbanipal, and, according to 2 K 24, furnished troops to Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem. Doubtless in Moab as in Judah there was throughout a party bent on regaining the national independence, and at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah of Judah (Jer 27) this party appears to have been in power. Yet no actual revolt from Nebuchadnezzar seems to have taken place, and Moab afforded an asylum to fugitive Jews (Jer 40). It is not improbable that after the destruction of Jerusalem the policy 2 of the summit of Saul’s wars (1 S 14) bears such a strong resemblance to that of David’s (2 S 8) that it may be doubted whether there was any definite tradition of a campaign of Saul against Moab. Hostilities between Saul and Moab would not indeed be inconsistent with 1 S 22, and David, when he succeeded to the throne, would at once stand in a different relation to the king of Moab from that which he had occupied as a rebel against Saul.

A discussion of the way in which this statement is to be harmonized with the biblical chronology lies outside the scope of this article. In the certainty, was nearly exterminated (Gen 49:10, Dt 33), and Moabite rule was extended even over the Jordan valley west of the
of Moab coincided with that of the king of Ammon, who apparently intended by the murder of Geshurish to compel Judah to join a confederacy against the Chaldean. Moab was menaced, however, by a danger even more formidable than that from Assyria or Babylonia: east and south the country was exposed to invaders from the desert, and Ezekiel (26:24) already perceived the coming disaster. The criticism of Jeremiah (48), which describes the devastation of Moab, is extremely difficult; the chapter, however, appears to be of a great extent and in any case is further supported by Ezekiel. The description as a whole implies a late date. \(15-16\)th, which is used by the author of Jer 48, notwithstanding the corrupt condition of the text and later modifications, gives a clearer picture of Moab's disaster. Here it is evident, if we argue from the names of places which may be identified with tolerable certainty, that the invaders advance from south or south-east to north or north-west, and therefore cannot be the Assyrian, Chaldean, or Persian, but must be a foe from the desert.1 With this invasion the national existence of Moab came to an end (2 Ki 3:26, 30), and Moab henceforward was known only by the name of the old name (Is 25:8, Ps 60:8 38:1089). It is remarkable that the name Moab does not occur in Is Maccabees. It is found, however, in Dn 11:3, and Josephus (Ant. i. xi. 5, xiii. 4) uses a term "Moabitae" to denote the Nabataean Arabs.

The language of Moab, as we know from Mesha's inscription, was Hebrew, differing only dialectically from the language of the OT. It is, indeed, not impossible that what we regard as peculiarities of Moabite speech, once belonged also to the spoken Hebrew of W. Palestine. Although portions of the OT are earlier than the Moabite inscription, B.C., they were probably long preserved in an oral form, in which case peculiarities of dialect may well have been modified.

The land of Moab affords many proofs even in these days of its former fertility and prosperity. The OT has several references to the cities of Moab, many of which are named, and mentions its vineyards as well as its sheep. Being situated off the direct line of communication between Egypt and the great Asiatic empires, it was less liable than W. Palestine to be made a battlefield, though doubtless there was constant need of watchfulness against the raiding bands of Moabites. On the whole, however, Moab seems to have had a far more peaceful history than Israel. In the words of Jer 48:1, "Moab had been at ease from his youth, and had settled on his lees, and had not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither had he gone into captivity.'

The religion of Moab presents many parallels to the popular religion of Israel in pre-Exilic times. There is no evidence, however, that any great Moabite prophets, if such existed, could point, as did the Israelite prophets, to a tradition of purer religion in the past. Like Israel, Moab had taken possession of a land containing stone-circles (in OT, language, gîrola) and other primitive monuments, and it is probable that in the land of Moab, as in W. Palestine, some of these were adapted to the worship of the later strata of population. From the occurrence of such names as Baal-Meon and Baal-Por it may be inferred that the pre-Moabite religion of the land resembled the pre-Israelite religion of W. Palestine, and was in fact Canaanite. This inference is strengthened by the occurrence of the curious compound ‘Ashar- Chemosh’ (Moabite Stone, line 17); for Ashar is probably a masculine form of the name familiar to us as Ashtaroth, and the combination of it with Chemosh suggests that some ancient sanctuary of Ashtar or Ashethoreth had been appropriated by Chemosh, just as the ancient sanctuaries of Canaan which came to be considered sanctuaries of Jahweh. We know both from the OT and from the Moabite Stone that Chemosh was the national god of Moab exactly as Jahweh was the national God of Israel. Indeed, the Moabite conception of Chemosh appears to have coincided with the ordinary Israelite conception of Jahweh. The name Chemosh appears compounded in proper names precisely as the name Jahweh. Thus Meshes's father's name was Chemosh in combination with some word which has been variously read as melâkh and qâd; a Chemosh-nadab (cf. the Israelite name Jonadab) paid tribute to Semacheri; and the name Chemosh-yahî (cf. the Israelite Jehiah) is inscribed on a gem found near Beirût (EBi, art. 'Chemosh'). Meshes speaks of Chemosh in precisely the same terms as an Israelite of his day might have used in speaking of Jahweh, and in Nu 21:29 the Moabites are called 'the people of Chemosh' and also his 'sons' and 'daughters.' Evidence of the existence of other cults among the Moabites may be found in the occurrence of such a name as Nebho, but there is no reason for supposing that such worship continued among the Moabites. The name Dawidah, or Dawdah, occurs on the Moabite Stone (line 12) apparently as a divine name; but, since Atarah, where the altar-hearth of Dawdah was seized, was Gadite, the name throws no light on Moabite religion.

Whatever the worship of Chemosh may have been before the permanent settlement of Moab, it is extremely probable that it was thenceforth largely intermingled with Canaanite elements. The OT makes it abundantly clear that the worship of Chemosh in the OT was not the same, and Nu 25 affords no evidence that Moab was worse than Israel in this respect; only, whereas, by the 6th cent. B.C., Israelite religion had to a considerable extent been purged of the grosser Canaanite elements, that of Moab remained unreformed. Besides religious prostitution, indications of the prevalence of drunkenness in Moab have been found in Gn 19:24, Jer 48:7; and, having regard to the references to vine-culture, this is not improbable, though the Israelites were scarcely in a position to throw stones. It is related (2 K 337) that Meshes, when hard pressed by Israel, sacrificed his son, and was made to offer that human sacrifice was a definite feature of Moabite religion. Human sacrifice, not only of the infant first-born, but on occasion of other victims also, was common in Israel down to the 7th cent. B.C. Meshes's sacrifice of his son should probably be compared, not with 2 K 16:8, Mic 6, for the case of Ahaz probably only the ordinary offering of the infant first-born is meant, but rather with Jg 11198, cf. also Gn 29 2 S 214, 1 K 14. Further evidence of the general agreement of Moabite religion with that of Israel is to be found in Meshes's boast (Moabite Stone, line 17) that he has banned or made taboo the population of Nebo.

The danger to Israel of intimate intercourse with a people closely akin in race, speaking the same language, and holding religious ideas similar to those of which the prophets had so earnestly laboured to rid Israel, was clearly perceived by the Israelite reformers, and will partly account for the stringent law in Dt 23, though political considerations may also have dictated this.

Literature.—See the excellent articles on 'Moab' in JB and EB; also W. H. Bennett, 'The Moabitc Stone', Edinburgh, 1913, with the bibliography there given (p. 60).

R. H. KENNETT.

MOCHI.—See CHAMARS.
MODERATION. — Cicero in an interesting passage expresses some hesitation as to the proper Lat. equivalent of the Gr. word ἀθροπία. 

The word is translated: (1) ἀθροπία, ἰταθροπία, quae Graec ἀθροπία appellat, οµνακετίσειν ἀνατολικὴν κατοχήν, quam solo equalior est tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appe
tatur, nonmodo in modo, sed etiam in rebus et viribus fragilis ap
dem post (Inst. Tert. Quest. ii. 8). 

He proceeds to describe the virtue in question as follows:

'Eius videtur proprium, mutum animi appetitum resere et sedere, magnum adversarii nihil, moderatum in rei se servare constantiam.'

Moderation, according to this view, is a part of temperance. If temperance consists in self-control in regard to the pleasures of sense, moderation is self-control exercised in less difficult spheres. Limitation (modus, moderatio) is, of course, a feature in all virtue; this idea has a long history in the philosophy of Greece, and takes formal shape in Aristotle's doctrine of 'the mean' which gives expression to the peculiarly Greek notion that virtue in its essence means 'harmony, grace, and beauty in action' (see A. Grant, The Ethics of Aristotle, London, 1856, vol. 1, essay iv.).

The word 'moderation,' however, is in Christian ethics specially assigned to the virtue which in 'least things sets the limit.' If temperance is concerned with strong passions, moderation controls those which are less vehement. Such, at any rate, is the view of Aquinas in his discussion of modestia (Summa, ii. ii. 160).

Following the influence of Aquinas, we find that 'moderation' is chiefly concerned with four matters: (1) the desire of excellence or superiority; (2) the desire of knowledge; (3) the outward actions concerned with the conduct of life, business, and recreation, work and rest, etc.; (4) apparel, furniture, and the external apparatus of life.

Each of these points is fully discussed by Aquinas (Summa, ii. ii. 161-169).

(1) As regards the desire of superiority, the virtue which moderates it and regulates it is humility (q.v.).

(2) The various control of the desire of knowledge is called by Aquinas studiositas as opposed to a form of excess which he calls curiositas (cf. Aug. Conf. X. xxxv. 54). Little needs to be added to the discussion in the Summa (ii. ii. 162, 167). We may, however, call attention to a fine passage in Bernard (in Cont. xxxvi. 3), who points out that in I Cor 2 St. Paul 'non profat multa scientia, si sensi modum necsit.' Christian moderation in this says, in effect, will prescribe the limitations under which knowledge should be pur

sued, in respect of the choice of subjects, the degree of zeal, and the purpose of the student. He lays great stress on the question of motive. Those who wish to know merely for the sake of knowing give way to 'turpis curiositas.' Those who pursue knowledge 'ut sedelicitur' are guided by charity; those who seek it 'ut mediocritur,' by prudence (cf. T. Wilson, Maxims of Piety and Morality, no. 429 [Works, Oxford, 1847-63, v. 423]).

(3) Moderation in the matter of work and recreation and other corporal actions and move

ments is discussed in Summa, ii. ii. 165. What Aquinas says practically amounts to this—that man for his proper use to be law-abiding is to be consistent with his dignity as a reasonable being and with the claims made upon him as a member of a com

munity. What St. Paul means to imply in the whole of his treatment of uxores is here laid out (1 Ti 3:4-5).

1 Cf. Grat. pro Delit. ix. 20: 'Ego fragilitatem, id est modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem esse maximam iudico' (quoted by Aug. de la Stella, 31). Ambrose, in de Off. Mor. i. 43, treats moderation and temperance as synonymous.

2 Cf. Aug. de Nat. Bon. 3; Aquinas, Summa, ii. ii. 161. 7.

3 Cf. Seneca, Ep. lib. xvi. 101: 'Plurum scire quam suae aedibus, temperantia genue est.'

as to which Trench (Synonyma of the NT, Cambridge, 1854, xii. 261) draws the following distinction:

'Whatever there may be implied in εὐγενήτας, ... something more is involved in ἀυγον. If the εὐγενήτας orders himself well in that earthly reversion, of which he is a support and an ornament, he is moderate; the ἀυγον does not only order himself well but lends himself to the earth; but which he owes to that higher citizenship which is also his,' etc.

Aquinas deals at length with the question of recreation, but says little as to the duty of moderation in work. This point is one which has its importance for us owing to the conditions of modern industrial life. It has been said of the Anglo-Saxon race that 'an excess of industry, 'temperate labour,' is one of its most prominent characteristics (A. Wylie, Labour, Leisure, and Luxury, new ed., London, 1857, p. 19). Christian moderation implies such self-restraint in the matter of labour as will give fair play to the faculties, spiritual and mental, which are not absorbed in the business of life (on this point W. Law writes suggestively in his Serious Call, London, 1772, ch. iv.). On the other hand, pleasure

worship is a more obvious peril of our time. In every class there are multitudes who are 'lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God' (2 Ti 3, 2, and the result is seen in a wide-spread enfeeb

lement of will and conscience. Recreation is, of course, a duty which we owe to ourselves, and the distinctly implied in the Fourth Commandment, and there is a virtue concerned with the due regul

ation of the natural desire for relief from labor.

'Laudem diei est quemmodus retinendum' (Gen. de Off. l. 29; cf. 34).

We can scarcely on this point improve upon the maxim of Aristotle, that in determining the right mean in such matters tacet alone (τακτακτῶν), can decide, i.e. a sense of fitness trained by exercise and reflexion. Aquinas points out that, as there can be sinful excess in the matter of amusement, there may be a wrong defect, for a man in social intercourse must 'show himself friendly' (1 Pa 135).

'It is contrary to reason for a man to make himself licentious to others, taking no pains to please them and even hindering their pleasures' (Summa, n. ii. 155. 4 resp).

Still, since the pursuit of a point is to be sought with a view to labour (Arist. Eth. Nic. x. 8, 6: ταμεννέωs δέωs στοιχείων), happiness does not consist in amusement, and to make a serious business of it is 'foolish and unchristian' (cf. 1 Thess. iv. 13). One of the chief things that was the Puritans of the 17th. cent. lacked. They were credited with the opinion that 'no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion' (see the Declaration of Charles I. of 18th Oct. 1653, which may be found in H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, Documents illustrative of Eng. Church Hist., London, 1806, p. 528 ff.). The Puritan, says J. R. Green, lacked 'all sense of measure and proportion in common matters,' John Bunyan's sin which 'he could not let go' was 'a love of hockey and of dancing on the village green.' It was in the midst of 'a game of cat,' the converting voice 'did suddenly dart' into his soul (Green, v. 105 f.).

(4) The virtue of moderation finally finds scope in the situation of external apparel, furniture, and other conveniences of life (cf. Cic. de Off. l. 39): 'edem mediocritas ad omnem usum cultuque vitae transferenda est'; see also i. 35, and cf. Basil, Hom. de Humilitate, viii., and Ambrose, de Octos. (or de Contem. 37) remarks that he who has a good behaviour in voice, appearance, and gait, cannot est esse τακτος δεως στοιχείων τοις μικροσχολοις, which, for urbanscout or combat it might be a fair Latin equivalent. Ambrose says, 'omnem sibi moderationem cum se habere' (De Off. Mor. 39) that the words express the idea of a middle between the extremes of too much grace and too great a self-sufficiency.
Off. Min. i. 18). We may note that the word *moderatio* is applied to the dress of women (1 Ti 2:9), and a similar expression, *et sanctitatem respectus*, is found in Tit. 2:12. The principle implied seems to be that of making the dress suited to the station or office in life, or to the occupation in which he may have to be engaged (work, or recreation, or worship). Law goes to the root of the matter when he represents *Paterius* as advising his son on these points:

*Let your dress be sober, clean, and modest, not to set out whatever is of adornment, but to shew the sanctity of your mind, that your outward garb may resemble the inward purity and simplicity of your heart. For it is highly reasonable, that you should be one mean, all of a piece, and appear outwardly as you are inwardly.* *(Serious Call, ch. xvii.) As to the dress of women see what is said of *Miraucta.* (ch. it.).

It may be objected that this entire account of *moderation* is somewhat arbitrary. The fact is that moralists have evidently found difficulty in distinguishing between the different spheres of action in which the principles of holiness or sobriety or temperance or moderation are to be applied. There is, however, practical convenience in following the line suggested by Aquinas. He may be criticized as over-systematist, but we need not suppose that his classification is intended to be exhaustive. The virtue which *in minimis modum ponit* will be differently estimated according to the various circumstances in which it is brought into exercise. We need only remind ourselves that it is essentially necessary, if a man is to lead an inwardly pure life, to avoid excess in any direction; to be neither neglectful nor over-wary; to make provision to meet both the one and the other danger. The whole life of a saint should be a form of that beautiful *moderation* which Wilson describes in *Sacra Privata* (ed. Oxford, 1849, p. 41 [Works, v. 31]) as the way of an happy life:

*Lay nothing too much to heart; desire nothing too eagerly; rejoice not excessively, nor grieve too much for disasters; be not violently bent on any design; nor let any worldly cares hinder you from taking care of your soul; and remember, that it is necessary to be a Christian (that is, to govern one's self by motives of Christianity) in the most common actions of civilization, sobriety, and temperance.*

It remains to add that the word *moderation* occurs in AV only in Ph 4:8 (*et tempus*). In RV the word is translated *forbearance.* The grace which St. Paul has in mind—*considerateness* or *moderation*—is, of course, a form of that beautiful *moderation* which Wilson describes in *Sacra Privata* (ed. Oxford, 1849, p. 41 [Works, v. 31]) as the way of an happy life:

*A uxor, non alia. Modestia, quae cum sum estiam sui juris rebus, nihil sit usurpata, nihil videlicet, et quondammodo intras vires suas contractor, dives est apud Deum.*

*Litteratur.—Ambrose, *de Offic.] Minister, i.; Thomas Aquinas, *De Magistro, viii.*

MODERATION.—See EVANGELICALISM.

MODERNISM.—Modernism is the name given by the papal encyclical which condemned it to a complex of movements within the Roman Communion, all alike inspired by a desire to bring the tradition of Christian belief and practice into closer relation with the intellectual habits and social aspirations of our own time. These movements cannot be grouped and, for the most part, in entire independence of one another during the last decade of the 19th century. Since they had thus a common inspiration and a common purpose, it was reasonable that the authority which condemned them should unite them under a common designation in a common censure. Yet it is necessary to insist that, in the earlier stages of their development, the various movements grouped together and logically correlated by the author of the encyclical *Pascendi* had little or no conscious connection, and, indeed, most of them had never heard of each other. The internal pressure of adversity that gradually forced them at a later period into mutual relations of a more intimate kind.

It may be well in the first place to sketch briefly the history of this complex movement as a whole, and then to give some account of the various forms which it has assumed. These may perhaps be treated most conveniently under the heads of (a) apologetic, (b) historical criticism, and (c) ecclesiastical and social reform.

1. History.—It must not be forgotten that the Vatican Decrees were the result of a liberal movement in the Church. For its founders, or at any rate for most of them, Ultramontanism was the vision of a Roman Catholicism freed from the entanglements of ancient dynastic contentions and in its new independence pledged to the spiritual leadership of the rising democracies. It was natural that the movement should find its fruitful seed-bed in the countries which had yielded most readily to the call of the Revolution—France, Belgium, ors.

The consolidation of the spiritual empire of the papacy was to be achieved by other instruments and in another spirit. The Council of the Vatican seemed, both to the victors and to the vanquished, to be the definite repudiation of the generous dreams which had made it possible. Its reactionary character was accentuated by contemporary happenings—the consolidation of the Italian kingdom at the expense of the temporal power, and the establishment of the Third Republic in France. Yet, in fact, a new era had dawned. Both in the intellectual and in the political spheres new and strange problems urgently demanded the attention of Roman Catholic scholars and thinkers. Many among them felt that the Church was in danger of being paralyzed by the Syllabus and the Vatican decrees, and were resolved that this danger must at all costs be averted. The accession of Leo XIII in 1878 seemed to give them their opportunity. In his numerous encyclicals, while conservative and traditional in tone and perhaps still more so in intention, were nevertheless so accentuated as to be capable of being turned to account by the progressives. Of these encyclicals, three may be specially recalled: *Etiam Patris* (4th Aug. 1878), which enjoined a return to the traditional metaphysics of St. Thomas Aquinas as the necessary foundation for the demonstration of the chief points of Christian belief; *Breviarum Novarum* (15th May 1891), which dealt with the condition of the working classes; and *Presidentissimus Deus* (18th Nov. 1893), which expressly condemned *disquieting tendencies* in Biblical interpretation, which, if they prevailed, could not fail to destroy the inspired and supernatural character of Holy Scripture. The warnings and counsels contained in these documents were resumed and reinforced in a further encyclical, dated 8th September 1899, and addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France. It may be said that the whole history of Leo XIII's pontificate, its success and its failure, is to be found in a comparison of the last of these documents with its three predecessors. Such a comparison reveals a marked growth of authority at the development both of those new tendencies in apologetic or exegesis which it had attempted to repress and of the social action of the clergy which it had encouraged.
That alarm was not without justification. It is in France, intellectually and politically the most highly developed country of the Roman Catholic world, that the modern movement has been most clearly traced. In 1875 the French episcopate secured from the government of the Third Republic the right to establish what were practically Roman Catholic universities free from all State control. Of this new achievement the most important was the Catholic Institute of Paris, which came into existence in 1878. Among its first professors was Louis Duchesne, a scholar who, though then only thirty-five years of age, had already achieved considerable reputation as an ecclesiastical historian of wide knowledge and independent judgment. Three years afterwards one of Duchesne’s pupils, Alfred Loisy, a young priest belonging to the diocese of Chalon, was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at the Institute. Both scholars claimed the right to apply a rigorously scientific method to their respective spheres of research, the one to ecclesiastical history, the other to Biblical exegesis. Their contention was that it was not only possible, but necessary, to distinguish between the requirements of history and of faith. De- claring the method of modern scholarship to be quite different from the traditional method of Biblical interpretation, Duchesne alleged that the historical theory of Biblical legend spread over the hostility of the traditionalists, and in 1885 he was compelled to suspend for a year his course at the Institute. It was then that Loisy was described by some as having resigned his chair—a resignation which was followed by the condemnation, in the encyclical Providentissimus, of the principles of Biblical interpretation which he had upheld. During the decade of his connexion with the Institute, however, a group of scholars had been formed who, having become teachers in their turn, carried an enthusiasm for the new work initiated with the Catholic Institutes and many of the diocesan seminaries.

The new movement towards a positive theology, as it was called, had its effect also upon the lay world. The beginning of the nineties was marked in intellectual France by what Brandenberg described as ‘the bankruptcy of science.’ This meant that science had proved unequal to the needs of life, that man could not live by science alone, and that religion was coming into its own again. But, if it meant a revolt against scientific dogmatism, it meant equally a revolt against philosophic dogmatism. New tendencies in philosophy were being brought to the fore, which no longer acknowledged the will or the total activity of the human spirit the principal role in determining truth. A young Roman Catholic philosopher, Maurice Blondel, turned these new tendencies to account in the interests of Christian apologetics in a thesis entitled L’Action, sustained before the Sorbonne for his doctor’s degree on 7th June 1893. A year or two earlier, a group of young members of the university, attracted by the new spirit among the teaching clergy and prepared to find in it a promise of reconciliation between religion and contemporary knowledge and ways of thought, had founded a society which was to embrace those who had desired to retain or regain religious belief without sacrifice of intellectual honesty. The society (its title, L’Union pour l’action morale, sufficiently indicated its object) included among its members religious free-thinkers, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. On the occasion of a congress of Roman Catholic youth, held at Grenoble in May 1892, Leo XIII. had spoken a letter to the bishops of Grenoble in which he declared that it was the part of Christian wisdom to promote the co-operation of all men of goodwill, whether believers or those who, while not believers, were yet naturaliter Christiani, in the pursuit of truth. This declaration was received with enthusiasm by the members of the new Union, and its president, Paul Desjardins, sought an interview with the pope and obtained from him the assurance of his entire sympathy with the movement. Meanwhile many of the younger clergy had found in the encyclical Rerum Novarum and in Leo XIII.‘s advice to French Roman Catholics to rally to the Republic the long-awaited opportunity of religious action upon the democracy. Numerous Roman Catholic foundations were started, the democratic clergy were invited by many bishops to explain their views to the students of the diocesan seminaries, and public conferences were organized at which men of all shades of democratic opinion were welcomed.

Thus throughout the French Church a new era of intellectual and social activity seemed suddenly to have dawned under the immediate sanction of authority. Leo XIII.‘s later pronouncement, it is true, aimed at keeping in check the various phases of the complex movement which his earlier en- cyclicals had been interpreted as in some degree encouraging. Yet up to the end of his pontificate no individual condemnation had taken place, and that though it was believed that determined efforts had been made to procure the condemnation of Loisy’s first book, had not the characteristic critical studies for popular apologetic purposes in his little book L’Évangile et l’église. This book, published towards the end of 1892, was afterwards described by some as the most historical and explanatory account of the development of Christianity, and (2) a general philosophy of religion and an essay in the interpretation of dogmatic form. It was a revolt against old definitions, with a view to bringing them into agreement, by the sacrifice of the letter to the spirit, with the data of history and contemporary ways of thinking’ (BIBLE XL [1903] 50).

His treatment of the nature of ecclesiastical authority in the Autour d’un petit livre (a sequel to L’Évangile et l’église) served to demonstrate a close kinship between their own aims and methods and those of the theological reformers. Loisy had all unconsciously become the nucleating centre of a movement which had taken to all the various elements of reform and extended its ramifications throughout large sections of the Roman Catholic world.

The election of Pius X. to the papal chair was an opportunity for stern dealing with this new threat to the fyxity of Roman Catholic tradition. For some years before the death of his predecessor the peril of the new doctrines had been vehemently proclaimed by the traditional theologians, notably by C. F. Turinaz, the bishop of Nancy, and J. Fontaine of the Society of Jesus. Leo XIII. had probably no sympathy whatever with the attempted reconciliation with his sacred life, but he had himself aimed at some reconcilia- tion, and therefore shrank from direct condemnation. Pius X. had no such difficulty. Reconcilia- tion implied that tradition was perfectible, in the course of his pontificate to reconcile with the papal authority his views. Proclamations motu proprio was issued which aimed at regulating
'popular Christian action.' The war, which was to be waged during the next four years, had been declared. A varied and continued literary activity, on the one side; and repeated denunciations, on the other. Loisy indeed made a formal submission, and devoted himself in silence to the preparation of his great work on the Synoptic Gospels. But Bohlen's 'Philosophy of Action' was popularized by Lucien Laborbionnave, a priest of the Oratory, in a series of articles published for the most part in the Annales de philosophie chrétienne. When afterwards this two-sustained volumes—Essais de philosophie religieuse and Le Réalisme chrétien et l'idéalisme grec. In the Quinzaine, a review edited by Georges Foseigne, a professor of the university, another university professor, Prof. H. von Hiigel, launched a discussion of the nature of religious dogma which provoked a considerable controversy. Le Roy afterwards published, in the form of a volume entitled Dogme et critique, a collection of replies to his critics, together with the original articles. In Italy Antonio Fogazzaro, the novelist, launched a programme of ecclesiastical reform, having for its chief point the rejection of a large number of the books of the Vulgate, including the Mosaic Pentateuch and the Hexateuch. In the diocese of Ferno, continued his crusade on behalf of Christian democratic action, undismayed by numerous manifestations of hostility on the part of authority. Among his chief supporters in this crusade was Salvatore Moncini, a professor of Hebrew at Florence, who had also become known as a Biblical critic through his studies of the Psalms and of Isaiah. In England the movement was represented principally by the writings of George Tyrrell, a member of the Society of Jesus, and Friedrich von Hügel. The latter had read a paper on the question of Ultramontanism as concerned the Hexateuch at a Roman Catholic Congress held at Fribourg-in-Switzerland in 1897, which afforded ample evidence of his accurate scholarship and of the freedom of his critical method and conclusions. Since then he had been engaged on an important work on The Mystical Element of Religion (it was not published till 1908), which revealed his originality and depth as a theological philosopher, in a religious spirit, while it gave further proof of his competence as a critical historian. Meanwhile he had contributed articles to the Quinzaine, Il Rinascimento, and other Modernist reviews, notably a reply to an article by Blondel which had impugned the right of criticism to a complete autonomy in the religious domain, and a defence of critical conclusions with regard to the Pentateuch against a judgment of the papal Biblical Commission affirining its Mosaic authorship (27th June 1906). Tyrrell was already widely known for his frank and bold handling of religious difficulties, but it was his acknowledgment of the authorship of A Letter to a University Professor, which had been privately circulated, and his consequent expulsion from the Society of Jesus (Feb. 1906), that brought him to the forefront of the Modernist movement and made him its universally acknowledged leader till his death in July 1909. In Germany the movement was for the most part confined to an agitation for ecclesiastical changes. Franz Xaver von Béthmann, a professor at Freiburg-in-Breisgau, was the determined opponent of Ultramontanism. An Ultramontane be defined as 'one who places the Church before religion, who identifies the pope with the Church, who believes in the infallibility of his own conscience to the sentence of an external authority' ('Kirchenpolitische Briefe,' ii., in Allgemeine Zeitung, Supplement, 1885, no. 211; the letters were signed 'Spectator,' one of the pseudonyms adopted by Kraus; another was Divinus, in the series Die Klassiker der Religion, p. 39, where the letter is given in full as the work of Kraus). Kraus, however, died in 1905, too early to be involved in the Petition and the project of a Neer-versions. Herrmann Schell, a professor in the Theological Faculty at Würzburg, had as early as 1896 published a book entitled Katholizismus als Prinzip deutscher Volksgeist, which provoked long and bitter controversy. As a result certain bishops of Northern Germany forbade their priests to attend his lectures. Two years afterwards controversy was renewed over Bollell's views on eternal punish-ment, and four of his books were placed on the Index. Schell made a formal submission after receiving an assurance from the bishop and the Theological Faculty of Würzburg that such submission did not imply any sacrifice of conviction on his part. But he withdrew none of the condemned books from circulation, and continued till his death in 1906 to be the leader of a strong liberal movement in German Catholicism. Of his most influential disciples were Albert Ehrhard of Strassburg, Joseph Schmitz of Munich, and Hugo Koch of Braunsberg.

Pius X. did not fail to reply to the growing menace of the Modernist movement. During the years 1905-06 he issued a series of encyclicals in condemnation of the Christian Democratic movement in Italy. Another series of decisions by the Biblical Commission which Leo XIII. had appointed in 1902 reproved the audacities of criticism in questioning accepted beliefs as to the authorship and authenticity of certain books of Scripture. In April 1906 the Congregation of the Index condemned the Congregation of the Index, the Pontifical Academy of Science, and the Pontifical Biblical Commission of the Holy See, and for the first time condemned the Modernists who had been launched at the beginning of the year. The Cardinal Prefect's letter was remarkable not only for the strong terms in which it denounced the review as 'notoriously opposed to Catholic spirit and teaching,' but also because it took the unusual course of expressly naming certain writers—Fogazzaro, Tyrrell, von Hügel, and Murri. In May the cardinal of Paris, inspired, no doubt, by similar action on the part of the Cardinal Viar, prohibited the reading of Le Roy's Dogme et critique, and at the same time forbade any priest in his diocese to collaborate in Loisy's Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. The professors of the Catholic Institute of Paris were at the same time forbidden by the bishops who controlled that seat of learning to contribute to the Revue. Domains, a review in which Loisy had been founded at Lyons in 1905. In June Pius X., in a letter of felicitation to Ernst Commen, a professor at Vienna, who had written an attack upon the theology of Hermann Schell, described those who had projected a movement to sickness and conservatism as 'either ignorant of Catholicism or rebels against the authority of the Holy See,' though among them were the archbishop of Bamberg and the bishop of Padua. By this long series of censures the way was...
prepared for a more stringent and inclusive condemnation of all the various heresies, exegetic, apologetic, philosophical, and social, that were troubling the Roman Catholic world. That condemnation was pronounced in the decree of the Inquisition, Lamentabili semel actu, dated 3rd July 1907, and the encyclical Pascendi Dominici gregis, of 8th September in the same year. The decree Lamentabili was a mere collection of sixty-five propositions which were condemned. No indication was given of the sources from which they had been derived, and no writer was condemned by name, but thirty-eight of the propositions were directly concerned with Biblical criticism, and Leisy, in some notes on the decree which he published at the beginning of the following year, accepted its condemnation as directed in large measure against himself. The encyclical Pascendi was a document of much greater importance, and was recognized as such by the leading Modernists. Tyrrell met it with vigorous criticism and open defiance in two articles which appeared in the Times on 26th September and 1st October, in the full knowledge that he was exposing himself to the severest censures of the Church. On 28th October a more detailed reply was published in Rome by the Secretariat of Christian Liberty and anti-modernism. The encyclical had deduced from an unsound philosophical principle all the various errors which it grouped together under the name of Modernism, and had linked these conclusions of the Modernists with regard to history, dogma, and the Bible were all the necessary result of an erroneous philosophy. To this the Programme replied that it was, on the contrary, the undeniable results of an historic criticism that had made necessary a new apologie of some kind.

The attitude of Tyrrell and of the authors of the Programme revealed a determination to resist the attack of authority. The watchword of this resistance was to be 'No schism.' Even if excommunicated, the Modernist leaders were resolved to claim their inalienable right of spiritual domicile within the Church. Authority sought to cut them off from its outward communion, but could not affect their inward communion with it. Tyrrell expounded the new policy in an article contributed to the Grundrisse and remarked, 'this, his death was its most consistent adherent. But the difficulty of giving effect to the policy soon became apparent. The chief difficulty lay in the economic dependence of the Modernist clergy, which prevented their action. On the other hand, the publication of the Programme, e.g., the reading of the book was forbidden to the faithful and its authors were excommunicated. But, as they still remained anonymous, the effect of their protest upon the outer world was largely discounted. Yet it was in Italy that resistance to the encyclical was most obstinate and prolonged. In spite of the asiduous suppression of Modernist journals, both scientific and social, new ones continually appeared in that country. Among these the most influential was Nova et vetera, founded in January 1908, in which were published theological views of a decidedly negative character, such as found expression in the Lettere di un prete modernista, published at Rome in the same year, began to appear. More under the title of Pascendi and remarks on the leaders who had appeared in the open. Leisy was formally excommunicated on 7th March 1908. The same sentence was pronounced against Murri, who had been elected as a deputy to the Italian Chamber, on 22d March. Ducez, whose name had been deprived of the sacraments on 22nd October 1907. The same fate befell Schnitzer at the beginning of February 1908. Minocchi was suspended as a divinis in January of the same year, and in the following October voluntarily withdrew into secular life. This series of personal condemnations was followed up and completed by a blow aimed at the Christian Social movement in France. The Sillon, the organ of the movement, was formally condemned on 25th August, and its promoters ordered to work henceforward for social reform under the direction of their respective bishops. Marc Sangnier, the lay leader of the movement, was arrested by the minister, and his被捕, his prominent clerical representative, withdrew into secular life.

The various measures of repression set forth in the encyclical Pascendi having failed, after a lengthened trial, to produce the desired effect, Pius X, issued, on 1st September 1910, the motu proprio Sacrorum Antistitum, in which he enjoined the imposition of a special oath of adhesion to all the condemnations, declarations, and prescriptions contained in the encyclical Pascendi and the decree Lamentabili upon all professors of seminaries and Roman Catholic universities and institutes on admission to their offices and upon all ordinands. It fell, however, not to a priest or even to a layman, but to a woman, to make a protest against what she conceived to be a violation of Christian liberty. The leader of the anti-modernists, Dr. de Chateauroux, was excommunicated. Tyrrell, having been called upon by the bishop of the diocese in which he resided to subscribe to the condemnations contained in the encyclical Pascendi and the declaration of the bishops of Grenoble against the admission of her admission to the sacraments, refused to do so on the ground that such subscription would imply a readiness to defend, if necessary with her life, every word of those documents as being equally important for faith with the Apostles' Creed itself. About the same time an anonymous document, purporting to represent the views of a numerous group of ecclesiastics belonging to all the French dioceses and to the Parisian newspaper, the Sècle. It contained a declaration that its authors desired, before taking the oath under constraint, to protest before God and the Church that they did not regard their act of submission as in any way binding upon their consciences or as implying any modification of their opinions. Whether with this reservation or not, the anti-modernists were overthrown by most of those suspected of being Modernists, and the history of Modernism as an open movement in the Roman Catholic Church had come to an end.

2. Forms.—(a) Apologetic of immunacy.—It was the aim of the philosophic Modernists, notably of Labethomière, to establish the cardinal points of Christian belief by the aid of the modern evolutionary or dynamic view of the universe. That involved a departure from the traditional scholastic method of apologetics. But they did not abandon scholasticism arbitrarily, simply because it was old. On the contrary, it was their sincere belief that the Aristotelian metaphysic and logic utilized by the scholastic theologians provided a less perfect instrument for the illustration and defence of spiritual truth than the more modern conceptions of life. It is, e.g., an essential part of Christian belief that God is personal and that He is Creator. But it is only in the light of a dynamism that this affirmation of the divine nature and the full significance of these affirmations is disclosed. The God of Aristotle was a logical abstraction, the ultimate idea. Creation was but the logical derivation of the divine idea in specific forms toward which the real world of phenomena was in no sense a productive effort realizing new life. But that is just what the Christian belief demands. For it God is the sovereign source of power, and that power goes forth, must be its very
nature go forth, in a real creative effort issuing in new life independent of and yet closely united with its source. And the very essence of that new life is again real creative; for action is always creative, an extension of life beyond itself, its prolongation into another life, not itself, of which it remains the constitutive principle. Thus creation, as the divine works of the reality introducing itself into the world and becoming immaterial in it. And this act of creation is the act of the divine love by which God is eternally pledged to His works, being self-conscious in man, needs and can receive His grace. Again, as Laberthonnierre points out, it is just because God is not the 'pure act' of Aristotle, but the power which His own nature acts continuously, that we can conceive of a plurality, a society engendered within the unity of His own Being. The doctrine of the Trinity assumes a vital and not a merely formal character.

Thus the reality which we assign to life, because we already feel it there, is itself the motive of our belief in the personality of God. That personality is not a mere idea to which we attain by logical inference, but a fact deducible from our total experience of life as free creative action. That experience implies a more or less conscious communion of each separate creative unit with an original indwelling essence, and of all the units with one another in and through that life. All the terms which this essentially religious experience has formulated to express it—communication, inspiration, revelation, faith, judgment—liken a concretely personal character in God. On the other hand, these terms, when interpreted to us and by us through the logical abstractions of the Aristotelian metaphysical, lose much of their distinctive religious significance. The conception of faith, e.g., as an assent of the intelligence to the truth acquired extrinsically, by the teaching of a divinely deputed authority, fails to do justice to its concrete reality as an act of faith. For faith is an immediate response of the whole personal nature to the personal divine action upon it, a response in virtue of which it recognizes authority and the measure in which authority meditates the divine action to it. The intellectual element in faith exists, but it exists as a derivative from some profounder and more vital action of faith. So, again, revelation, when conceived as the final and immediate impact of extrinsic truths upon the intellect from without, is shorn of much of its religious character. And, in such a revelation need not be religious at all. The real concrete revelation of God is to the whole personal nature apprehending His action upon it. And the perfect instruments of that revelation are Christ, the Incarnate Word, and the life of His Church in so far as it is a real extension of His life. The thought of the Church, its dogmas, its truths—statements, are but the partial and ever-perfectible translation in terms of one aspect of man's activity, his power of intellectually apprehending reality, of its living apprehension of God in Christ. Thus even the Gospels themselves are not a completed revelation. They indeed enshrine the perfect revelation of the Christ-life. But that revelation can be apprehended only in proportion as it is lived, and by those by whom it is lived. The Gospels were but the earliest attempt of those who had lived it to read and interpret its mysteries. Thus history is not of merely accidental importance to the reality, but is, on the contrary, of its essence. As Laberthonnierre frequently puts it, Christianity has dared to conceive of God sub specie temporis. God condescends to weave the same creative, vital, creative, action with manifold hands. The divine inspiration of each individual life is a free product of the total inspiration of past humanity and a contribution towards all future inspiration. So tradition acquires a vital, and not a merely formal reality.

(b) Historical criticism.—It was the aim of the philosophical Modernist to vindicate the Church as the supreme organ of the vital religious tradition of mankind. The Modernist theory is to do the same thing in his own special field of study. The orthodox apologist, grounding himself on the closed character of revelation as imperfectible truth, and assuming practically final identity of the dogmatic statements of the Church to-day with the Scriptural revelation. For the historian, however, the admission of such final identity was impossible. The development of dogma from the most general to the most exact forms of statement, from the simplest to the most complex and detailed forms, was a fact of history. As a historian, the Modernist had merely to trace the development and expose its character. But, as a Christian apologist (the rôle which alone constituted him a Modernist), he had to undertake the much more difficult task of reconciling this development of dogma with its permanent truth-value. This he attempted to do by distinguishing between the spirit and the form of each dogmatic statement, ascribing to the former an absolute and permanent, to the latter a merely relative, instrumental, and mutable value. For such apologists such apologists meant its witness to some aspect of religious experience which was necessary to the reality of the religious life, and therefore universal or capable of being universal. But that witness could pass current between mind and mind only by the aid of some intellectual symbol capable of suggesting the actually experienced reality. Such symbols, necessarily shaped by the intellectual methods and habits of their period of growth, were clearly perfectible. But the growth of dogma was something more, and more truly spiritual, than an organic, than a merely factual reality, as he consciously and from without, of more perfect thought-forms to a constant experience. For thought reacts upon life, the clear perception of an experience upon the experience itself, enlarging and deepening its import. And so many of the Modernist apologists were ready to find in the more developed forms of dogma a fuller expression of its spirit, the experienced reality actually deepened by the more adequate forms. This new method of treatment was applied by the Modernist historian to the growth of ecclesiastical government and institutions and all the formal aspects of the Church's life. As a historian, he had to deny the orthodox contention that the actual fabric of Church order had been instituted by Christ Himself. But he claimed that the Church as a society had grown out of the spirit of Christ, and that each stage in the evolution of its order could be shown to have been the necessary means, under the circumstances of its particular historical moment, of preserving or extending the operation of that spirit.

(c) Ecclesiastical and social reform.—Yet the movement did not propose simply to divinize the existing Church. Her actual institutions came into existence in a divine movement in response to the needs of the spirit then operating within her. But to-day those institutions may be suffocating her true life. They may even, as Pogazzaro's saint suggests, be introducing false and destructive spirits into her system—"the spirit of falsehood, the spirit of clerical domination, the spirit of avarice, the spirit of immobility" (Il Santo, pp. 336-342). Yet none of the chief Modernist writers can be said to have drawn up any definite scheme of ecclesiastical reform. They urge rather
that Church authority should remember of what spirit it is, what spirit it exists to serve and extend.

The Church is the hierarchy with its traditional concepts, and it is the world with its continuous hold upon reality, with its continuous reaction upon tradition; the Church is official theology, and the lectern, the plenary of Divine truth which rests upon official theology; the Church does not die, the Church reigns. In the heart more than anywhere to its life the Living Christ, the Church is a laboratory of truth in continuous action (ib. p. 255).

Of the theory by such a conception of her character and mission will the Church discover what reforms she needs to make her equal to both in the profoundly changed circumstances of contemporary life. It is the conception which has inspired the Modernist social reformer also. He has aimed at making Christianity the leaven of national, political, social, and economic life, and therefore the principle of a large, and humane, life which may embrace and harmonize all these. He has conceived of the Church as an instrument of world-civilization rather than of world-renunciation, and of world-renunciation only in so far as it is involved in and necessary to a genuine world-civilization. And so he has tried to understand sympathetically and to cooperate with all the generous hopes and adventures of the modern democrat, democrat whatever his Churchmen be, or among those who are outside the Church's pale. It has been perhaps the chief burden of his offence in the eyes of authority. The Modernist social reformer, one of the chief ecclesiastical reformers in thinking that the Church needs especially to be saved from the danger of becoming increasingly a clerical autocracy, exacting from the laity as the sum of their duty a passive submission to its decrees. It may be said in conclusion that the one purpose which was common to all the allied but independent movements grouped together under the name of Modernism was the self-reform of the Church, a reform inspired by belief in life, in the totality of human action, as it is most likely to provoke man's need of God and to ensure a genuine satisfaction of that need—a reform, therefore, which was to be sought along the lines of contemporary thought and action. It was a generous purpose, arising out of a genuine revival of intelligent religious thought and activity, taking both a different view of the religious needs of the time and of the method of their due satisfaction, has succeeded in suppressing the open activity of the movement, as yet insufficient to predict its ultimate success or failure. One thing, however, may with some confidence be asserted, viz. that its apparent failure for the moment has been due less to the action of authority than to the prevailing lack of interest among the Latin peoples in thought about or discussion of religious questions. If that interest should ever be revived, it is certain that it will demand and procure throughout the Latin churches reforms similar in inspiration, in range, and in effect to those for which the Modernist leaders contended during the last decade of the 19th. and the first decade of the 20th.


The chief pontifical condemnations are conveniently given in J. J. Thottgen, 1908, 83, 1912, 83. Cyslishine, 401-406, (Lemestable), 307-2120 (Pascendi), 214-47 (anti-Modernist oath); and all the documents are collected by A. Vemerech, De Modernism, in CEK, 1911, 415-442.

A. L. LILEY.

MOGGALLANA. Moggallana was one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. He was a Brahman by birth, and his mother's name is given in the Divyavadana (p. 82) and Bhadra-kanya. Moggallana is a friend and a young Brahman from a neighbouring village, had become 'Wanderer' (paribbdjakid) under Sanjaya. He had given his word that he first to find 'ambrosia' should tell the other. One day his friend, Sariputta, saw Assaji, another Wanderer, passing through the royal park, and Sariputta went to him and, after compliments he had exchanged, asked him if he was the teacher and what was the doctrine he professed, seeing that his miles was no serene, his countenance so bright and clear.

There is a great many references of the sense of the Sutta, who has gone forth from the Sīkṣa cha. He is my teacher; It is his doctrinal reform! was the reply of Assaji to the question of the doctrine? asked Sariputta. I am not a novice, only lately gone forth. In detail I can not explain, but I can tell you the meaning of it in brief. Assaji told him that what he wanted the spirit, not the letter, of the doctrine. Theo Assaji quoted a verse: 'Of all phenomena sprung from a cause The Teacher the cause hath told And he tells also, how each shall come to its end, For such is the word of the Sage.'

On hearing this verse Sariputta asked: 'the pure eye for the truth this'; that is, the knowledge that whatsoever is subject to the condition of having an origin is subject also to the condition of passing away. (This is the stock phrase in the early Buddhist books for conversion). He at once acknowledged that this was the doctrine that he had sought for so long a time in vain. He went immediately to Moggallana, and told him that he had found the ambrosia, and, when he explained how this was, Moggallana agreed with him in the view that he had taken, and they both went to the Buddha and were admitted into his order.

The story here summarized is repeated, in almost identical terms, in various commentaries. It is curious in two ways. In the first place, who, on being asked to give the spirit of the Buddhist doctrine in a few words, would choose the words of Assaji's verse? One may search in vain most manuals of Buddhism to find any mention of the point raised in the verse; and yet the verse has been so frequently found on tablets and monuments in India that Anglo-Indians are wont to call it, somewhat extravagantly, 'the Buddhist creed.' The Buddhists, of course, have no creed in the European sense of that word, but any one who should draw up one for them ought to include in it a clause on this matter of causation. The quotation may very well have made a special impression upon Sariputta and Moggallana. They had already obtained the solution of the unsatisfactory, inexpedient solution of the problems of life, and were seeking for something more satisfactory than the vague hints now to be found only in later passages, such as Āditi 19, where the ambrosia is reduced to a mystic connexion with cause and with passing life. 1 Pinaya, ed. H. Oldenberg, i. 85-94; translated in Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, The Literature of India, London, 1899; and in Edgsworthy, The History of Buddhism, London, 1907, p. 149; Agastīyāra, ed. 1. 83, etc.

1 It is not stated that he was the same as the Sañjāyā of Dipika, i. 58, the famous 'ed-vigreya,' who was the author of the Kārttikā Com. on verses 107; Syllabus of Buddhist literature, Ceylon, p. 1011; Agastīyāra Com. on i. 83, etc.

But see the following works in C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, London, 1912, pp. 78-106.
MOGGALLANA

away. Here, in this new theory of causation, was a quite different view of things, which seemed to these inquirers to meet the case.

It is also, at first sight, a view that they should have called this particular doctrine "ambrosia (anata). Though this expression was no doubt first used of the drink that preserved the gods from death, it must before the rise of Buddhism have acquired a wider employment as the secondary meaning of salvation as being the ineffably sweet. It is true that the other idea of salvation, as being a deliverance (from evil, or from the eternal round of births and rebirths), is also found in pre-Buddhistic works (see Mokṣa). But it was natural, in the beginnings of speculation, to have varying attempts at the expression in words of so complicated a conception; and it is improbable that the early Buddhists invented such a phrase as ambrosia, connoting, as it does, so much of the earlier polytheism.

Moggallana is frequently mentioned in the canon, and usually with the epithet Mahā ("the Great"). A number of verses ascribed to him, including one long poem and several shorter ones, are preserved in the anthology called Therāgathā ("The Early Buddhists"). This anthology is curiously silent about him; but a whole book is ascribed to him in the Snīṇyuttā; 4 and about two score of passages in the Majjhima and the Aṅguttara, and in the Sutta-Nipāta, record acts done or words spoken by him. 5 We need not give the details of these passages. The general result of them is that he was considered by the men who composed them to have been a master of the philosophy and of the psychological ethics, and especially of the deeper and more mystical sides, of the teaching. There is, e.g., an interesting passage where the Buddha compares Sāriputta with Moggallana:

1 Like a woman who gives birth to a son, brethren, is Sāriputta to a young disciple, like a master who trains a boy so is Moggallana. Sāriputta leads him on; in conversion, Mogallana to the highest truth. But Sāriputta can set forth the four Aryan Truths and teach them, and make others understand them and stand firm in them, he can explain and elucidate them.

In one characteristic Moggallana is stated to have been supreme over all the other disciples. This is in the power of iddhi ("potency"). Both word and idea are older than the rise of Buddhism; and the meaning is vague. The early Buddhists, trying to give it a name, afterward developed the old two classes of iddhi—those, lower, intoxicating, ignoble; the other, higher, temperate, religious. The former has preserved itself: it is a belief common among the people, the latter the modification which the Buddhists sought to make it. The former reminds us of the mana of the South Seas, or the orakoa of some American tribes, or sometimes of the strange accomplishments of a spiritualistic medium. Birds have iddhi, with especial reference to their mysterious power of flight. Kings have iddhi 6 of four kinds (differently explained at Dīgha, ii. 171 and Āṭṭhakathā, iii. 454). It is by the iddhi of a hunter that he succeeds in the chase. 7 Iddhi is the explanation of the luxury and prosperity of a young chief. 8 By iddhi one may have the facility of levitation, or of projecting an image of oneself to a distant spot, or of becoming invisible, or of walking on water, or of passing through walls, or of visiting dead souls in their various abodes. All these are worldly iddhi, the iddhi of an unconverted man. That of the converted, awakened man is self-mastery, equanimity. 9 Both these kinds of potency were regarded as natural, that is, neither of them according to Indian thought, what we should call supernatural. And neither of them, in Buddhist thought, was animistic, that is, either dependent upon or involving the belief in a soul as existing within the human body.

In both these respects of iddhi, the worldly and the spiritual, Moggallana, in the oldest records, is regarded as pre-eminent. An amusing and edifying story is preserved of the way in which, like an ancient St. Dunstan, he outwits the Evil One. 3 We are also told how, in order to attract the attention of the gods to the very elementary exposition of ethics that he thought suitable to their intelligence, he shook with his great toe the pinacles of the palaces of heaven. 4 Other instances of Moggallana's instructing the gods are given in the Snīṇyuttā; cf. the passage just above, and in the Aṅguttara (iii. 311, iv. 55), while two anthologies, probably the latest and certainly the dreariest books in the canon, the Vinnāna Vatthu, consist entirely of short poems describing interviews which Moggallana is supposed to have had with spirits in the various heavens and purgatories.

Most of the episodes in which Moggallana figures are localized, that is, the place where the incident or conversation took place is mentioned by name. The names are very varied, and it is clear that no one place could be regarded as his permanent residence.

Tradition has preserved no further account of his life, but the manner of his death is explained in two commentaries, the two accounts being nearly identical. 8 Both Sāriputta and Moggallana died in the November of the year before the Buddha's death, just before the Buddha started on his last journey. 9 Sāriputta died a natural death; Moggallana, it is said, was murdered, at the instigation of certain jealous Jain monks, by a bandit named Samāna-gutta, at the Black Rock cave on the Isigili Hill near Rājagaha.

When Cunningham opened the two boxes (memorial and one) at Sākā, he found in them, and in the two boxes containing fragments of bone and inscribed respectively 'Of Sāriputta' and 'Of Moggallana the Great' in Pali letters of Asoka's time. A similar discovery was made in the neighbouring group of boxes at Sākā. 8 It is evident that more than two centuries after their death the memory of the two chief disciples had not yet died out in the community, and that the Buddhist laity who erected these monuments considered it suitable that their supposed relics should be enshrined in the same tomb.

The name Moggallana was occasionally adopted as their name in religion by candidates for the order until the 12th cent. of our era. The belief that the power of iddhi had been actually exercised by Moggallana the Great and others in the ancient days is still held by those of the orthodox who adhere to the ancient tradition, though, except as practised long ago, the belief in it soon died out. There is no evidence, later than the canon, of any

1 The stock passages are at Dīgha, i. 58; Majjhima, l. 34; 484; Aṅguttara, ii. 301; 17. 28.
2 Dīgha, iii. 115, 118.
3 Āṭṭhakathā, i. 328; Dhammapada Com. I. 65. 66.
4 Jātaka Com. i. 320.
6 J. B. P. 49.

1 Moggallana is mentioned as his name in religion by candidates for the order until the 12th cent. of our era. The belief that the power of iddhi had been actually exercised by Moggallana the Great and others in the ancient days is still held by those of the orthodox who adhere to the ancient tradition, though, except as practised long ago, the belief in it soon died out. There is no evidence, later than the canon, of any
contemporary cases of the lower, worldly ṛidhi of the unconverted man.


MOKSA (Sk., also mukti) and VIMUTTI (Pāli, also viṃ搞kha).—These terms, other prefixes being sometimes substituted, are all derivatives from ‘auch,’ ‘to let go,’ ‘discharge,’ ‘release,’ and, with varying import, are identical in primary meaning, with our ‘liberation,’ ‘emanation,’ ‘freedom,’ ‘liberty,’ ‘release.’ Whichever equivalent he selected, the inquirer may start with two general way-marks. In the first place, the concept in question has a negative side, viz., a having got loose from, or rid of, and a positive side, viz., the comfort, or general sense of expanded outlook, calm, security, attainment, power to be and do, with no care at all. The latter from were free in some cases too costly a gain. If these two aspects be held together in the mind, then the common terms for them, stated above, may—and this is the second way-mark—be considered as, more perhaps than any other idea, the pith and kernel of the religious faiths of India, and as coming nearer to the Christian ‘salvation’ than any other. It should, however, be added that the concept grew with the development of emancipation, by no means always and everywhere given this paramount emphasis and importance. Awareness of emancipation as such, or of its absence and desirability, is not patent in the earliest recorded expressions of the Indian mind. The vital importance of solidarity, either with tribal custom and convention or with the decrees and the very life of his gods, is far more pressing on the man of primitive culture than is any revolt or self-exclusion from, or independence of, any order or destiny, socially or divinely imposed on all. Moreover, the particular development of the riddances that had in time to be generalized under a common notion varied in kind. Before making good these general considerations by analysis, it may be well to guard the reader of translations from Indian literature against gaining an inaccurate idea of the frequency of allusions to freedom, etc. Perhaps no language is as rich in privative or negative inflexions as is that of the Indian classics, whether it be Vedic, Pātrik, Pāli, or Sanskrit. We have ourselves a few terms where the negative form exceeds, in inspiring emphasis, the positive form—e.g., independence, infinite, immortality, etc. Such terms are very numerous in Indian literature, and it often happens, notably in translations by Max Müller and Faubhūlā, that, to give the force or elegance of the originals, words with a negative prefix—a, it, vi, rendered by ‘free from,’ and even ‘freedom from.’ Thus we find such renderings as ‘ā-sūrya (‘from the sun’),’ ‘ā-pāvina (‘from the fire’),’ ‘ā-bhūt (‘from grief’),’ ‘ā-sūka (‘from desire’),’ ‘ā-thāma (‘from the body’),’ ‘ā-vati (‘free from decay, death’),’ ‘ā-vi (‘from the body’),’ ‘ā-nāma (‘from many others, notably, ‘being free from good and freed from evil’),’ ‘ā-bhūti (‘from expectation, i.e., ‘unshod from (1) the well-done and the ill-done, in other words, rid of the effects of his actions or karma’ (Katharma Uv. xiv, i, 14). Many other ‘liberties’ taken by the lavish use of ‘free from’ or ‘free from’ also have this peculiarity. They are among the most frequent in an archaic account of sanātana, or transmission. Now, it is true that the words, or moksa, concept centres in the release of the soul or self, not only from this body, but also from all future bodies. But the only term expressive of release here is the translation ‘free from’ or ‘depart from’ or ‘go away from’ in the language, the leaving or erasing of the moon, it passes him on’ (cātarṣa), i.e., he does not return to be reborn on earth. This, however, is by no means the general rule. Further on, in 11. 7, in an ancient aureole-hymn occurs the unique appellation ‘siva’ (‘twister’ or ‘turner’): ‘Thou art the twister that twisteth about the universe’ (sākrtā nāma). This is translated (6x): ‘Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.’ In the Tattvartha, in 1. 1, in the A-hrjuttara (189), the ‘Twister’ is called ‘the true, truly, spritly, he saves himself,’ in the Bhāratarāgaḥa Upanishad, iv. 43, Regional renders aparākara (M. Müller: satisfied, pleased), 1895-96 (PTS); in the Chāndogya Upanishad, viii. 1, 6, the words rendered freedom in all the four senses, as they list (kāmakānaḥ); and in the Mṛgavās Upanishad, i. 2, 6, had obtained freedom from all desires (M. Müller) is, in the original, ‘had turned to renunciation’ (Deussen). It was very possible that the translators were encouraged in this task by consulting the medieval commentaries of Saṅkhya, in whose philosophy moksa was a well-evolved concept, and who uses it liberally in his paraphrases. For instance, in Rātha Upanishad, vi. 15—Nāchiketa became free from passion (śreyas) and obtained Brahman—the last clause is explained as ‘became freed’ (nātā bhāt). In being thus advised to discount much factitious emphasis laid in these ancient works on a notion that was evidently held by them that that most at least of the translations criticized render only what is really implicit in the various riddances referred to, namely, a liberty emerging through the getting detached from, or true that the Indian mind did indeed work its way to a positive concept of moksa or vimutti chiefly through an austere elimination viewed as the getting relieved of discarded hardness. Even a Buddhist commentator of probably the 5th cent. A.D. chose to define viṃkha as so-called ‘because of the being set free (viṃkha)’ from opposing things’ (Vagīśa-Pāthaitti Com.). But the state of the art of emancipation, as a conscious assurance, belong no less to that more evolved and positive side of its psychology which, in the West, is usually associated with political autonomy and social or personal self-congratulation. The freedom in which the Indian gloried was spiritual:

1) O free indeed! O gloriously free am I
In freedom from three crooked things
Ay, but I am free from rebirth and from death,
And all that dragged me back is hurled away
(Phalas of the Sutras, 11).

2) Henceforth in the real (or true) Brahman be he become perfected and another. His fruit is the extinction of bonds; without desires he attains to bliss imperishable, inmeasurable, and therein abides (Mṛgavās Upanishad, vi. 20).

3) And Kate Mātikā, ix. 1, is inclined to bring out the fact that, whereas one enters on ‘the Path’ to salvation, full of a sense of danger to get rid of, the gradual putting off of ‘fetters’ converts this consciousness into expectation of the bliss of perfected delivery, i.e. of Nirbhām. For vimutti is ‘comparable to’ Nirbhām, and ‘the holy life is planted on, and leads to and culminates in Nirbhām’ (Mājājīna, i. 104; Saṅgīta, v. 12).

There is but the faintest anticipation of this in the Vedas. The only ‘setting free’ in those pages is the resting-place (viṃkha) where horses are eased for a while from harness. Gods are called upon to deliver from sin—but it is such ‘as slings to our bodies’ (Rigveda, vi. xxv. 3; cf. iv. xxv. 9, vii. xvi. 18, vi. xii. 26, vācmanam)—and to let the enemy catch maras, but not to be slain (vii. 9). Such a prayer as ‘May I be detached from death like a gourd from its stem, but not from the immoral (aṃtya)’ (ib. 12) is the precursor of the later thought. Beyond such expressions there is no mention of freedom was, it would appear, born. The Brāhmans give, in the elaborate ritual of the altar-building, a rite to be chanted while laying the ‘bricks of saving’ (yātrā), that is, from evil 1 Hrab is a salutation just quoted concerning in an archaic account of sanātana, or transmission. Now, it is true that the words, or moksa, concept centres in the release of the soul or self, not only from this body, but also from all
and from death (Satsapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. iv. 2), but elsewhere (xlv. iii. 3) it is said that none but a brahmācharīr or religious is exempted by Brahman from death, and only on the condition that he daily lends the sacred fire. Not having any merit than in the Vedas does the grasp and realization of an emancipated consciousness appear. It is still apparently only inchoate in the Upaniṣads ranked as the highest, but the Hindu Upaniṣad is silent on the matter. In the Aitareya Aranyakā, an ancient mystic nature-monologue, there are hymns prescribed for rites proficiency in which brings the conception of all desires. These desires are emancipated—long life, luck, wealth, fame, etc.—but ‘liberty’ is not among them. Progress in spirituality is revealed in the Tattvārthā and Chāndogya Upaniṣads, but the emancipation-spirit is still immanent, as former shows the growth of it at the end of the second part:

1. He who knows the bliss of that Brahmān whence speech, whose mind turn back, not finding it... contours not himself with: ‘What good have I left undone? What evil have I done?’ He, knowing this, saves himself.

2. The other (Deussen, xiv. 2) shows a parallel growth in the parable of the man brought blindfold from his Gandhāra home into the desert, and thence, with sight restored, directed how to get it again, even if he has gained true knowledge through his teacher know that ‘I shall only so long belong to this system of rebirth till I am emancipated (ekamgej) then shall I go home’ (so Deussen).

And in the closing section the favourite simile for deliverance:

‘Freely myself from the body, as the moon frees himself from the ocean, I rejoin into the world of Brahman.’

The same simile is hinted at in the Katha Upaniṣad:

1. He who has perceived the soundless, the intangible, the eternal, the unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death (t. iii. 1).

But in the following passage (Ch. ii. v. 1) we see how the idea is finding expanded expression:

‘There is a town with seven gates of the Unborn, of thought insinuate. Whose approaches (Deussen: ‘honoured’) it, he grivces no more and, emancipated, is set free (vinnātād esa vimochhita). Verify this is that.’

From what ‘set free’ is not unambiguous (M. Mühler: bonds of ignorance; Deussen: the body), but ‘liberty’ is becoming realised as an ideal.

Turning now to the long Bhadrārayaka Upaniṣad, we come at length to an emphatic designation of certain attainments as constituting ‘liberty’. In the speech of the Vedā teacher how he who institutes a sacrifice may be freed from the influence and thraldom of death, of day and night, and of the waxing and waning moon, and how the bright worlds shall be reached up at a birth. By this or any celebrant priest are given the several replies, and to each reply is added: ‘That is liberty, that is utter liberty (a tāṇtikā śat atimukti).’ These are then termed the atimuktes.

It is noteworthy that, while these four ‘liberations’ are alone so emphasized, aspiration does not (in the adjacent section) stop at heaven. Urged by another interlocutor, a Kṣatriya, again and again, with proffered largess, to ‘speak of that higher thing which awaits for emancipation,’ Yaśuvakāiya, the Veda-teacher, finally discourses of the soul and of beholding the soul as God.

1. ‘Scarcely visible and old there lies a path
That reaches into me, was found by me,
Yet aiyā, the wise one is before me,
Far onward to the world of light, and thence
Overpassing that are utterly released’ (longāṇaṃ bhokṣaḥ dharmóstānaṃ tān śvānām).

2. ‘As the slough of a snake lies on an anthill dead and cast away, there lies this body, but that disembodied, that immortal, that life, is Brahman only, only light’ (iv. v. 3, 7).

This with its context is not designated as aitikā, or as muktikā. When we find again the snake-skin simile, in the Praṇa Upaniṣad, v. 5, where the emancipation described is that of spiritual ecstasy rather than of a disembodied spiritual unity, or full realization of the sameness, the freshness, on the one hand, is made more explicit, too, and all that, the liberation, theולימ, the Belshazzar’s ‘from evil.’ But, whether emancipation be from the power of the body during life or from the body itself and from all subsequent bodies at final death, the main position of the liberation of the soul during the early stage of Vedantist mokṣa, is, intellectually, discernment of the identity between the Absolute, Brahman or Atman, and the soul located in man, and, emotionally, the assent of that identity, peace resulting therefrom. For the individual becomes invested with the powers, negatively expressed, of the Absolute Being: undecaying, imperishable, unattached, unbound, unslumbering, etc. (Brhadārayaka Upaniṣad, iv. iv. 4).

1. If a man clearly beholds this self as lord of all that is and will be, who has entered into this patchwork being hiding-place, he is creator, maker of all, in his world, he is the world... there he is no more afraid’ (Ch. vi. 13, 15).

Proceeding to the less ancient Upaniṣads, such as may have been influenced by Buddhist and other developments, we find in the Upaniṣad of the Shavelling (Śrīdaka) the compound pari-nibbāṇa (vi. 1, 6).

‘They who have grasped the sense of Vedas, All anchorites, their longest burning
In earnest renunciation, at the final death
In Brahma-heaven become immortal, wholly freed.’

But in the Śvetāṣṭāra Upaniṣad, and the allied but perhaps still later Maitrāryaka Upaniṣad, the reader finds himself among new ideas jostling against the older ones. These are yet present—soul and Brahman, release from life and death, and knowledge as giving release—but the current has widened, if not deepened. The Theism of Yoga, the theory of separate souls and their self-emancipation from conditioned, mutable concomitants of the Sākhyā system, the critical, scientific attitude of Buddhist, and the tragic earnestness of the two former and of Jainism—all these have caused a revolution in outlook that strikes a new note at the very first words:

1. ‘Om! The Brahman teachers say: What is the primal cause, what Brahman? Whence are we?’ (Śvetāṣṭāra Upaniṣad, i. 1).

Through it all the mokṣa-idea appears as the work of a creator:

1. ‘The Deva’ or Siva (‘Lord’), ‘himself self-caused, is the first condition (the cause) of the maintenance and the movement (āthī, anahārā), the bondage and the liberation (bandha, mokṣa) of the world’ (Ch. vi. 13). To know him, ‘to see, tracing his own being a living, the being of the world, he who keeps of the world, all fetters fall away, all sufferings destroyed, and the ceasing of birth and death come to pass’ (Ch. i. 11, ii. 15). ‘I, seeking for freedom, take in my refuge, supreme Causeway to that which is not dead (ātmikā parām satkaraṇ). Faith that burneth where he feel is’ (Ch. vi. 18, 19).

2. ‘As soon a man might wrap the atmosphere About himself like any cloak, so reach
The end of suffering, not knowing God’ (Ch. vi. 20).

Yet both here and in the Maitrāryaka Upaniṣad the Atmanic monism is none the less maintained, and all personal deities are recognized as names of the self (iv. v. f., vi. v. 8). Much, it is true, is made of a disparate ‘element-soul’ or self, bound by the fetters of the fruits of good and evil, crippled, and as one in prison, till ‘by knowledge, by tapas (austerity), by meditation he is freed from those things by which he was filled and overcome, and obtains union with the Atman’ (iv. vi. 4).

2. Yet this concept no longer satisfies:

1. ‘Having seen his own self as the self (or soul), he becomes selfless (atmanā); and, in virtue of selflessness he is to be conceived as immaterial, unconditioned, immeasurable. This is the highest mystery, betokening emancipation... through selflessness he has no part in pleasure or pain, but attains absolutes (brahmanism)’ (iv. xvi. 1iv.), a wondrous blend of Buddhist and Sākhyā concepts.

Yet another new term reveals a fresh and notable development of the mokṣa-consciousness, that
of 'autonomous,' or independent—svantastra (V. xxviii. 38):

Independent, standing on his own greatness, he contemplates a top which is the centre of the chariot-wheels! (That is, he has ceased to convey him.) Cf. the 'autonomy' prescribed in and vital for Buddhism (Digha Nikāya, ii. 109, and elsewhere). The physiology of the process of self-liberation has attained an interesting development (Māttrāyāna Upānīṣad, vi. xxxiv.). Manas (i.e. the mental mechanism of sense-cognition, a narrower conception of mind, Sankhya's, is known), is called 'the cause of bondage and of liberty.' And to bring it to its right anchorage, to bring it, in fact, 'to an end in the heart' (the seat of the soul)—that is knowledge, that is mokṣa. In this sense, man is wholly freed (parinirvāṇya). Nor does this austere discipline, nor does the evolving power of introspection dull the rapture associated in the earlier books with this setting free. With a poet's licence, or through theistic influence, the poet pictures the Absolute soul (Brahman) as reciprocally 'longing for a true (or real) man' (ib. vi. xxx.).

That the yet later Upānīṣads could use mokṣa as practically synonymous with religion appears in the Mūkta Upānīṣad, which recommends him who seeks for mokṣa to study the Māṇḍūkya Upānīṣad, and, if that suffice not, certain others, and so on and so on. The one name is a concise effort to define the essence (sāra) of the soul or Brahman. More pertinent is the definition of mokṣa in another of the aforesaid Upānīṣads, the Sūrya-sūra, as the destruction of the illusion that the material body, or any other factor of the phenomenal self, is the Ātman ('soul'), who is God. The illusion is the bond, ignorance its cause. (This illusion is the first of the 'Ten Fetters' of Buddhism.)

Mokṣa as the supreme aspiration runs through that best known portion of the Mahābhārata epic called the Gītā. The allusions occur in almost entirely in the parts judged by R. Garbe to be older (see Bhagavad-Gītā). We find mokṣa applied to liberation from evil (iv. 16), from the body (v. 23), from lusts and anger (v. 26), from decay and death (vii. 29), from works (ix. 28), from the illusion of opposites (xv. 5). But, however the bondage be conceived, release is effected, here also, by a spiritual union with Brahman, concrete psychology as behind, lover, lover of the human soul, who invites his utter self-surrender, and bestows on him, in virtue of that surrender, release from this or that form of limitation (cf. iv. 203). Another section of the epic is called 'the mokṣa-doctrine'; yet it is in the Anugāta section that the complete picture of the emancipated individual occurs (Adhyāya, 19). In this we see him contemplating Ātman, attaining Brahman, sunk in this one goal, oblivious as to the past, freed from results, heedless of 'this' or 'that.' Yet he is a friend to all, suffering all, master of sense and self, fearless, wrathless, meek, upright, treating all creatures as if they were his, indifferent to opposites, lost to social and domestic ties, wanting naught, cleaving to naught, detached. 'He is in every sense free.' All classes, the trader and the lawyer too, may, each on this upward way, and even women, but much more the Brahman and the Kṣatriya who study, joy in their duty, and hold the Brahma world as highest; for the fruit of achievement is liberty, and the satisfaction of all. Beyond that lies no greater bliss.

This notable climax is in complete harmony with Buddhist thought. It is more than probable that, before the epic attained its final form, the influence of Buddhism was already deeply felt and that to it is largely due the breaking down of class and sex disability to attain the highest, the humaneness of the lonely saint, and the crucial emphasis on the ending of suffering. Dukkha ('ill') is not of, course, absent from the earlier Vedāntic literature, but it attains emphasis only in that which must have felt the impact of Buddhism, to say nothing of Jainist and Sāṅkhyan influence. Now, in the philosophy of Arhatas after the release from continued deaths and rebirths by the perfected character, vinuññati is not only dominant to the same extent as is mūkta (mokṣa) in Vedānta, but the treatment of it is more consistent and therefore, perhaps, simpler. In it vinuññati, vinuññati, 'freedom,' 'freed,' express the actual and consciously realized achievements; vinokha (kha) nearly always refers to certain prescribed courses of rapt mentality, whereby such a state might be sooner acquired, or, if acquired independently, quickened—a sort of morning sacrament (Dīgha Nikāya, ii. 112; Puṇḍara-Paññati Com. [JPTS, 1914, p. 177]):

If he who breaks his fast can touch Mental emancipation's eighth degree,
in grade ascending and so back again (Pāñini in Atharvā, 1172).

Hence the terms 'freed by understanding,' 'freed-both-ways,' meaning emancipated by the work of understanding only, or emancipated both thus and by the eight vinokhas or similar exercise in somadhi (cf. Mahāyāna Nikāya, i. 477).

Moreover, vinuññati, as expressing final achievement, with the rapturous assurance of it, was at the heart of the Buddhist Dhamma's practical content.

In that which is recorded as his second sermon—the Anātto-lakkhaṇa Sutta (Vinaya Texts, i. 101; cf. 107)—Gotama Buddha stated how emancipation grew out of the rejection of the cosmic soul as immanent in and identical with the sense of individual personality ('self' being only an abstract idea inseparable from bodily and mental factors). Perception of the absence of Atman realities (permanence, omniscience, bliss) in these denuded them of fictitious attraction. Craving to renew them in future lives fell away. The freed individual knew that he was free, and therforeforth needed only to await the final hour in quiet and blissful well-being and righteous living. Again, in sending forth his first missionaries, the Buddha named as his and their supremely adequate qualification:

'I am freed from all snares human and divine... go ye now... for the welfare of the many... '(Vinaya Texts, i. 1211.)

The subjective awareness of the freed state, held to be also valid objectively, is further enhanced by the use of such terms as 'realizing,' 'touching,' 'tasting' (Dīgha Nikāya, iii. 230; Mahāyāna Nikāya, i. 231; Abhigātara Nikāya, ii. 244, i. 30, iv. 203, etc.).

'Wherefore thus must ye study: "more and ever more offering our reverence shall we realize supreme realization" (Abhigātara Nikāya, ii. 218).'

'Having liberated his mind with respect to things that should be let go he touches perfect liberty' (ib. ii. 186; cf. 214).

'The eight deliverances (vinokha) are to be realized by personal contact' (Abhigātara Nikāya, i. 30).

'Few are they who obtain the taste of liberty' (Abhigātara Nikāya, i. 30).

'As the ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so has Nibbāna but one taste, that of emancipation' (ib. iv. 203; Vinaya Texts, i. 203).

Awareness of full attainment was realized as a timeless moment of ecstatic consciousness (Nātha-vatthu, iv. 4), but the reverberations formed an abiding joy.

Glimmers springing up within him, and rapture therewith; the thought of his enshrined consciousness became transcennial; thus tranquilized he knows bliss; and in that bliss his consciousness is stayed'(Dīgha Nikāya, ii. 231, 'The five occasions of emancipation' in i. 73).

Imagination plays about the text:

'He with fair flowers of liberality enrothed, single and immaculate, shall reach the perfect peace' (Pāñiniśṭhāna of the Brahmin, 199).

'Above the rolling chariot of this earthly life spreads the silken coverings of the rapture' (Sūtrāvatī, ii. 227).

And in the later Questions of King Milinda:

'As the ocean is all in blossom with the innumerable ripple of its waves, so is Nibbāna all in blossom, so it were, with
The innumerable, diverse, delicate flowers of purity, knowledge, emancipation' (iv. viii. 69).

Arahantship, in (ib. v. 17), is called

' the Exalted One's jewel of emancipation (vimutti-ratana, chief diamond of all.'

The three threads here brought together—Nibbana, Arahantship, emancipation—are largely, though not wholly, coincident in range, presenting different aspects of the ideal, Nibbana: the having eliminated the 'fires' of evil and of craving for continued life. Human or divine, the contemplated life is of an Atman-less Absolute: Arahantship; supreme positive attainment in life on earth; Vimutti: the subjective aspect of both, the negative force in life far off:

1. Let go (matta) that which has been, let go what will be, Let go what thou art midst of, that thou dest.
2. Transcend becoming (even every side freed-minded Thus't not again come toward birth and dying' (Dhammapada, 349).

But the self-knowledge that he is free is a clause in the formula confessing Arahantship:

'Emancipated by right (or perfect) gnosis (samajñānādhisthātā),
knowledge (atipa, knowledge"
'treed'! . . . (Nikayas, passim; Dialogues, i. 93).

And the unity connecting the negative and positive aspects may be discerned in the Sutta Nipata verses:

'(In whom no sense-desires do dwell, For no craving doth exist, Who hath crossed over (the sea of) doubt—
What sort of freedom (wait for him)'

In the Nikayas vimutti and Nibbana are declared to be 'comparable' one with another (in the same thought-category, Majjhima, i. 304). But in the Dhamma-scientific view it is distinguished into higher mental freedom and Nibbana (p. 234; cf. Dīga Nīkāya, i. 174).

As the subject of a distinct group (khandha) of religious experience, vimutti is ranked in the Sutta Nipata with the groups 'ethics' (sīlas), concentative studies (samādhi), and insight (pañña, Majjhima, i. 214; Aṅguttara Nikāya, i. 125, passim), while for the Arhat a fifth was reckoned: knowledge and intuition of vimutti (vimutti-dhamma-darsana, ib. i. 162, etc.). Closely associated with the fourfold path to Arahantship, and called, later, modes of progress, avenues, or channels to vimutti, are the 'Wisdom', 'Emptiness', 'the Signless', 'the Not-banked-after' (Dīga Nīkāya, ii. 219; Sathipputta, iv. 295–297; Dhamma-sāgari, 344 f., and Compendium of Philosophy, London, 1916, p. 216).

A very frequent allusion to emancipation in the Nikayas, that of chotāvimutti, 'little emancipation', corresponding fairly well to emancipation of heart and head. The systematic expansion of ethical emotion was not peculiar to Buddhism (see Love (Buddhism). But the founder of Buddhism is represented (Sānyatti, v. 118) as claiming that he alone inculcated in such exercises emancipation of the heart.

In this way, in suffusing the idea of more and more beings with (1) love—'let all beings be void of enmity and malice', (2) pity—'let all be set free from suffering', (3) sympathy—'let all be happy and fortunate', (4) equanimity—'all the owners, the heirs of their doers, these mental exercises, if truly practised, result in a thorough self-mastery through complete emancipation from the respectively opposed moods of (1) enmity, (2) harmfulness, (3) sympathy, (4) passion (Ledi Sakh, Mahāsaya, a letter to the writer).

Taken alone, apart from that supreme enfranchisement from all the conditions for rebirth, they constituted the true way to Brahma-heavens.

'Sāriputta: This, I told Dānaññā in that interior Brahma-world, when there was more to be done? Sāriputta: I judged, lord, that these Brahmas preferred that heaven.' (Majjhima, ii. 195).

All other bases of meritorious acts which are stuff for rebirth (upāyavat) are not compared to the contemplation of the heart by love. That takes all those up into itself, as the moon ousteth the stars, the sun the morning star, the night shining in radiance and in splendour' (Thutottaka, 19–21).

But to be emancipated by intuition or insight is to have broken all the ten 'letters' by the four successive stages of the Aryan Path—Stream-winner, Once-returner, Never-returning, Arahantship—and to have reached the going-out of all five desires as to lives on earth or in the heavens (Dīga Nīkāya, iii. 108).

'For not the instrument nor the tool, the unfolding, is that Nibbana to be reached which is the uttering of all knots (Itivuttaka, 162).

The mountain ranges of vimutti were the haunts of those who, with the world well lost,' had developed the symptoms of life's culminating in its final end. Hence it is in the two works containing the legacies of such matured creatures—the Sutta-Nipata and the anthologies of Theia and Therī—that the theme of emancipation is maintained most steadily:

'Come now, let us see Gotañas, who non-like both roam alone . . . and let us ask of him How can we be set free from snare of death? Declare to us who ask as to the way How may a man from sorrow be set free.' (Sutta-Nipata, 164 f.).

'Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth, Or as one wholly free? That would we know!' (Psalm of the Brethren, 1274).

'And as the sun rose up out of the dawn Let then my heart was set at liberty' (ib. 477).

'Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked And Liberty (freedom) in the eight of birds in air So hard is it to track the trail of him' (ib. 92).

'And see, O Master! Some who come To tell thee of Emancipation won And of the night no more to reborn: Who hath himself from passion freed (satiyagha), Uplooked from bondage' (Psalm of the Sisters, 334).

'The I am suffering weak and all My youthful spring he gone, yet have I come, Leaning upon my staff, and climb al't.
The mountain peak. My cloak thrown off, My little bowl I returned: so sit I here. And over the rock The breath of Liberty' (ib. 59, 30).

'Passion abandoned, hatred and illusion, Shattered the bonds, nor is there any trembling In that the springs of life are wholly withered:— Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (Sutta-Nipata, 71).

'Even as a fish that breaks its net in ocean, Even as fire fain to break its bond, stuff — Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (ib. 62).

'Dwelling in love, in pity, and in freedom, In friendly joy, in balance, in season. Inught in the world disturbing his companion — Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (ib. 79).

The evolution of mukti, or moksa, in Jainism cannot be adequately dealt with till its early literature is more fully accessible. As evolved, the idea is clearly presented above (art. Jainism, vol. vii. pp. 408, 470).

Similarly the idea (vikrota, or apevagya, concept of Sākyian thought, which survives in medieval commentaries, and which, even in the aphorisms on which these are based, shows a later and more habile metaphysics than such as the foregoing discussion reveals, will be dealt with in art. SĀKYA. In those aphorisms (Sātrika) the individual soul called paritta, is conceived as 'neither bound, nor liberated, nor migrating' (lixii.), as is the rest of man's nature, physical and mental. Emancipation consists in having discerned the subtle difference between this (dual) nature (pradhāna) and the soul' (xxvii.). By knowledge is liberation (jñāna cha-pevaṃga), by the opposite is bondage' (lixiv.). With this knowledge the work of good and evil is done; the notion of soul and universe may 'go on like the potter's wheel revolving from the effect [of his impact] (lxvii.) after the finished pot is removed, but, when nature thereupon ceases to act, the soul obtains absolution (kṣetrayam āphoti) (lixvii.).
MOLINISM


C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

MOLINISM.—There is no problem in theology more difficult than that which has reference to the knowledge and causality of God, on the one hand, and the liberty and eternal destiny of human beings, on the other. The problem includes three difficulties: (1) How is it possible to reconcile God’s providence and freedom of the will? (2) If the entire physical reality of our free acts proceeds from God as the First Cause, how is it possible for our will to be a free cause, or a cause, for everything to be imputed to the agent in actus? (3) Given the sincere will of God to save all men, how can an account for the terrible fact that many die without the light of faith and never attain to eternal salvation?

The endeavor of theologians to throw light on these difficulties have brought forth two systems: Thomism and Molinism. The doctrine of the Thomists is that divine providence is the traditional doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas (qq.v.), was attacked by Molina at the close of the 16th cent., since then an unending controversy has raged in Roman Catholic schools of theology. The history of the controversy is as follows:

I. HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.—In the 13th cent. St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, synthesized the human knowledge with regard to God as the First Cause and Final End of all things in a work called the Summa Theologica. Herein is contained all that the human mind, aided by revelation, can know concerning God’s providence, universal causality, grace, etc. So great was the renown of St. Thomas’ works for the solidity and sublimity of his doctrine that at the Council of Trent the Summa Theologica, alone of all theological treatises, was thought fit to be used as a model for the examination of the Sacred Scriptures. The Order of St. Dominie is sworn to love and defend the doctrines of St. Thomas as heredi- tary right; and it is their loyalty to these doctrines that has earned them the well-merited name of Thomists.

At the close of the 16th cent. the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535-1600) published a new doctrine on predestination, free will, etc. The basis of the whole system is the so-called Leibnitz modus, a theory borrowed by Molina from his master, Pedro de Fonseca, who, knowing it to be entirely new and against the traditional doctrine, had not dared to publish it. The theory was published at Lisbon in 1588 and entitled: Concordia liberis arbitrii cum gratia divina, divina praeventia, praedestinatione et reprobatione. Had this work been well known and understood, Molina’s theory would have never existed, Luther would not have denied free will, and Semi-Pelagianism would easily have been stamped out. Molina further adds that St. Augustine and the other Fathers would have unanimously approved of this theory of predestina-

1 We do not wish the syllogisms (which we iterate, approve, and confirm) of our predecessors (Clement xi. and Benedict xi.) in praise of the Thomistic school to distract in our war from the authority of other Catholic schools" (Summulae Ord. Presb. viii. 291).

Since the encyclical Aeterni Patris of Leo XII. (4th Aug. 1870), Roman Catholic schools of theology have done their utmost to claim as their own not only the doctrine, but the very name of St. Thomas Aquinas. In spite of the reminiscences of Thomists, Molinists have endeavored to drag St. Thomas to their side, and even to impose on St. Thomas the theory of scientia media, which, before Molina, was not even dreamed of ("ne permedium quietem"), as C. Tiplanus, himself a Jesuit, declares. The first crossing of swords took place between R. P. Beaudoin and C. Mazella. Not long after, G. Schneemann published a work in 1841, in reply to the theories of which A. M. Dupurenauth published a work at Paris in 1866, which contains a complete demonstration of the mind of St. Thomas. In 1869, V. Frins essayed a reply, and in refutation of this Dupurenauth’s and the Molinists’ work in *La doctrine du desir et les sciences*.
MOLINISM

II. ESSENCE OF MOLINISM.—1. Natural order.

(1) God's foreknowledge and free will.—The knowledge of God, considered in itself, is one and indivisible. That which God reference to objects which are the term of His knowledge, it is divided according to the diversity of objects into speculative and practical, into necessary and free, etc. The division which concerns us now is that into the knowledge of vision (scientia visionis) and the knowledge of simple understanding (scientia simplicis intellectus). The former has reference to things which have existed, exist, or will exist; the latter has reference to the purely possible, i.e., to objects which have not existed, do not, and will not exist (cf. Summa Theol. 1, q. 14, art. 9). Now, if this division is adequate, God must know a future free act by the 'knowledge of vision.' But, according to St. Thomas (1, q. 14, art. 8, and art. 9 ad tertium), this knowledge necessarily implies an act of God's will or a divine decree. Hence a future free act is known by God by virtue of; in fact, in His decree, and therefore no future free act can exist unless God decrees its existence. This is the doctrine of the Thomists.

For Molina this is subversive of the freedom of the human will. For him, because God has made known to humanity the innermost recesses of the will and has seen there what it will infallibly do in such and such circumstances, this is the direct denial of free will, for the certain knowing of an effect is a cause of the knowledge of a necessary effect. (b) Therefore Suarez taught that God knows the future free act in His decree foreseen as future. But it is impossible for a future free act, which are the term of God; the divine decrees are eternal, and are therefore neither past nor future. Unable to answer this, Suarez had recourse to another medium: (c) God knows future acts in their truth, which is either formal or objective. 'The will of a future free act is the objective truth; the proposition expressing that reality is the formal truth. Some Molinists (G. Vasquez, M. Liberati, H. Kilber, D. Palmieri, etc.) hold to the formal truth, asserting that of two contradictory propositions expressing a future contingent event one is determinately true, the other determinately false from all eternity, and this independently of God's will; but God knows all truth; therefore... This medium is rejected, not only by all Thomists, but by many Molinists, by Billot, G. Lahousse, etc. Others (F. Suarez, J. B. Banzelis, Mazzolla, etc.) hold to the objective truth, hence the truth of a proposition expressing the future depends on the objective truth of a future event.

(2) God's causality and free will.—God is the First Cause; therefore no being or mode of being can escape His causality. Thomists teach that in virtue of the divine decree the human will is physically, i.e., efficiently, predetermined by God to produce a free act. This divine influx precedes the action of the will by a priority of nature and causality, and applies the will to act (i.e., makes the will pass from the state of not acting to the state of acting). Thus rendering the will in actu primo capable of freely determining itself in actu secundo. The free will infallibly consents to that which it is the cause of such a condition; hence, the scientia media, God explores and knows, with infallible certainty, what the human free will will infallibly do by its own innate liberty (consent or dissent, act this or that, etc.) if it be placed in such or such circumstances. God, if He wishes, e.g., Peter to consent, to do this act, etc., decrees to put Peter in these or those circumstances, and decrees conditionally to grant His help or concurrence for the particular action determined upon by Peter's free will (see below, 'simultaneous concourse'). In this decree, which follows the foreknowledge of the future free act, Molinists say God knows the absolute, future consent without prejudice to the free will; but the certainty of His knowledge is due, not to the intrinsic efficacy of the decree, but to the scientia media, which sees the consent before the decree.

The unanimity among Molinists is mainly negative, namely, that God does not know future free acts in any absolute, actual decree of His will; but, as regards the medium in which God sees it, God sees a future free act, quantum homines, tot sententiae. (a) Molina and, after him, R. Bellarmine, M. Becanus, etc., teach that God knows the future free act in the medium of the free will; i.e., God's knowledge penetrates into the innermost recesses of the will and sees there what
but of itself the influx is indifferent and inefficacious for this or that particular good: without any further influx from God, the will remains itself to act, not to act, to do this, or to do that.

Thomists are accused of making God the cause of sin by the physical premonition which is efficacious, but the doctrine of the Molinists allows Physical premonition effects, it is true, that the will cannot but infallibly do that to which it is premoved, but no Thomist allows that God pretermines to sin gua sin (see THOMISM); the contrary, being that the co-operation of God with the will, not indeed to produce the sinful action as sinful, but to produce the physical reality of the action. It is a lesser evil to co-operate than to make a sin; Molinists have chosen a lesser evil, but have not solved the difficulty.

Against the two theories of Molinism with regard to the divine influx Thomists object that neither safeguards the universal causality of God. The self-determination of the will is not nothing; it is a reality, which, therefore, cannot escape God's causality. To argue, as does a recent Molinist (Lahousse, Théol. Nat., Louvain, 1888, cap. 9, art. 3, no. 502), that there seems no reason why this quality (i.e. the determination of the will whereby it makes itself pass from the state of not being to the state of being) cannot be inefficiently produced by a created being is not only to beg the question, but manifestly to deny, in very words, God's universal causality.

2. Agreement to God's congenitally free will.

Against Pelagians both Thomists and Molinists defend the necessity of grace for the production of a salutary act. Against Semi-Pelagianism both defend the necessity for the very beginnings of faith, and for the desire to do a salutary work. Both teach the absolute gratuity of actual grace, even for the very beginnings (prima gratia oecans) of their opponents, Luther, Jansen both teach that sufficient grace is given to all without exception, and that, under the influence of efficacious grace, the freedom of the will remains intact. The first point of difference between Thomism and Molinism concerns the nature of sufficient and efficacious grace, which both agree to be a division of actual grace. For the Thomist efficacious grace is existentially, i.e. in such a way, that the self-determination of the will is efficacious, suffices to produce an act of grace. Sufficient grace gives the proximate power of producing a salutary act; it raises the will to a supernatural level, and constitutes it in actu primo capable of performing a salutary act; but in order to produce that act de facto an efficacious grace (which is a physical premonition in the supernatural order) is necessary. Hence sufficient grace in Thomism gives the posse efficacious grace the agere (see THOMISM). For the Molinist the same grace can be sufficient or efficacious; it remains sufficient if the will resists; it becomes efficacious if the will consents. Grace, therefore, is efficacious, not intrinsically or of its very nature, but extrinsically, by the consent of the will (gratia efficae ab extrinsceco). In the natural order, as said above, the divine indifferent concourse is not said to receive into the will, nor does it precede the action of the will, but in the supernatural order it precedes (owing to which it is called gratia prevenientia) the action of the will, and is received into the will, that is, making the will that principle in actu primo of the salutary act (this saves Molinism from Semi-Pelagianism). Prevenient grace is a physical reality produced by God in the acts of his own will (which is called gratia excitans) morally (not physically, i.e. efficiently) to consent; it co-operates (owing to which it is called gratia co-operans) with the will to elicit a salutary act; but the consent does not follow infallibly, because this grace is not of its very nature, or intrinsically, efficacious (cf. Molina, Concordia, qu. 14, art. 13, disp. 41). According to this doctrine, one and the same grace can be merely sufficient for one individual and efficacious for another; but it cannot be efficacious for one person, while a greater grace can remain merely sufficient for another. Nevertheless, an efficacious grace is a greater boon than a grace merely sufficient. Thus, God's gift of eternity foreseen by the semi-Pelagians (that, if He gave grace A to Peter, He would consent, but, if He gave grace B, Peter would not consent. When, therefore, God gives to Peter grace A, which He foresees will benefit another, a sin; Molinists have chosen a lesser evil, but have not solved the difficulty.

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Against Pelagians both Thomists and Molinists defend the necessity of grace for the production of a salutary act. Against Semi-Pelagianism both defend the necessity for the very beginnings of faith, and for the desire to do a salutary work. Both teach the absolute gratuity of actual grace, even for the very beginnings (prima gratia oecans) of their opponents, Luther, Jansen both teach that sufficient grace is given to all without exception, and that, under the influence of efficacious grace, the freedom of the will remains intact. The first point of difference between Thomism and Molinism concerns the nature of sufficient and efficacious grace, which both agree to be a division of actual grace. For the Thomist efficacious grace is existentially, i.e. in such a way, that the self-determination of the will is efficacious, suffices to produce an act of grace. Sufficient grace gives the proximate power of producing a salutary act; it raises the will to a supernatural level, and constitutes it in actu primo capable of performing a salutary act; but in order to produce that act de facto an efficacious grace (which is a physical premonition in the supernatural order) is necessary. Hence sufficient grace in Thomism gives the posse efficacious grace the agere (see THOMISM). For the Molinist the same grace can be sufficient or efficacious; it remains sufficient if the will resists; it becomes efficacious if the will consents. Grace, therefore, is efficacious, not intrinsically or of its very nature, but extrinsically, by the consent of the will (gratia efficae ab extrinsceco). In the natural order, as said above, the divine indifferent concourse is not said to receive into the will, nor does it precede the action of the will, but in the supernatural order it precedes (owing to which it is called gratia pre-
special act of love and mercy He elects some to glory in preference to others, without any other reason than that of His own divine will. To the choices of Molinists (Billiot, etc., and all Thomists, after St. Augustine and St. Thomas). On this point there is practically no difference between Thomists and this group of Molinists; the difference between them has reference to another question treated above, namely, the origin of the efficacy of grace. Some Congruests teach that God graciously elects certain ones, not to glory, but to congruous grace, to which they will infallibly consent, and in which they will persevere. Foreseeing this consent by the scientia media, God predestines them to glory. Against the latter opinion Thomists object, in particular, that God is made to act in a manner that implies the denial of an axiom received as true not only by all schools of philosophy but by common sense. In order to actualize the means the God must act must necessarily precede the end; but in the order of intention the end must precede the means, for it is impossible to choose and adapt means to an end, without of presence of the end. Now, as God must act as an intellectual being. He must (according to this axiom) first all conceive the end, then choose the means for obtaining that end. But grace, good use of grace, merit, are the means, and glory is the end. Therefore, He must first predestine to glory before He predestines to congruous grace. In the Congruest theory He does exactly the opposite. To this simple and irrefragable argument no Congruest has ever essayed a reply that is not suicidal. Molina also teaches the gratuity of predestination (Concordia, qn. 22, art. 4, 5, disp. 1, membr. xl), but his explanation is very different from that of the majority of those who follow him. In eternity God knows all possible universes, infinite in number; in each universe or order there is a series of free acts, all of which God knows by the scientia media independently of any act of His will. In each of these possible orders certain people are predestined, not, indeed, through the efficacy of a divine decree (which as yet has not intervened), but through grace made efficacious by the consent of the human will, in which the will perseveres unto the end. The omnipotent God knows all this by the scientia media. By His own free will, without any regard whatsoever, as He chose in 1867-72, to bring one of these orders to existence. The difference between Molina and Suarez on this point comes to this, that the former teaches predestination to glory before a prevision of absolute future merits, but after the prevision of conditioned future merits, whereas the latter teaches predestination to glory before prevision of future merits, whether absolute or conditioned. Molina explains his own theory in a manner more subtle and more profound than any of his followers. But, apart from the insuperable difficulty of the scientia media, there are difficulties in this explanation which absolutely destroy free will. We deny absolutely that a free act can be connected with any one order; it is the denial in very words of the freedom of the act. It is absolutely false that a free act is connected with any circumstances whatever, in the sense that, given the circumstances, a particular free act must follow. All those possible universes are contradictions, and have therefore no reality or conceivability; God, therefore, can act only in a contrary manner. (3) Reprobration.—It is a defined doctrine of Catholic faith that no one is destined by God to eternal damnation except after a prevision of devotum; this called 'positive reprobation,' in the theory of gratuitions predestination, by the very fact that God gratuitously elects some and not others, those chosen will infallibly not be saved; hence a repudiation of some sort is common. Some define it as 'negative reprobation.' This difficulty is to conciliate negative reprobation with the universal salvific will of God. Suarez and his followers say it is 'absurd'; some Thomists (as J. B. Gonet, V. Contenson, etc.) that it is a 'direct exclusion from glory;' others (as A. Goudin, C. R. Billiart, etc.) that it is the omission of an effectual election to heaven. It is, however, very difficult to safeguard the salvific will of God if negative repugnance be a positive act on God's part. Why not say, therefore, that it is the entire absence of any act of the divine will, whether of vocation or nolition? It is the mere absence of the act of assumption.


II. THE DOCTRINE.—L. de Molina, Concordia liberii arbitrii cum gratia divina, etc., Paris, 1767, 18, 14; M. Beltracchi, Summa Theologiae Scholasticae, Lyons, 1831, De loco, cap. 18; E. Lessius, De Proportionibus moribusque divinae, Paris, 1775, ib. 4, De gratia efficac et decreta divina, ib. 1875; D. Ruiz de Montoyo, De Scientia Dei, ib. 1829, 1930; C. Bircham, De sinusque dextrae et sinistre, Rheims, 1849; F. Suarez, Metaphysics, Paris, 1899, disp. 10, 19, Opposita in Opera Omnia, ib. 1858, 1, 1. De concurre, motione, et auxilio Dei, ib. 1, De scientia Dei futurorum contingentium, ib. 1, De auxilio efficaci, De Gratia, Paris, 1857, Prolegom. 2; J. B. Fauntenet, De Deo uno, Rome, 1853, sect. 4; A. Goudin, Tractatus Theologici, Louvain, 1874; C. R. Billiart, Summa S. Thomae, Arna, 1867-72, tom. i. dis. 5-6, tom. ii. dis. 5; N. de Prado, De gratia libere arbitrii, etc., Lyons, 1876.

ALFRED WHITACRE.
the earth is regarded everywhere with a religious dread, and Greeks and Romans alike avoided all contact with the spot where it had struck, this being for the former a consecrated place (μεταφηματατος, τοιετωριανος), and for the latter a bajidint, which is explained by the phrase ‘fulgur conditum.’ The lightning-flash actually came to be regarded as a divine being; some of the Diodochoi adopted the name Zeus. Selecting Seleucia Nicanor instituted a cult of the σεπαφως (Appian, de Reibus Syr. 58), the existence of which is attested by numerous coins; and there is an Orphic hymn dedicated to this deity. Kerasios is often represented as subordinate to Zeus, who in this capacity is called Kerasios, Katastheis, and Kappotis, just as Jupiter Fulgur is designated Fulgurator and Fulmurator (Usener, Kleine Schriften, iv. Leipzig, 1913, p. 471).

The natural phenomenon here involved is, of course, one of relatively rare occurrence, and but seldom arrests special attention by having visible traces of its action, but the worship of lightning, in its essential form, cannot be separated from that of winds and meteoric stones. Quite a different case, again, is presented by the worship of the last sheaf, or of the harvest-wreath, which has been explained by W. Mannhardt; the harvest-wreath, which was wound round with white and red woolen threads, and for the year remained hanging above, was hanging for the house, unmistakably a fetish, i.e. a sacred object fashioned and consecrated by human beings (J. M. Meyer, ARW xi. (1898) 320); in the last sheaf, however, and things of similar formation, the life-spirit which, according to animistic idea, renewed the life of the corn, but, while it is only at harvest-time that the spirit becomes in a manner manifest to sight, it is in reality always present, and is therefore not a ‘momentary god’ in the proper sense. Usener likewise adduces the conceptions of the ἄλαιος and the genius of the individual. It is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion regarding the ultimate origin of these conceptions, they have undoubtedly been influenced in part by ideas of the soul, and, in the case of the ἄλαιος, by the notion of ‘possession’ (J. Tambornine, De antiquarum dianaeorum, Giessen, 1898), while the snake-form of the genius seems to point in quite a different direction (W. F. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1155 ff.). In any case, the present writer can see no grounds for regarding ἄλαιος and genius under the category of ‘momentary gods.’

While, however, the conception of ‘momentary gods’ is thus in part a rather indeterminate one, and in part of limited significance, the introduction of the term ‘special gods’ (Germ. Sondergötter) has proved to be of real advantage. This term, too, we owe to Usener, who framed it on the suggestion of E. Lehmann in connexion with Varro’s di cordit; like the latter, the special gods are deities with a clearly defined sphere of action, and thus closely allied to the momentary gods. Usener has shown that in the development of religion—so far, at least, as Greece was concerned—they are anterior to the great deities, and this result might, no doubt, be very widely generalized. Unmistakable examples are found in Greek heroes like Eudocis (G. Kallat, Gymnastica Graeca, Berlin, 1877, 825), Myagros (Paus. viii. xxxvi. 7), Telchiphylax (Hesych. s.v.), or Horophylax (JJS viii. (1887) 236), who never had more than a local significance and a narrow sphere of action, and for which none of them was absorbed by the great Olympian (i.e. Homeric) deities; thus Kourrotchros (also in plur., Ephemer. Arch., 1899, p. 145) was originally an independent deity who at length became a mere epiphet of Ge, Artemis, Demeter, etc., and Zeus Erechtheus, Athene Hygieia, etc., are to be interpreted in the same way. We may even venture to say that the displacement of these special deities by the Olympian was one of the most important processes in the development of Greek religion within historical times. Among the Romans such special deities are found mainly in the Indigetes (g.v.), in which every particular operation—e.g., in agriculture—was assigned a distinct tutelary spirit—Veneria, Redatoria, Imperatoria, Inistoria, Ostoraria, Occidentaria (C. G. Funck, Convecteur, Conditor, Promitor). It is said, indeed, that even the Lupanaria, culina, and carceres had each their special deity (Tertull. ad Nat. ii. 15).

From this, however, we derive but scanty information as to the earlier state of things which has been disturbed by the incursion of the Greek religion; even in Varro’s lists of these gods we already find many names of extraneous origin, and we are quite unable to say what degree of importance attached to the individual deities.

Very valuable data are furnished by the accounts of the Lithuanian special gods, as critically discussed by M. Dehler (Deostr. Narr., ARW ix. (1906) 281; O. Schrader, ERE ii. 311 f.). Here we find Anutieza, the goddess of bees, Babilos, the honey-god, Budintalu, the goddess who arouses the sea from sleep; for the house, the household gods, Meletele, the goddess of the colour blue, Rangipatis, who causes the fermentation of beer, and Wejopatis, the lord of the wind. Kindred figures are a reference to the existing Letitia.

As regards the existence of such special deities in other religions—with the exception, however, of the heathenism that was not wholly submerged by the Roman Catholic Church (see below)—our knowledge is at fault, partly from lack of materials and partly from lack of research. We may hesitatingly take for granted, however, that, e.g., the pantheons of the Vedas and the Avesta correspond with that of Homer in presenting various types of deities, and that the place of the great gods who hold sway in these literary monuments was, among the people, i.e. in the living religion, taken by a multitude of less imposing beings, of whom, it is true, our knowledge is most imperfect. The Phoenician religion provides an instructive example: here it was not, strictly speaking, a single self-sufficient group of deities, but the deities were paid; on the contrary, each several tribe and city had its own special Baal, and worshipped him as a tribal or tutelary deity. The data which lie most readily to hand are found in countries where residual elements of heathen views still co-exist with or underlie the Roman Catholic religion in the practice of saint-worship, and have to some extent been connedensed by the Church (D. H. Kerler, Die Patronat der Heiligen, Ulm, 1905). Thus, e.g., among the Zamaie of Prussia, St. Agatha took care of the household fire and St. Nicholas was the guardian of bovines, St. Apolonia cured mouth and St. Laurentius rheumatic pains, St. Crispin was the patron of shoemakers and St. Goar of potters. In the Voyages St. Abdon is believed to drive away leas, St. Catharine to secure husbands for maidens, St. Sabina to

1 Cit., however, the criticism by L. R. Farnell, "The Place of the "Sondergötter" in Greek Pheidias," in Antiquaeologia, Essays presented to . . . Tyler, Oxford, 1907, pp. 81-105.
3 Italian special gods or, the remarks of J. H. Moulton, Early Etruscan Religion, London, 1925, pp. 59-75, 105, 110. A notable instance is Verethraghna, "Victory."
4 On the saints who exercised an official function Deubner, De Institutione, Leipzig, 1906, is well worth consulting.

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1 Ann. Marcass. xxiii. 513: "hoc modo [i.e. fulmine] contacta locis puris delphini deverbatur fulgurum praevmend bi".
2 Anithke Welt- und Feldichte, Berlin, 18, (1).
MONARCHIANISM.—See mehrm.

MONARCHIANISM.—Monarchianism is a term generally used of those heretics who, to safeguard the Divine unity (monarchia), so reined away the distinction of the Divine Persons as to destroy the Trinity. Hippolytus has left us a summary account of their origin. A certain Noetus, so he tells us, was the protagonist of these ideas; they were upheld by his disciple, Epiphanes, and further propagated by the latter's disciple, Cleomenes. 1 From Epiphanes was derived the Diatribe, in which we are told, for instance, that St. Blasius sours throat and St. Liberius pains due to calculi, and that St. Martha protects from epidemics. Almost every diatribe was against Sabellius, who came to the front, and in many cases clings to him with marked tenacity.

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there can be no such diversity of action ad intra as shall imply distinction of Persons. But Christ is God, and Christ suffered upon the Cross. Therefore the Father suffered. The conclusion seemed correct, but the Noentians shrank from it and endeavoured to explain that this suffering of the Father was in some sense not really His. Theirs was a strong position. They seemed to be the victories of orthodoxy against the orthodox themselves. It was in vain that the latter rejoined: Then, according to your argument, it is the Father who sits at His own right hand! For, while the Noentians clearly taught the divinity of the Son and the distinction of Persons, yet there were certain texts which, while maintaining the former, seemed expressly to deny the latter. Thus Praxeas insisted on 'I and the Father are one' (Jn 10:30); this it was easy to explain in a monothetic sense, as Tertullian does. But it was not so easy to explain 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me' (Jn 14:10). Tertullian treats this passage at considerable length, but it can hardly be said that his answer precludes the retort: Then there are two.' It is only when we turn to such an analysis of these passages as is furnished by Athanasius (e.g., on Jn 14, in Orat, iii. 23) and Augustine (Tract, xix. 13, xxii. 14) that we realize the distinction between a platonic and a monistic clearness of expression when handling the questions ventilated by the Noentians and their successors. St. Pobladus (c. A.D. 393) puts the dilemma clearly: 1

1. If we speak of one God in the singular, excluding the word 'Second Person,' we thereby approve that mad heresy which says that Christ is not God. If, on the other hand, we admit of number combined with division, then we hold that God is divided from God, and that He fashioned a new substance out of nothing. We must, then, hold to the rule which confesses that the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, to the rule which while preserving the oneness of substance acknowledges an economy (organization) of expression when handling the questions ventilated by the Noentians and their successors. St. Pobladus (c. A.D. 393) puts the dilemma clearly:

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2. If we say they, maintain the monarchy... Yes, but while the Latin takes pains to pronounce monarcharch, the Greeks refuses it. Yet the difference is not so great. For concerning the mon- archach at the expense of the economia, they contend for the identity of Father, Son, and Spirit.' And he puts his finger on the real difficulty which the Noentians had to face:

3. Praxeas put to right the Paradoxe, and he crucified the Father.' Hence the opprobrious nickname for the so-called Monarchians—Patrarians, i.e., those who made


2. Philos, ix. 5; cf. x. 52.


5. Libri c. Arianos, xxi. (PL xx. 91); cf. also Zahn's Constantine, ii. 15 (A.D. 1120).

6. Athanasius, de Synopsis, 20 (c.); (PG xxvii. 721); Newman, Athanasius, i. 114.

7. Adv. Prax. iii. (PL II. 183), and iv. (c. 161). Tertullian's use of the term monacharch is unusual. From the NT it generally refers to the ministry of the Word of God (e.g., 1 Cor 9:7); also to the divine council as fulfilled in the Incarnation (Eph 2:22). And thus it is used by the Greek Fathers of the mystery of the Incarnation (cf. J. C. Slicher, Thes. eccles., Amsterdam, 1728, a. e.); but, more particularly, it is used in the relationship of the Three Persons of the Trinity, a usage of which Slicher takes no notice.

8. Libri c. Arianos, 105. One cannot help being very little known. Hippolytus apparently knows nothing of him, though, if we are to argue from his silence, we could equally well argue from Papias, who is silent on the subject of the Noentians. For some of the views which have been held regarding his identification of the Monarchians see J. D. F. Praxeas, 34, 1910.

9. Ibid. Augustine, Tract, xxxvi. 3, in Joann.; cf. xxxvii. 6, xxxvii. 2, xxxvii. 5 (PL xxxv. 1667, 1672, 1619, 1830); and Origen, Dem in Ep. ad Titum (PG xiv. 1604).

10. As when they say, like Sabellius, that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.' It is of interest to note how these heresies shifted off into one another. Sabellius apparently denied that he was a Patrapiarch; but, in order to do so, he seems to have held that our Lord came into being only on His human birth. The Arians, on the contrary, said 'before 1 the fathers,' thus agreeing, so it would seem, with the Patrapiarchs. Again we note that, whereas Sabellius claimed to rank as a Monarchian, yet the Arian bishops, writing to Alexander, say:

11. 'We do not do as did Sabellius who, dividing the One, speaks of a Son-Father.' Thus their ground of complaint against Sabellius was precisely that on which he plumed himself on not doing, viz. separating the Divine monarchia. Similarly Athanasius says:

12. 'Sabellius supposed the Son to have no real substance, and the Holy Spirit to be non-existent: he charged his opponent with dividing the Godhead.' And once more: 'Sabellius, dreading the condemnation invested by Arius, fell into the error which destroys the Personal distinctions.'

13. It must, however, be remembered that no one can at this date say what precisely were Sabellius's opinions, partly for the inevitable fluctuations through which he passed, partly, and chiefly, because history is apt to confuse him with his disciples, as in the passage last quoted from Athanasius.

14. How grievous were the ravages worked by these Monarchian views can be seen by the frequent condemnations of them in the shape of Sabellianism. Thus Pope Damasus condemned them in the Council held at Rome in 380 (or 382): 'We anathematize those also who follow the error of Sabellius in saying that the Father is the same as the Son.

15. Similarly, in the ecumenical Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) the first canon is directed against various shades of Arianism, and finally against the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarists. By the time of the provincial Council of Braga (561) we see how these Monarchian principles have verged into Priscillianism and are tainted with Manichaeism. The same comprehensive condemnation was repeated in the Lateran Council of 1179, and the Arians were condemned in 1181. When Photinus was found it necessary to remind the Jacobites, in his decree dated 4th Feb. 1441, that the Church 'con- demns Sabellius for confusing the Persons and for thus altogether doing away with the real distinction between them.'

16. The subsequent ramifications of the Monarchian tenets do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that they spread very widely, though in forms which varied considerably from those originally set forth. Thus Eusebius mentions that Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, 'deserted the ecclesiastical standard,' i.e., the Rule of Faith, and asserted that Christ did not pre-exist in a distinct form of His own, neither did He possess a divinity of His own, but only that of the Father dwelling in Him. This is clearly a derived form of Monarchianism. The most prominent, perhaps, among the later


20. Ib. i. 5 (PG xxvi. 236; and Sabellius.

21. Orat. iv. 3 (PG xxvi. 473); Newman, ii. 229.

22. Zahn, Hist. A., i. 133; Praxeas, 34, 1910.


25. Ib. xvi. 1151.

26. Ib. xxvii. 772.

27. I.e., xxvi. 1. With McEftfer's notes.
Monastics were the Friscillianists. They are of interest by reason of the strange influence which they had on the Latin text of the Gospels—indicated in chap. 25. To this fact, are due the Monarchian Prologues which have attracted so much attention in later years. It is usual to embrace under the heading Monarchianism, the soloed Theopneustian heresies. But, while it is true that the Adoptianists may be regarded as the legitimate outcome of the Monarchians, yet they approach the question from an entirely different standpoint. For Adoptianism is a Christological heresy, whereas Monarchianism, at least in its original form as Patrapiasianism, concerns the Father rather than the Son. To embrace the two heresies under one heading is to obscure the issue. See art. ADOPITANISM.


**HUGH FOPPE.**

**MONASTICISM.**—I. ETYMOLOGY; DEFINITION.—The word 'monasticism' is derived from the Gr. word μοναχός, 'alone,' 'solitary,' from which a whole family of words has been formed: μονή, μονάρχης, μοναχός, μοναχοστία, 'monastery;' μοναχός, 'monk;' or 'solitary;' μονόγενος, 'to lead the solitary life;' μονομαχός, 'saintly;' μονοστήριον, 'monastery;' μονοπώλης, 'monk;' και μοναχία, μοναχός, μοναχισμός, μοναχία, 'monasticism;' μοναχικός, 'monastically;' μοναχάριον, 'monachism.'

In this word has given monachus and its derivatives, monacha, monachata, monachare, monachizare, monachzia, monachismom, monachatio, monasterium, and a few other words.

*I. Adoptianism.*—To this word 'monastic' has been so often incorrectly extended to embrace the idea of the religious state in general, comprising even those religious orders which cannot be regarded as belonging to this category — such, e.g., as the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits and other clerks regular. Strictly speaking, the term should be reserved for the form of religious life led by those who, having separated themselves entirely from the world, live in solitude as, in fact, the etymology of the term 'monasterium' clearly indicates. We shall see below (§ III.) in what the special characteristics of the monk properly so-called consist, the special conditions of the monastic life, and its various types. The monk, 1

1 Thus note canon xvi. of the Council of Braga (A.D. 601):

*Si quidem rex Scisciliano corruptum in sorcellam viventem est... ut licet arma sit* (Mansi, ix. 774).


3. C. C. Merriam, *Thermaea ecce-dominations*, Amsterdam, 1792, ch. 24, note 1, referring to the compositions of the Roman and Byzantine periods, Boston, 1870, cf. 6.5.

4. J. F. C. Duvivier, *Gladiatorium*, ed. L. Faye, 10 vols., Nort, 1852-57, ii. 6. In fact, form a class apart among what are known as the religious orders; they must be distinguished from those that are commonly termed ' mendicant ' orders. Examples of the Franciscans, of Carmelites—from the clerks regular, such as the Jesuits, and from other forms of the religious life and religious congregations—e.g., the Redemptorists, Oblatarians, Sulpicians, etc. (see art. RELIGIOUS ORDERS.)

At the present day monks are represented in the Catholic Church by the Basilians and other monks of the East; by the Bollandists, Cistercians, Camaldolese, Olivetans, Carthusians, and other religious families of less importance. They must be distinguished from the ascetics who existed in the early ages of the Church, and who were simply Christians living a more purer life in the world. Nevertheless, after the monastic life properly so called had been instituted, many of these ascetics of both sexes entered the monasteries; hence we find the name 'ascetic' applied sometimes to the monks also (see, e.g., the Peregrinatio Eutherii; cf. art. ASCETISM, vol. ii. p. 63 f.). The canons regular and the military orders should also be distinguished from the monks, although there were many points of contact between them. We are not, however, concerned with them here.

II. MONASTICISM OUTSIDE OF CHRISTIANITY. —Monasticism cannot be regarded as an institution belonging exclusively to Christianity, although it is chiefly that in religion that its full development is to be sought. Examples occur in the non-Christian religions as well, and we shall see in what relation these stand to Christian monasticism.

1. Worship of Sarapis.—In recent years it has become the fashion to see in the xároes—pagan recluse lives who lived in the temples of Sarapis and their dependence on the authentic ascetical and Christian monks. Weingarten, to whom this theory owes its origin, has even maintained that St. Pachomius, the founder of Christian cenobitism, not only drew a large part of his rule from the usages of these xároes, but had been himself a xároes of Sarapis, before his conversion to Christianity, at the Sarapeum of Chonobocsium. This theory, however, rests on a series of unverified hypotheses. Pachomius was never a xároes. All that can be gathered from the most ancient life of this saint is that he withdrew to an abandoned temple of Sarapis, and that, while there, he had a vision of God—which, however, of the pernicious heresy, but of the God of the Christians. Moreover, the analogies that have been drawn between these hieroderloi and the cenobites of Christianity are only apparent.

2. Neo-Platonism.—The Alexandrian school of philosophy in the 2nd and 3rd centuries taught a kind of mysticism, more philosophical than religious, in which moral ideas and ascetic practices occupied an important place. The attempt has been made to find in this mystic philosophy the source of Christian asceticism. The latter, however, was in existence before this date, and under a very different form. Moreover, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Alexandrian philo-
that certain practices of Buddhist monasticism owe their inspiration to Christian influence.1

6. Monasticism among Jews and Muhammadans.—(a) Essenes.—The Essenes (q.v.) may be regarded as one of the most striking examples of the monastic life outside of Christianity. Whether they were looked on as a sect, as a tribe, or as a religious community, the Essenes (150 b.c.—A.D. 70) offer all the characteristics of a monastic life—community of goods, practice of poverty and mortification, prayer, and work, meals and religious exercises in common, silence, celibacy, etc. Although there was no direct relationship between them, it is nevertheless true that both Essenean and Christian asceticism derived much of their practice from the same source, viz., the Jewish religion.

(b) Therapeuten.—The Therapeutes (q.v.), whose very existence has been disputed, are described by Philo (de Vita Contemplativa) as cenobites, leading a life almost identical with that of the Christian monastics. This description bears so striking a resemblance to the life led by Christian monks that more than one writer has been led to deny its authenticity as a work of Philo and to uphold the interpretation of the author as a Christian compilation underwritten with the view of providing a venerable ancestry for the Christian cenobites. Renunciation of the world, prayer, life in common in real monasteries, the singing of the liturgy, the practice of fasting and other mortification—such are the chief characteristics of the life of the Therapeutes. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have exercised any direct influence on Christian monasticism.2

(c) Nazirites.—The Nazirites (q.v.) were men who lived an austere life, abstained from wine and all fermented liquors, never cut their hair, avoided scrupulously all legal impurities, and took a vow to consecrate their lives to God. They had certain practices in common with the monks, although their ideal was not the same. Regarding such resemblances we may point out that, as in the case of the Essenes, since Christianity itself had its ancestor in Judaism, it is not astonishing that there should be certain resemblances between their respective institutions on many points.3

(d) Rechabites.—Some (cf. T. K. Cheyne, EBR iv. [1893] 4019) regard the Rechabites as forming a sort of religious order, analogous to the Nazirites, and St. Jerome himself, on them the precursors of the monks (Ep. lxxv., 'ad Paulinum.' 5 [PL xxii. 583]). But such analogies should not be pressed too far. The Rechabites were distinguished by certain special observances, such as abstinence from wine, the prohibition against building houses, and the obligation to live in tents, but it is difficult to see in them anything more than a tribe of Bedawis such as still exist in these days and observe the customs of their ancestors with such zeal.4

(e) Muhammadans.—Muhammadanism has given birth to several religious orders, the chief of which are the Qadiri, the Malavi, the Baqtash, the Rafai, etc. The monks are called Dervishes ("poor"); they live together, 20, 30, or 40 at a time,1

1 T. Klein derives Christian asceticism from this source (Aus dem Ubrchristentum, Zürich, 1878, p. 291 f.). Against this theory cf. O. Völker, Der Ursprung des Mönchentums, Freiburg, 1901, p. 39, and O. Grimmusius to those of Christian monasticism. In the sacred books of the Hindu mention is made of hermits forming colonies and dedicating their lives to the study of the Vedas and to the contemplative life in monasteries. They are vegetarians, and practise mortification in all its forms. While in Brähmanism the monastic life has preserved its eremitic character, in Buddhism we find it, on the contrary, in the cenobitic form. The monks live together in monasteries, in the practice of poverty—as mendicants, in fact—and celibacy. Such monasteries are still to be found in Japan, Korea, China, India, and Ceylon, in the east and in the west. The laics of Tibet are the most curious examples of this form of monasticism. The monastic capital of Tibet (q.v.) is Lhassa, and of the 30,000 inhabitants of this city 10,000 are monks, who are divided into 200 monasteries. In the provinces of China there are also monasteries of this kind, some of which contain from 300 to 400 mones. They have the head shaven, and spend their time reciting prayers and performing ceremonies before the statue of Buddha. Many of them condemn themselves to a life of absolute silence, others to complete immobility. The laics of India offer another variety of the life of mortification and renunciation. A. Hilgenfeld and other writers have tried to establish the influence of these institutions on Christian monasticism. But it is easy to show, with the aid of modern scholarship, that it is contrary to the truth, and that certain practices of Buddhist monasticism owe their inspiration to Christian influence.1

1 Cf. Grimmusius, in FRED xii. 917; Helmbacher, Die Orden und Kongregations der bishärtigen Kirche, 1895, p. 545; J. K. Buchinger, Les vie contemplative et monastique chez les Juifs et chez les peuples bouddhistes, 1851.

2 On the Therapeutes and the question of the authenticity of the famous treatise of Philo, cf. Leclercq, in DACL, 1895, p. 592; and since the work of A. Maury, Les Essens et les Esséniens, 1864. As to the subject, the authenticity of the treatise would seem to be sufficiently established.


in a monastery under a head (shikhah). The Dervishes wear a long robe of coarse stuff. Reception into their order is preceded by a time of probation, which lasts for two years. In regard to religious practices, these Muhammadan monks have prayers, sacred dances, and sometimes penances, such as the privation of sleep, immobility (entertained following the作息), fasting, and solitary life (see DERVISH). Many of them are also mendicants. Some of the orders claim to go back to the time of the Prophet himself, although he had said 'In Islam there are no monks,' and although nothing is mentioned in this regard in the Qur'an. Even during the lifetime of Muhammad, however, the Sufis gave themselves up to certain practices of monasticism and lived together in community (see art. Sufism). Abu Bakr and 'Ali, contemporaries of the Prophet, formed, with his approval, communities of the same kind. Other orders were founded on the same model in Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Turkey. There were no fewer than 27 monasteries in the island of Crete alone. One of the most celebrated of Muhammadan monasteries, that of Konia in Asia Minor, possessed 500 cells.1

III. CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM. — Is Christian monasticism derived from one or other of these sources, or is it an original institution? This is a question that has often been discussed. On account of the close relationship between the different religious systems of Christian monasticism and the various forms just described, some writers have not hesitated to regard the one as the child of the other. But in this case, as in that of the history of all institutions, however striking such resemblances may appear at first sight, they are not sufficient of themselves to establish a relationship. This is a principle now accepted by all serious students of history. To prove relationship between the institutions of Christianity and those of other religions, it is necessary to produce facts clearly demonstrating that one institution has been derived from the other. This, however, still remains to be done. We shall therefore regard Christian monasticism as a plant that has grown up on Christian soil, nourished exclusively on the principles of Christianity. This seems, for the moment at least, to be the only theory that can safely be maintained.2

1. Principal Characteristics. — Christian monasticism possesses certain characteristics all of which are not equally essential, but which, nevertheless, when taken together, are necessary to constitute a monk.

2. Poverty, chastity, humility, and obedience. — The first monks, after the example of the Christian ascetics, practised poverty, chastity, humility, and obedience — virtues which, along with obedience, soon came to be regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

Beati pauperes spiritu (Mt 6:2): 'si vis perfectum esse, vade, vende tua habitation, et da paupertatem (Mt 19:23); non potes Deo servire et hæc non potes (Mt 6:24).’

3. Even if we exclude this expression, we may say that these conditions were regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

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The first monks, like the ascetics before them, took these words of the gospel literally and aban-

1 Conder, in Recueil des Monuments archéologiques de l'Asie Mineure, i. 61 t.; art. 'Derwich,' in Eth. Lexicon, iii. 1287 t.

2 It should be remarked that this is the conclusion now reached by writers of very different schools. L'Ordre monastique, Lecroq, loc. cit., Grégois, loc. cit., and Windisch, loc. cit., have all come to the same conclusion. No exception must be made, as we have already pointed out, for certain Jewish institutions, since between Jews and Christians many principles and religious ideas are held in common.

4. Even if we exclude this expression, we may say that these conditions were regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

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11. Even if we exclude this expression, we may say that these conditions were regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

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12. Even if we exclude this expression, we may say that these conditions were regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

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3. Work.—Certain fanatics, such as the Messalians or Euchites (q.v.), maintained that the life of a monk should be entirely given up to prayer; hence they condemned all work or other forms of activity. This tendency was early reprobated by the Church; all monastic founders or legislators realized the danger of such exaggerations; and one and all signalized the vice of idleness as the most to be dreaded in the monastic life. St. Augustine, in his treatise de Laborre Monachorum, condemns this error, and shows the real necessity of work for those who follow the monastic vocation. Already in the East, due to the 4th cent., it was an established principle that the monk should live by the labour of his hands. The work of the monk was of two kinds: (a) manual, and (b) intellectual.

(a) Manual.—The manual labour of the early monks consisted chiefly in the weaving of mats or the cultivation of the soil. These occupations had as their principal motive not so much the interest or gain in mortification as to all the mortifications already forming part of their existence, and especially the avoidance of idleness. The proceeds of their work were usually handed over by the monks to the poor or to the prisoners, or else they were handed over to the community itself (Cassian, de Conaborum institutis, x. 22 [PL xix. 388 f.]). In the case of the monks of the West this manual work was ordered and methodized in such a manner that it resulted in the clearing of a large part of the waste-land of Europe.¹

The various arts and crafts had also their place in monastic activity, but in the West rather than in the East. A monastery came, in course of time, to form a little city in itself. Founded, as most monasteries then were, far from the towns and cities, this was a worldly activity, and the monks were obliged to provide for themselves, and, besides cultivating the soil, the monks had to give themselves to the exercise of the various trades necessary for their wants—e.g., baking, carpentry, weaving, etc. In addition to the arts of drawing and manuscript painting, architecture, sculpture, and the fine arts were cultivated with great success.

(b) Intellectual.—The intellectual work of the monastery consisted chiefly in the lectio divina, i.e., the reading and study of the sacred Scripture and other holy writings. In the West this part of the monastic curriculum underwent a great development and took more and more time when given to intellectual work. The copying of ancient MSS in the scriptorium of the monastery became one of the principal occupations of the monk, and it is to this fact that we owe the preservation of the greater part of the works of classical antiquity. The arts of calligraphy, drawing, painting, and the illumination of MSS took place as a natural consequence, and some monasteries had attached to them studies, from which came forth works of art that are now among the most precious possessions of the libraries of Europe.²

(c) External work; the sacred ministry.—The monks, especially in the East, retired from the world into solitude, there to lead lives of prayer and labour apart from all intercourse with it. They took part in the external ministry of the Church only on rare occasions and by force of special circumstances. A number of monasteries, however, received ‘oblates,’ i.e. children cons-


² Cf. art. ‘Bibliothèque,’ in DACL.


The Rule of St. Basil (Opera sacræ, Regularis fatus tractatus; Opera nostrorum tractatus [PL XXVII. 557-619]) was a set of regulations for community life in the monasteries of the 5th century. The Rule, written by Basil of Caesarea (fl. 329), was intended to provide a framework for the spiritual and physical life of monks living in monasteries. It was widely influential and was adopted by many monastic communities across the Christian world.

The Rule of St. Basil lays out a series of guidelines for monastic life, including the organization of the monastery, the role of the abbot, the structure of the community, and the conduct of the monks. Basil emphasized the importance of asceticism and the need for strict obedience to the rule of the monastery. He also stressed the importance of prayer, work, and community life.

The Rule of St. Basil was not the only monastic rule in use during this period, and there were many variations on the theme. However, it was one of the most widely adopted and was influential in the development of monasticism.

In the centuries following its composition, the Rule of St. Basil was subject to retouching by various authors and was eventually incorporated into the Rule of St. Benedict. Despite these changes, the Rule of St. Basil remains an important document in the history of monasticism and continues to be studied and discussed by scholars today.
MONASTICISM

St. Columban, his Penitentiary, and that of St. Columban, are the only ones the authentic character of which is really established. As its early date collections were made of all these monastic Rules. 1

The question of monastic costume is one with regard to which the manners and customs of the ancients show a bewildering variety. It is also, from the archaeological point of view, one of the least clear. It seems that there was originally no special dress for monks. The only rule on the subject seems to have been that the monk in his character of ascetic should, like certain ancient philosophers, show in his costume the outward sign of the poverty and humility of his state of life and of the conditions of the world. Even St. Benedict, at a time when monasticism already had customs and traditions both numerous and of long-established date, does not seem to have given much importance to the form, colour, or quality of the habit worn by his monks (Regula, ch. iv.). Nevertheless, at an early date certain garments worn by the monks, and borrowed in all probability from the peasant population among whom they lived, came to be regarded as traditional, and in time even had a mystic meaning attached to them, as in the case of the liturgical vestments. In spite of this the monastic habit must always be carefully distinguished from the latter category.

We may now enter into greater detail regarding the monastic costume worn by the ancient communities both in the East and in the West. Many of these garments are still in use among their descendants.

The ancients did not know the use of linens. The tunic of wool was their upper garment (celsilia, coelestium, coelestis). The monks adopted this. It had short sleeves or was sleeveless. The ancients often wore the tunic made of goatskin or camel's hair. Among the Greeks and Romans a tunic, made of a haircloth, with a hood, was the vestiment (M. et L. xiii. 74). The tunic was girded by a cinchon, which recalled that worn by John the Baptist (Isa. pellice clappin linnos suos,' Mt 3:4), and which soon became an essential part of the monastic costume. It was made of a kind of leather (laesathor, Zou, Botass, cimilerns, etc.). 2 The hood and the scapular are also characteristic of the monastic habit. The first (cucullus, cuculla) was originally merely a covering for the head. It was, in fact, the ordinary head-covering of peasants, and is found in both East and West, and protected the head against the heat of the sun, and could be thrown back at will on the shoulders. The hood came in time to be attached to a garment covering the shoulders and breast to protect them against the weather, and finally developed, after various transformations, into the cowl—a simple vestment falling in wide folds to the feet and with large sleeves. The cowl is the distinctive choir-habit of the monk. The scapular (scapularis) seems to be peculiar to Benedictines, and will be discussed in this treatise since there is no mention of it before the time of St. Benedict. Still it is evident, from the text of his Rule, that St. Benedict, in his own invention, as his text has been compared to an analogous garment worn by Eastern monks: but it is more probable that it was originally a kind of blouse or tunic girded and hooded attached, as was worn by peasants in the neighborhood of Monte Cassino. St. Benedict prescribed wearing a kind of loose garment—scapular—over his proper opera, and was worn to protect the rest of the habit, and replaced the cubiculum, protomology indicates that it covered the shoulders.

The Eastern monks usually wore huarot. St. Pachomius, however, gave his monks sandals, and St. Benedict speaks of

1 Hobee gives two other Rules attributed to SS. Comagall and Columba. For this question see L. Gougard, 'Inventaire des regles monastiques francaises,' in Revue Benedictine, xxv. [1808] 187-189, 219-239; O. Rebusch, Uber Codices von Louvain Klosterregeln, Dresden, 1883; Leclercq, in DACL ii. 3212 ff.

2 The earliest and most celebrated of these collections is that made by St. Benedict of Aniane (c. 425), entitled Conciliae Regularum (Concordia Regularum minima prumina edita ex Bibliotheca Florentinorum Monasterii, notiones ac observationes illustrata ad h. Benedict. O.S.B., Paris, 1858 = PL cli. 701-1360). Cf. L. Trunfr, 'Bibliotheca Gregoriana,' in Revue Arch. et Lit., t. vii (1901) 23 f. For other attempts of this kind see J. Thielman, Abert Le Mire, etc.; ed. also Heimbucher, p. 76. Of monastic recent date: H. Hobee, Codex Regularum Monasteriarum et Conformorum, 3 vols., Rome, 1861, completed by Brockie, Holstieni Cod. reguli monasterii et conventuum, 4 vols., London, 1841, in critical his wirdes historiche, Augsburg, 1759 (PL cli. 693-700).

3 D"renenberg-Seglies, l. c. 294; tr. 'Birrus,' in DACL ii. 901-902.

4 Cf. H. Guerard, in DACL ii. 901-902.

5 Cf. R. C. May, in DACL ii. 901-902.


7 Cf. Symon of Vannes, 365, can. 7; Symon of Agde, 506, can. 38; G. D. Main, Concilii, Paris reprint, 1915-15, v. 904, vili. 351.

'pedes ex calicis,' which seem to have been a kind of stocking, or sock, and sandals. Archaeologists have disputed at length as to the exact meaning of these terms and also regarding the other parts of the monastic habit.

iii. DIFFERENT TYPES OF MONKS.—The monks may be divided into various classes. We shall speak of the various types of monks: 1

1. Hermit.—The hermits (eremitae, from eremo, 'desert') lived in solitude in the desert; St. John the Baptist, and later St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, were the first of these. During the primitive period the comparative advantages and excellence of the solitary and cenobitic forms of monastic life formed the subject of frequent discussions. St. Basil strongly maintains his preference for the cenobitic life over the eremitic life, and his preference is shared by St. Benedict. It is undeniable that in early days the eremitic life had the greater number of adherents; but in course of time it declined, even in the East, while, in the West, it cannot be said ever to have existed except as an exceptional case of things. After the 16th cent. it almost completely disappeared.

6. Sarabaites and Gyr vagoi, or Circumceliones.—Among the other monastic types, ancient authors draw attention to the Sarabaites and the Gyr vagoi, who were regarded as an evil kind of monks. The first, mentioned by St. Jerome under their Syrian name of 'Remboith' (Ep. xxii. 34 (PL xxii. 419), lived together in twos and threes in a monastery, in order to live a life without adventures. But in course of time it declined, even in the East, while, in the West, it cannot be said ever to have existed except as an exceptional case of things. After the 16th cent. it almost completely disappeared.

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5. Cenobites (from κοινοβίον, 'one who lives in common with others').—This was the general term for all monks living together. Among the Sarabaites and Gyr vagoi, who, on account of their relatively small number, may be regarded as exceptional cases. The former lived enclosed in cells, sometimes completely walled up and separated from the exterior only by means of a small window. The latter, who are found almost exclusively in the East, lived on the top of a pillar, more or less elevated from the ground.
either rule or law, following no other rule than that of their own will or caprice. The Gyrovagi or Circumcellionies ('vagabonds') went from monas-
tery to monastery, demanding a lodging for a few days, and scandalizing all true Christians by their excesses. 3

7. Catenati.—As the name indicates, these monks loaded themselves with chains. They took no care of their bodies, allowed their hair and beards to become long, and did not have the slightest regard for monastic discipline. They were, according to Jerome, the forerunners of the great future hermits. Their mode of life was called Carcer munasticus, or the life of the cell. No wonder that Jerome was surprised at the sight of a man wearing chains and a black cloak, and the yearning for the ascetic life of the desert.

Cf. A. Crr, 1 J. 119-130. These formed a class intermediary between the earlier ascetics and the monks properly so called. They were found in Jerusalem, in the East, and in Asia Minor. Some of them followed the example of the Gyrovagi, and spent their life wandering about, and some fell into the heresy of the Eunomites. 4

IV. HISTORY OF MONASTICISM.—I. ORIGIN OF THE MONASTIC LIFE; THE ASCETICS. —The ascetics of early Christianity may be regarded as the ancestors of the monks. The greater number of the characteristics of which we have already spoken as belonging to the essence of the monastic life. Like the ascetics of the present day, they were imbued with a feeling of poverty, celibacy, the practice of mortification, fasting, silence, prayer, etc. The ascetics were, in fact, simply monks living in the world.

It was natural that, as Christians gradually became more worldly, the ascetics should retire from their midst and betake themselves to the desert; and here we have the origin of true monasticism—the first monks were ascetics living retired from the world in the desert.

It is certain places to exist, is the monastic life, that is the essence of monasticism, as art. ASCETICISM. It may be remarked, in passing, that Christian asceticism, while recognizing among some of the prophets and just men of the Old Law (such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist) its ancestors or forerunners, claims, above all, as its source and foundation the doctrine of Jesus Christ, who taught renunciation under all its forms. Not to mention certain axioms occurring in the writings of the Apostle Fathers—in those, e.g., of Tertullian, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, whose 'true Gnosticism' offers many characteristics of asceticism—we may consult certain documents that will give assistance in arriving at a knowledge of this movement precursory of monasticism, especially the Epistles of pseudo-Clement—'To Virgins' and the work of pseudo-Cyprian, de Singularitate Clericorum. 5

II. MONASTICISM IN THE EAST.—1. Sources. —The question of the authenticity and truthfulness of the documents on which the history of the early years of Eastern monasticism is founded has given rise, in recent years, to lengthy and impassioned disputes.

1 For these different kinds of monks cf. Cassian, Collationes, xvi. 3, ed. Leclercq, in DACL ii. 2818.

The authenticity and veracity of the Historia Monachorum have also been the subject of much discussion, but it has a certain historical value. For discussions regarding the text see the works of Butler, Ladeuze, and Folard, already cited above. See also Leclercq, Histoire Monast., i. 1920, f. 731. 7 Futon Silice, in DACL ii. 2343-2357; O. Banier, Leben, Patrologie, etc., Freiburg i. Br., 1906, p. 615 ff. The text of the Rule of Cassian, which was believed to be lost, has recently been discovered in Munich and at the Escorial (Cf. H. Eickner, Die Quellen und die Schriften der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsnur, Munich, 1906, pp. 70-94).

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MONASTICISM

Lower Egypt, and was the father of monasticism in Nitria.1 His disciples lived in huts and met together in the monastic church on Saturdays and Sundays. There were 8 priests in the colony to carry out the liturgy and preside for the community. According to the \textit{Lausiac History}, there were 600 hermits in the desert of Nitria. Idleness was carefully excluded, each monk being obliged to provide for himself by his own labour. In the evening, hymns and psalms were chanted. The discipline of the life was very strict. Ammonius died before 336. His disciples continued his traditions in Nitria. The theological works of Origen were found there, and the \textit{Gospel of Truth}, which contains the words of the Lord, was written and edited there. The Desert of Scete still preserves the ruins of their ancient monasteries, one of which, known as the monastery of St. Macarius, is inhabited by a few Copts.

Besides Nitria and Scete, the whole of Egypt was strewn with hermitages—the Thebaid, Lyco-polis, Koptes, Oxyrhynchos (where there are to be found 10,000 monks and nuns), and Arisino, where there were also 10,000 monks. (\textit{Hist. Laus.}, 5, 18.)

In Upper Egypt the name of Pachomius attracted special attention. He was instructed in the monastic life by a venerable hermit named Palamon, and established himself at Tabenna (Tabenatus)—a name that was to remain famous in monastic history. Pachomius is the real founder of Christian monasticism. His disciples lived together under the same roof and were subject to the same discipline. Other monasteries were founded which followed the same observance, and thus monasticism was gradually spreading. Revisiting the organization of the Pachomian monasteries see above (p. 785; cf. also W. E. Crum, \textit{Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri}, edited with an Appendix upon the Arabic and Coptic Versions of the Life of Pachomius, \textit{A necoda Ostensiani, Semitic ser.}, pt. ii, 1913). While speaking of Pachomius, we must not omit to mention one of his disciples named Schemondi of Atripe, whose history has been revealed recently through Coptic MSS., and who, although he did not exercise so marked an influence as Pachomius, played an important part in the history of the monastic life. The profession of obedience which he taught, \textit{taurokcephalos} or \textit{taurokephalon} is the oldest document of this kind that we possess, and it marks a stage in the history of monastic Rules. Schenoni made the attempt to combine the eremitic with the monastic life, and he succeeded to a certain extent.2

(b) \textit{Sinait.}—From Egypt the monastic life soon spread as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, on which there were later several flourishing monasteries. St. Nilus of Sinai († c. 420) and St. John Climacus were its shining lights and may be regarded as the great doctors of the ascetic life. The \textit{Peregrinatio Ethisen} gives interesting details regarding the monasteries of Sinait (see below iii. (d)).

(c) \textit{Palestine.}—The monastic foundations of Palestine were less illustrious. It will suffice to quote the names of Hilarion of Gaza, a disciple of St. Anthony of Egypt, and St. Theodora, a nun of Melanion the Elder at the Mount of Olives, Paula, and St. Jerome.3 In this region monasticism made considerable headway. The number of monasteries and nunnery roose to 100, and the influence of these religious houses in the quarrel between Origenism, Eutychianism, Monothelitism, and iconoclasm was very important. It would be impossible to give here even an approximate idea of their extent; we content to refer the reader to the authors cited in note 2 below, and also to the attempt at a classification of some of the Palestinian monasteries in \textit{Lecquer, DACII II.} 3165–3175. It was only with the Arab king and later with the Arab hajj that the progress of these monasteries was arrested.

(d) \textit{Syria.}—Syria became at an early period a land of monasteries. It has even been questioned whether the monastic life was first introduced into Syria, i.e., whether it did not, as in Egypt, spring directly from the native practice of asceticism—which must be regarded as an early phase of monasticism—or whether, on the other hand, it was an importation from without. The latter opinion seems to be the more likely. The Syriac life of Mark-Armin, beneath its legendary surface, contains a residue of its history which can be extracted like a mining. According to this history, he came from a Pachomian monastery, established himself amongst the mountains near Nisibis, and died there in 363, leaving behind him a flourishing monastic house.4 The recently edited works of Aphrahat give some curious information about other solitaries (\textit{mauræs}), who seem to have ascetics living in the world rather than real monks.5

At Ein Karéma we have Julian regarded as the founder of monastic life in that country, and especially Ephraim the Syrian, a contemporary of St. Basil. He lived many years as a hermit, then went to study monastic traditions.6


3 \textit{Inscriptions grecques de la province d’Egée,} Paris, 1859, p. 224 (cf. \textit{DAEI II.} 3165).—\textit{natixmah.}

4 \textit{Hist. Laus.}, 8, 80.

5 G. Steindorffer, \textit{Durch die Rhyемые Wüste nach der Oase des Oryxier Ammon,} Berliner Lokalbeobachter, 10th March 1900.

tions under the guidance of St. Basil, and perhaps visited Egypt also. He is one of the principal scholars of the Syrian Church, and his numerous works contain much information regarding the monastic life.

There were colonies of hermits in Cilicia, round about Antioch, and in the Desert of Chalcis in the 4th and 5th centuries, and this was known as the Thebaid of Syria, and there St. Jerome lived as a hermit from 373 to 380. In the 5th century, the first of the Styllites, St. Simeon, makes his appearance. The work of these Syrian monks was of considerable importance, and it was to this kind of life that the monkish orders of the West were afterwards largely indebted for their monastic life as for all other institutions of the Empire. The Aecenites and the Studites deserve a long study to themselves; they have already formed the subject of many treatises, to which we can here only draw attention in passing.

The foundations attributed to Constantine or to the time of his immediate successors can, however, be admitted only with reserve. I must direct the reader's attention to the passage of Cypnis, which is quoted above, pp. 150-163; Bardeen here, pp. 357-360.


iii. MONASTICISM IN THE WEST.—I. Before St. Benedict.—(a) Rome and Italy.—It has been remarked, and with justice, that while, in the introverted life of the enclosé monk, careful mention is made of all the various degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—even down to that of foster—no allusion has ever been found to ascetic, anchorite, cenobite, monk. The maxim of the church of monks of consorted virgins, and of monasteries at that period cannot, however, be denied. We leave on one side the legend of Boniface and Agnes, which is, moreover, the Eastern origin of Constantia, daughter of Constantine, gathered together around the tomb of St. Agnes a community of virgins. It was in a Roman monastery also that St. Marcellinus, sister of St. Ambrose, consorted herself to God (352-360).\(^1\) From this time onward Roman monasticism, with Amba, lived the ascetic life, and founded near the mouth of the Tiber a hospice which was served by monks.\(^2\) St. At. St. Martin, the Gaul, followed in the footsteps of two Egyptian monks. He remained there three years and inspired this community, so deeply Christian in spirit, with admiration of and sympathy for the ascetic ideal of the Therelid. He made proselytes even from among the highest society of Rome, and Marcella, daughter of the widow Albina, along with Melania the Elder, devoted herself to the life. So the community of ascetics and cenobites was founded on the Aventine, from which stand out names such as those of Sophronia, Asella, Paola, and Fabiola. The favour shown towards such institutions by Pope Damasus and, in particular, the arrival in Rome of St. Jerome, who became the spiritual father of the community on the Aventine, greatly accentuated the movement.\(^3\) The attempt made by Vigilantius to oppose it in favour of monasticism had no other result than that of starting a controversy with St. Jerome, from which Vigilantius came forth utterly crushed and humiliated (c. 385).\(^4\)

In the first half of the 5th century the progress of monasticism was scarcely less rapid than in Rome itself. In the middle of the 4th century, Eusebius of Vercelli, still exiled in Egypt, returned to his church (in 364) and obliged the clergy of its cathedral to submit to the monastic rule of life. His example was soon followed in Milan, under St. Ambrose, and at Aquileia,\(^5\) while Cremona, under the bishop Vincent (c. 392), Novara, under the bishop Gaudentius (397-417), Bologna, Ravenna, under St. Peter Chrysologus, Pavia, under the bishop Ennodius, and Turin, under the bishop Victor, all favoured the monastic movement.

In S. Italy, besides Nola with its illustrious bishop, St. Paulinus, we find monasteries at Naples, at Capua, and in Etruria, Sabina, Umbria, Picenum, at Tuscanum, Monte Calvo, Fundi, on the Athos and its Monasteries, 3 vols., Kieff and Moscow, 1885-82 (Basle); Cursus, op. cit.; E. X. de Vogüé, Syrie, Palétine, Mont Athos, Voyage au pays du palais, Paris, 1876; Kramerscher, pp. 113-115, 1923; D. Placidus de Meezer, Voyage de deux bénédictins aux monastères de Mont Athos, Paris, 1898; V. Viennetulli, Monte Athos e la moderna Roma, 1885; St. Luke. Early History of Monasticism on Mt. Athos, Oxford, 1926.

1 Leclercq, in DACL II, 3175.
6 On Vigilantius cf. below, p. 729.

banks of Lake Fusine, on the islands off the Mediterranean coast of Italy, Gorgona, Capraja, Sardinia, and the Isle of Cabis (near Torrentum).\(^7\) It would be difficult to draw up even a simple catalogue of these monasteries, so numerous were they.

Cassiodorus (c. 570) was contemporary with St. Benedict. He has even been conjectured that his Rule was based on this latter, but this is more than a conjecture. What is certain is that the minister of Theodoric, on his property of Vivarium, gave the example of a monastery where the ascetic discipline and the observance of the rule was allied with a high degree of intellectual culture. While, on the summit of Mt. Morius, the hermits gave themselves up to their solitary vocation, in the monastery built at the foot of the mountain the cenobites spent their time in the diligent copying of MSS.\(^8\)

(b) Gaul.—Monasticism, which was to play so considerable a part in Gaul, was established there at an early date (2nd half of the 4th cent.) and with great éclat by St. Martin of Tours. At first it took the eremitic form. The disciples of St. Martin lived as hermits, meeting for exercises in common on the estate of the monastery founded in Gaul was that of Ligugé, in 360. There were, besides, Marmoutier (Martinianum) and, no doubt, a great number of other houses, which were present at the obsequies of St. Martin.\(^9\) St. Martin wrote no Rule for his monks, and the latter seem simply to have followed the general traditions of the ascetic life. Several of his disciples applied themselves in company with their master to the work of the apostolate. This would explain why this first attempt at monasticism in Gaul did not leave any lasting traces behind it.

We find, about the same date, that there were monks at Rouen, in the Morinie (Boullonais, Artois, W. Flanders), in the forests, along the coast, and even in the islands of the coast.\(^10\)

St. Sylvester Severus, the historian of St. Martin, established a community of ascetics in his villa of Primaliucum.\(^11\) Gregory of Tours (594) gives in his works most valuable information regarding the monastic life during the 5th and 6th centuries. The greater number of the monks whose lives he wrote, while possessing their own characteristic spirit, are still largely under the influence of the rule of the former, the precepts of the monastic life.

The most interesting of all these experiments in the monastic life at this period is the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Lérins on an island that name off the coast of the Mediterranean near Cannes. Monastic life, inaugurated there towards the year 410 by St. Honoratus, was to continue through many long centuries, almost without interruption, to our own day. It was at the beginning a mingling of the eremitic and cenobitic elements. Both manual and intellectual work were held in honour, and great was the influence exercised by the monks of Lérins throughout the Middle Ages.\(^12\) It will be sufficient, for this earlier

1 Cf. Spreitzenhofer and Leclercq, loc. cit.
4 Malonay, op. cit.
5 A. Carle-Seineburg, Recherches sur les lieux habités par les monuments de la monastère littéraire de Lérins, Tires, 1876; P. Meaux, Sainte Sève à Primaliucum, Paris, 1897.
Another important influence exercised over the development of monasticism in Gaul during this period was that of Cassian. His works were in reality the first monastic code in Gaul (see above, p. 786). Cassian, the whole of the West. He founded the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, which became renowned, and other monasteries also.

St. Cesarius, bishop of Arles, must also be regarded as one of the principal monastic legislators at this date. We can only mention the monasteries founded by Leorian in the diocese of Vienne, by St. Theodulaire in Istrie, in the Isle Barbe, at Condé (St. Claude), and at St. Maurine of Agune, and by SS. Romanus and Lupicianus in the Jura.

(c) Britain, Ireland, the Celts.—The monastic life was established fairly early among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, and underwent an extraordinary development among them. Its introduction into Great Britain was due to St. Germanus of Auxerre, who gave the name to the island in 430 to reinforce his ecclesiastical discipline. In Wales Llan Llud, Llancarvan, Ti-Gwen, and Bangor soon became renowned. Some of the monks from these monasteries—St. Gildas, St. Laurence of Saul Aurelian, and St. Samson—established the monastic life in Brittany (Armorica), where it also made great advance. Monasticism in Ireland has much in common with that of Britain, to which it seems, in fact, to owe its origin. The name of St. Columba and that of his foundation at Iona stand out conspicuous in its history. Another saint whose name we must not forget is Donatus of the Celtic monks, although his chief foundation, Luxueil, belonged to Gaul, is St. Columban, the rival and namesake of Columba. His rule, inspired entirely by the principles and traditions of Irish monasticism, spread rapidly in Gaul and disputed for a time the predominance of that of St. Benedict.

(d) Spain.—In Spain the beginnings of the monastic life are somewhat obscure. The Council of Elvira (c. 300) makes no allusion whatever to either asetics or virgins. The Peregrinatio Etheiriae belongs to the last quarter of the 4th century. It is the account of her journeying in the East and her return to Spain, to which she sent her nuns in Spain by a Spanish virgin named Etheria, or Egeria, who was, in all probability, abess of the community to which she writes. We find further traces of the ascetic and monastic life among the Priscillianists of Spain, in this century. Priscillian gave himself out as an example of asceticism (see art. PRISCILLIANISM). It has recently been shown that the Regula Consensoria Monachorum, attributed at first to St. Augustine, then to a contemporaneous of St. Fructuosa, probably comes from a Priscillianist source, in the 5th century. It is a Rule for cenobites, original in character.

The Rule of St. Isidore († 636) and that of St. Fructuosa of Braga (c. 669) also deserve mention. They enjoyed considerable success until the advent of the Rule of St. Benedict in Spain, which became there, as in almost the whole of the Western world, the only rule for monks. Vigilantius, who represents the element hostile to the monks and ascesis, was a priest at Barcelona in 356. During the year 409 the invasions in Spain, as everywhere else, resulted in the destruction of the monasteries. Mention of this is to be found in the chronicles of the period.

The Council of Tarragona, in 516, turned its attention to the monks. St. Martin, abbot of Dunio near Braga, who is known as St. Martin of Braga, and who had been a monk in Palestine and played so important a part in the history of the conversion of the Suevi, labour at the restoration of the monastic life in Spain.

Two other bishops, SS. Leander and Isidore, also worked for the same end. The first wrote a Rule for the monks, the second drew up a Rule for monks. The latter was already known to St. Leander, the friend of St. Gregory the Great, and to Tajo, bishop of Saragossa (c. 650), the great admirer of the works of St. Gregory and of his Dialogues, in which the praises of St. Benedict are set forth. This bishop did much to spread the knowledge of these works in Spain. Besides these names, we find, between the date of the conversion of Visigothic Spain (587) and that of the Arab invasion (711), those of certain monks and hermits—the African Donatus, who, along with 70 monks, also from Africa, took refuge in the monastery of Servilianum, in the province of Valencia; St. Emilian, who enjoyed a wide-spread cultus in Spain; the hermit, Valerius, in the neighbourhood of Astorga, etc.

(e) Africa.—In Africa the first monastic centre seems to have been formed around the person of St. Augustine. This saint had studied the monastic life both in Rome and in Milan, and, on his return to Tagaste, he installed himself with some of his friends in a house, where they devoted themselves to the practices of asceticism. Ordoined priest, he founded a second monastery at Hippo, where he lived himself till he was made bishop in 390. He then transformed his episcopal dwelling into a monastery like those of the bishops of Milan, Vercelli, and others at this time, and so founded what we may call a ‘cathedral monastery,’ or, as he himself called it, ‘monasterium clericorum.’ Others of the African episcopate soon followed this.

2 Malory, op. cit.
5 C. P. de Montalembert has devoted to the history of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon monasteries a large portion of his book, Les Moines d'Occident, Paris, 1860-77; see esp. bks. xii.—xiii.; see also Migne, Patrologia Latina, II. 1827-81; see also Dumont, Hist. fondation des monastères irlandais, Rev. Hist. xliii. (1903) 327-328.
6 Leclercq, in DACL II. 2229; Albers, 'El Monachismo Primo.'
8 Leclercq, in DACL II. 2229; Albers, 'El Monachismo Primo.'
example, and Hadrumetum, Uzala, Calame, Cirta, Milleve, and Carthage became real centres of monastic life. The *Regula pro Monarchia* attributed to St. Augustine is not under this form, as we have already said, but it is drawn from his letter (excit.) to religious bodies of both sexes living in poverty and chastity, passing their time in prayer, the perfection of Robert, and in certain works of charity. The counsels of the great bishop are characterized by the charity, discretion, breadth of mind, and high spirituality to which all was agreed was a duty. It was spoken of his famous treatise, *de Opere Monachorum*, composed in the year 400.

The Vandal persecution was unable to destroy all these monasteries, but it arrested for the time the progress of monasticism in Africa. Byzantine rule (533–709) restored peace and liberty, and a true renaissance of religion took place, in which monasticism naturally benefited. Several new monasteries were founded, notably at Ruspe and at Teleessa. The ruins of the latter still exist, but the Muhammadan invasion was to destroy monastic life in Roman Africa as well as Christian life in general.

(f) On the Danube, in the region of Noricum, we have to mention the wonderful work among those people of St. Severinus († 482), called 'the apostle of Noricum.'

2. From St. Benedict to the 13th Century.—St. Benedict, born at Nursia (c. 480), died at Monte Cassino (c. 540), deserves a place apart in the history of Western monasticism. The influence exercised by his Rule in the West may be compared to that of St. Basil in the East. Having dwelt, at first, as a hermit among the Sabine mountains, he later gathered disciples round him, founded monasteries at Subiaco and Monte Cassino, and wrote a Rule which, after the lapse of two centuries, became the one monastic Rule of the West. It may, in fact, be said that the history of Western monasticism is practically identical, for the greater part of the Middle Ages, with that of the Benedictines. The Rule of St. Benedict, which is divided into 73 chapters, is written for cenobites, and addresses itself exclusively to those who follow that form of monastic life. It teaches the virtues of humility, obedience, and poverty, and enjoins the practice of silence, hospitality, and manual work. It regulates the hours for prayer and labour, and lays down the order of the daily monastic life. The monastery forms, as they were, a little city or, better, a complete society provided with all its necessary organs. At the head of all is the abbot, assisted by his provost, or prior, and his seniors, while at the head of every 10 monks is the dean. Then there are the cellarer, who is charged with the temporal affairs of the monastery, and the various other officials that divide between them the different functions necessary to the well-being of the house. The monastery should, as far as possible, provide for itself and possess a garden, a mill, and all the necessary offices and work-shops. The sick, too, are to be specially taken care of, and the monks and the *oblati* receive necessary instruction. Guests are to be received with honour. Those who offend against the Rule must receive punishment according to their deserts. Such is, in summary, the Rule of St. Benedict—a Rule which is clearly reflected that spirit of wise discretion and justice which was the genius of the Roman character, while at the same time it is penetrated throughout and has already a strong note of Christian asceticism, and rival in its discretion and its sublimity of view the Rule of St. Basil itself.

St. Gregory († 604), the greatest of all the popes of the early Middle Ages, in giving to this Rule the support of his authority and in reconstituting, in his *Dialogues*, the life and miracles of its author, assured its predominance over all other monastic Rules. He himself founded a monastery in his own house (the Monastery of St. Andrew, on the Celian), in which the Rule of St. Benedict was observed, and sent to England one of its monks, his disciple St. Augustine, who, while commencing the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons, at the same time implanted in their midst that Rule which was destined to take such firm root there and to spread far and wide over the land.

(a) England.—The Christianity established by St. Augustine among the Anglo-Saxons was thoroughly monastic in character. In the greater number of towns—e.g., at Canterbury, York, London, Ripon, Peterborough, etc.—the monastery was the centre of the new Christianity. The church of the monastery became the cathedral, and the abbot the bishop of the diocese that was thus gradually formed. The kings of the Saxon heptarchy were one after another converted by the disciples or successors of St. Augustine, and the history of the four centuries extending from the death of St. Augustine in 605 to the Norman Conquest in 1066 is one of the finest parts of the history of Western monasticism. It would be impossible to give even a summary of it here. We cannot do more than cite some of the principal characters and the names of the chief monasteries that stand out in its pages. Among the former we have the abbots and monks Aidan, Oswald, Wilfrid, Theodore, Cuthbert, Lanfranc, Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, Alcuin, Odo, Dunstan; among the latter are Canterbury, Westminister, Malmsbury, York, Lindisfarne, Ripon, Peterborough, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Croyland, Whitby, Coldingham, Fynemouth, and Hartlepool. Even after the Norman Conquest in 1066 the history of monasticism in England does not come to an end. It was still flourishing in the 11th cent., and the Normans, far from destroying the English monasteries, founded new ones. Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury, re-peopled the Saxon monasteries with colonies of monks brought over from the famous abbey of Bec and from other Norman monasteries. Cluny, too, made several foundations in the country, and the Cistercians, in their turn, established themselves at Waverley, Rievaulx,莓ehams, and many others. St. Stephen Harding, who exercised so great an influence on the order of Cîteaux and gave it its organization, was an Englishman. The order...
of Savigny, which also had numerous foundations in England, was absorbed by that of Citeaux. But the monasteries of Cluny and 15th centuries English monasticism began to decline.  

(b) France.—However great the success of the Benedictine life in England, it may be said with truth, if its history be regarded as a whole, that France during the 18th and 19th centuries was the cradle of a new reform of Benedictine life. Cluny, although careful to remain faithful to the spirit of St. Benedict, had become the seat of culture, of the liberal arts, and of letters, and had exercised considerable influence over the external world. Citeaux, under the inspiration especially of St. Bernard, returned to an anicter conception of the monastic life. All sumptuousness and solemnity, even in the hands of the Cluniac monks, monastic architecture was reduced to its simplest expression, and intellectual and artistic culture was set on one side, manual labour and the exercise of every kind of hard work taking its place.  

The Cistercian reform, whose influence, while not to be compared with that of Cluny, was nevertheless of considerable importance, especially during the 12th cent., spread beyond France and took in a large number of monasteries in other countries. It continued to exercise its influence till the end of the Middle Ages, and was revived on a new basis when in the 17th cent. a new reform of La Trappe under the Abbé de Rancé.  

(c) Germany.—Before the introduction of the Benedictine Rule into Germany, monastic life was but feebly represented in that country. The Cluniac and Anglo-Saxon monks, SS. Pirmin and Boniface, with their disciples, brought to Germany, along with their missionary zeal, the traditions of Benedictine life, which scarcely existed there at that period, the only known trace of that 14th cent. being found in the life of St. Eugenius.  

During the 7th and 8th centuries the Celtic monks of St. Columba came into Germany and founded a number of monasteries. Among these we may mention St. Gall, Ebersmunster, Moyen-Montier, St. Oidile, Homan (Onomis), and Aschaffenburg, not to speak of those at Strassburg, Mainz, Cologne, Ratisbon, Würzburg, Erfurt, and Heggbach.  

In 1185 all the Scottish monasteries of Germany were united to form a congregation, under the jurisdiction of the Abbé of St. James of Ratiboden by Innocent II. Gradually the numbers of Scotto-Irish monks that were at first continually coming into Germany began to diminish, and by the 15th cent. they were replaced, in most of the monasteries, by Germans. After the foundation of the monastery of the Cistercian order there that of Bursfeld and becoming one with it. Mention, however, is made in the 17th cent. of a Scottish abbott, Ogilvie by name († 1640).  

Beichmann on Lake Constance began, in 742, a history glorious in monastic annals, and Murbach, Fritzlar, Hersfeld, Heidenheim, and Bischofshiem are scarcely less famous. Fulda, in the days of its prosperity, counted 100 monasteries among its inmates and became a nursing-ground for missionaries, of whom the chief were to play an important part in the history of Christian Germany. Such were Starnarius, Willibald, Wunibald, and also SS. Walbargia, Lobi, and Tiedla. Synods held in Germany in 744 and 745 discussed monastic affairs and prescribed that all monks were to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict. Worthy of special attention is the synod held in Mainz, 1849-50, and in 1862, 5th to 11th April, at the request of the Bishop of Münster, and called the Synod of the Holy Spirit of Rheinland, 'in Studien und Mittheilungen, ix. (1888) 445.
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genius in this connexion is the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 892, famous for the legislation which it laid down for the monks. Under Duke Ottilo and Tasso, no fewer than 29 cloisters were founded, some of which have left a name behind them in history—e.g., Tegernsee, Benediktbeuern, Polling, Wessobrunn, Kremmsmünster, Scharnitz, and Rheinmünster.

Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were the great protectors of the Benedictine monks. At their courts were to be seen Alcuin, Adalhard, Wala, Angilbert, Arn, Ansegis, Paul the Deacon, and, above all, Benedict of Aniane, the great monastic reformer. The Cluniac reform found its way also to Germany, where it commenced a new era of activity and prosperity for the monastic life. The monasteries of Reichenau, St. Maximin of Trèves, Echternach, St. Emmeran of Ratibson, Tegernsee, St. Maurice of Magdeburg, and Weissenburg flourished anew under its protection. Einsiedeln, whose patron was St. Meinrad, a hermit who died in 861, became likewise the centre of an important monastic reform, 1 which extended to the abbeys of Petershausen, Disentis, Pfullen, St. Blaise and Muri, Holentwiel, Kapfenstern, Ebersberg, and Rheinmünster (near Schaffhausen). The monastery of St. Emmeran of Ratibson in its turn introduced its own customs into the monasteries of St. Peter of Pfullen, Tegernsee, St. Gall (1014), and several others. In 1036 Ulrich of Ratibson (or of Cluny + 1033) was one of the most active agents in the Cluniac movement in Germany and Switzerland.

Hirsau, or Hirschen, was founded about 930, as a kind of redoubt of the Cluniac order, and against the abuses among the clergy. Like the great Burgundian abbey, it also had much influence on art, architecture, and culture in general. 2 The reform of Hirsau, while keeping its own spirit intact, was, to a large extent, inspired by that of Cluny. The annals of the monastery were written by Tribunius and Basilius. 3 Besides these reforms issuing from within the monastic order itself, mention must be made of the efforts made by ecclesiastical councils to bring back the monasteries to the practice and observance of the Rule. In particular may be cited the Synod of Rouen (1074), and those of Poitiers (1075), Rome (1085), London (1112), and Paris (1212-13). The decrees of the last council, which received the approbation of Innocent III., exercised a great influence on the monastic order as a whole.

The 4th Council of the Lateran (1215) established rules that are still in force at the present day, especially as regards the convoking of general chapters—a kind of monastic council, composed of abbots and delegates from the various monasteries, wherein are discussed matters relating to the discipline and general interests of the monastic life, which is considered at times better perhaps to the spirit of the age, and which none the less drew numerous souls athirst for perfection and formed a current which, although not actually in conflict to the ancient monastic institutions, was nevertheless very distinct from it. Such were the great Dominican and Franciscan orders and a few other religious families inspired with the same principles. No other attempt at monasticism that was really original and powerful remains to be considered, with the possible exception of the congregation of St. Maur. Hence it will be sufficient to give a brief outline of the principal characteristics of monastic history during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

The great schism of the West and the Hundred Years' War dealt another terrible blow to the monastic order. The other attempts at reformation were not less numerous than in the preceding centuries. The Council of Constance (1414-15) consecrated some of its decrees to the reformation of the Benedictine order; and it was inspired by a great meeting, comprising 131 abbeys of various monasteries, which was held at Peterhausen in 1417. In 1418 Pope Martin V. sent the abbot of Subiaco, Nicholas Seyringer, to Melk, the great Austrian benedictine abbey, with a view to that restoration of monastic life. The enterprise was successful, and a great number of the monasteries of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia rallied to Gregory to reestablish the ancient form of the monastic life. 4 This was the great Aurelian Council; a good many of the monasteries remained independent and did not formalize this complete organization. 5

The Council of Trent dealt with the question of monasteries as it did with all other Christian institutions. The 25th Session (3rd Dec. 1563) treats de regularibus et monasticis, renews the decree of Innocent III. and then, of the Lateran Council, unites the exempt monasteries to form congregations, and institutes general chapters of the various monasteries. The constitutions of various monasteries, and in the new religious life, that of St. George of Tegernsee, of St. Blaise in the Black Forest, and of Muri, Garsten, Gottweg, Lambach, etc. 6

In England, the religious houses were reformed on the lines of the Cluniac order. 7 Besides these reforms issuing from within the monastic order itself, mention must be made of the efforts made by ecclesiastical councils to bring back the monasteries to the practice and observance of the Rule. In particular may be cited the Synod of Rouen (1074), and those of Poitiers (1075), Rome (1085), London (1112), and Paris (1212-13). The decrees of the last council, which received the approbation of Innocent III., exercised a great influence on the monastic order as a whole.

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3 Alber, Untersuchungen zu den alten Mönchsgewohnheiten, München, 1886; cf. Heimboecker, l. c. 264; Berliner, L'Ordre monastique, p. 139.

4 The church of Cluny is one of the most important in the world, 5 See the list in Heimboecker, l. c. 373.
Dederoth (*1430), who had already reformed the abbey of Cusa, took Bursfeld in hand in 1453 and also Heimbucher. The three monasteries became closely united. In 1446 the abbots of Bursfeld became the president of the congregation. The constitutions show a solid organization, with general chapters, visitations, and every means of safeguarding the observance of piety and regularity. The success of this reformation grew from day to day. The cardinal of Cusa, Nicholas v., and Pius ii. accorded a special privilege. At the death of Abbot Johann von Hagen (1460) the congregation numbered 36 monasteries, which later increased to 220. In 1579 the abbey of Bursfeld, which up to this time had been the head-house of the congregation, went over to I. observationalism under the influence of Julius of Brunswick, and the congregation was itself secularized in 1585.1

We have already spoken of the monastic origins in Spain. For a long time the Rule of St. Isidore was observed in that country, side by side with that of St. Benedict. The Synod of Coyaça (1590) prescribed that either the Rule of St. Isidore or that of St. Benedict should be observed in all monasteries in Spain. Not many years later, however, the influence of Cluny began to be felt and to spread throughout Spain; gradually it predominated, and eventually the observance instituted by St. Isidore. In the 14th and 15th centuries two important congregations rose up, those of Valladolid (1390) and Monseirat (1440). The latter founded foundations in Portugal, Peru, and Mexico.2 The movement of the clausuralism at Saragossa and at Tarragona were less important.3

The Low Countries were a monastic land for a long time. Wilfrid of York, on the occasion of a journey to Rome in 678, having been thrown on the shores of Friesland, was there welcomed with great warmth. After his return to his monastery at York, he was able to divide his monks, who established himself at Utrecht, and became the great apostle of Friesland, having St. Boniface as a fellow-labourer for some time. Other missions in this region came from Rome, and England, then the country became Christian and monastic at the same time. The most celebrated of these foundations were the monastery of Eckternach.4

The Reformation in Germany in the 16th cent. had the effect of taking from their monasteries, the closing of monastic buildings, and the handing over of their revenues to laymen, and especially to Protestant princes. A great number were sacked. It has been calculated that in the Peasant War more than 1000 monasteries and castles were destroyed. A few monasteries were, however, saved from the general ruin (cf. Heimbucher, l. 205).

In England the effects of the Protestant Reformation were still more terrible for the monasteries. In 1534 the Holy Sea had caused Cardinal Wolsey to make a visitation of the monasteries, and one of the consequences of this general visit was their confiscation and almost complete secularization by Henry viii. and his minister Thomas Cromwell (1534). Elizabeth finished the work of destruction in 1559. Scotland's turn came later on (1559-1560). In all it has been estimated that 578 monasteries, of which 63 were Benedictine, were conisicated. Besides the falls and lamentable deficiencies there were not wanting monks who became martyrs, and who paid with their lives their fidelity to their vows. Benedictine life was maintained throughout all these centuries of silence and desolation by the Anglo-Benedictine congregation and has preserved the inheritance of its ancestors to the present day.6

The Reformation which destroyed the monasteries in England and Germany did not succeed in establishing itself in France. There the monasteries held out. The 17th cent. was marked by an important monastic restoration, the Benedictine congregation of SS. Vannes and Hydulphe in Lorraine and that of St. Maur in France. These two congregations, with an end and a constitution that were similar, had for their common object to re-establish a stricter mode of observance in Benedictine monasteries and to bring back the monks to the rigorous practices of the Benedictine Rule. The very large part played by the congregation of St. Maur in intellectual work bore splendid fruits and helped to found a school of erudition that has given to France a Mabillon and a Montfaucon, a Denys de Sainte-Marthe, a d'Achéry, a Constant, a Rainurt, etc.—a school that has never been equalled.7

A certain number of new orders which practised the monastic life and accepted the Rule of St. Benedict as the foundation of their life were regarded as branches of the Benedictine order. We can give only a very brief outline of their history here.

(c) Sylvestrines.—The first of these orders sprang from the Benedictine trunk is the Sylvestrines, so-called from the name of its founder, Sylvester Gonzelin, of the family of Gozzolini (*1267). In 1277 he retired to Osimo and followed the Rule of St. Benedict, adding new activities, and in a short time a few ancient monasteries took their place under the new discipline. At the time of its greatest prosperity it comprised 50 monasteries, the greater part of which were in Italy and France. In Portugal and Brazil. At the present day this number is greatly diminished. The church of St. Stephen del Caco in Rome now belongs to them.

(d) Celestines.—The Celestines are a more important branch of the Benedictines, the Sylvestrines having their foundation to the pope of that name, St. Celestine V., who at first was a hermit on Monte Morone in the Abruzzi, and then at Mt. Majella. He endeavoured to combine under one manner of life the cenobitic principle of the Benedictines and the practices of the anchorite life. When he became pope, he protected and favoured the order which he had founded, approved of its constitutions, and accorded it many privileges. His congregation, having made numerous foundations in Italy, spread into France, Saxony, Bohemia, and the Low Countries. It possessed 150 monasteries, of which 96 were in Italy and 21 in France.8

(e) Olivetans.—The Olivetans were founded by Bernard Tolomei (*1349), a professor of Law at Siena, who, in company with a few companions, retired to Mount橄榄eto, some leagues south of Siena, 1

7. Elie, le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Répertoire; Topo-bibliographie, s. v. 'Eckternach.'
whence his congregation takes its name. They lived as hermits, while following the Rule of St. Benedict in so far as its main principles are concerned. Formerly the monks did not greatly advocate the discipline prescribed by the Rule, but in later times, perhaps more especially after the saint's translation to Monte Cassino, they adhered more closely to it. The monasteries of San Miniato in Florence, and Settignano and S. Francesco Romana at Rome. Among their members are counted 4 cardinals, 5 archbishops, 30 bishops, and a few savants, such as Lancelotti, Bianchieri, etc.\(^1\)

(d) *Humiliati, Pulsano, and Monte Vergine.*—Three other orders or congregations—the Humiliati, Pulsano, and Monte Vergine—are of importance. The Humiliati of Monte Cassino, founded by St. Benedict and his disciple St. Silvester, were a religious society which undertook to reform the world by their influence, especially among the clergy. The order was founded in the 12th century, and the members were known as 'friars of St. Benedict.' They took the Rule of St. Benedict, but added certain austerities of their own, such as the wearing of the woollen habit, the use of the breviary, and the recitation of the psalms. The order was suppressed in 1628, but was re-established in 1642.

(e) *Pontevetrual.*—Among the reforms in the Benedictine order we must omit to mention that of Ebrardus, a French reformer of the 17th century. The order of Pons Ebrardi, or Pontevraut, was founded by St. Peter Damian (1062) at Fons Ebrardi, near Limoges, to which St. Benedict had withdrawn, near Limoges, to which St. Benedict had retired, after his death. The order was suppressed in 1790, but was re-established in 1815.

(f) *Camaldolese.*—This was one of the most important religious congregations of the Benedictine order. They essayed to combine the cenobitic with the anchoritic mode of life. At one time they numbered 2000 monks, and their history is intermingled with the most important events of the Church in Italy in the 11th century. Their founder was St. Romuald (1027), who was an abbot of San Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and withdrew thence to Campo Maldole in the Apennines, whence the name 'Camaldoli' or 'Camaldolese.' The order was suppressed in 1790, but was re-established in 1815.

(g) *Vallombrosa.*—The order of Vallombrosa was founded by St. Giovanni Cenacchi (1073) at Vallombrosa in Tuscany. The founder, who was not ignorant of the attempt of the Camaldolese, also took up the idea of uniting the anchoritic life with the cenobitic mode, basing his plan on the Rule of St. Benedict. This congregation, like that of the Camaldolese, also played an important part under Leo IX. and St. Gregory VII. in the reformation of the Church in his fight against simony.

(h) *Grammont and Pontevraut.*—France, which, in Cluny and Citeaux, had given birth to the two most illustrious reformation of the Benedictine order, has since contributed one of its most important attempts to improve its character, although of much less importance—the order of Grammont and that of Pontevraut. The first resembles the Camaldolese order. Its founder, St. Stephen de Bueil, near Limoges (1142), who lived a very mortified life, withdrew to Grandmon, or Grammont, a place which was at that time a desert in the country. His order was more or less a success in France, and at one time numbered about 60 monasteries.\(^2\) The order of Pontevraut, founded in the Department of Maine-et-Loire, gave its name to the order founded by Robert d'Arbrissel, who renewed an ancient institution, namely, that of double monasteries.\(^3\) The founder's influence as a missionary and preacher was enormous, and at his death 3000 monks and nuns were united under his guidance. His Rule spread to England and Spain, but Pontevraut remained the principal house. The most rigid discipline maintained the spirit of St. Robert in the monasteries thus brought together.

There were other attempts to reform the worldly life of the monks, and a few foundations that arose in certain great abbeys which we might call monastic capitals, Chaise-Dieu, L'Abbaye de Cluny, Sasso-Bigio, S. Maria dell' Abbazia, S. Savigny, S. Stuhlpaoli, and Cadouin.\(^4\)

(i) *Mechitarists.*—The Mechitarists represented one of the most curious attempts at reform in the Benedictine order. Mechitar (Mechitar or Mechitar, 1740), was an Armenian who laid down a code of conduct for his fellow-countrymen concerning the Roman Catholic Church, resolved to found an order consecrated to the work of the mission and the education of youth and the composition or the translation of Catholic works. In Armenia he was subjected to long persecutions on the part of the schismatics, but, far from being discouraged, he succeeded in founding his congregation in Armenia. His most celebrated foundation, however, was in the island of St. Lazarus, near Venice; it became a very active centre for Armenian studies. The monastery of Vienna, founded in 1766, was an Armenian society celebrated for its printing-press and its seminary.

(j) *Carthusians.*—The Carthusians, like the Camaldolese, represent a mixture of the anchoritic and cenobitic modes of life in Western monasticism. St. Bruno, their founder, withdrew to the desert of the Chartreuse (whence the name 'Carthusian') in the diocese of Grenoble, France, where he established a little colony of hermits, whose successors have succeeded in keeping together and maintaining their traditions down to the present day. A great number of foundations were made throughout all the nations of Europe. In a Carthusian monastery each monk lives in his own cell and cultivates his little garden. They come together only for divine office in choir, for conference, or for chapter, and on certain days they meet in the common refectory and for the common meal. They have always been noted for their fervour,

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6. For the detail cf. Heimbucher, i. 595.
and among them there have been a few ascetic writers of high merit. Some of their chapter-houses are celebrated for their architectural beauty and their library treasures.

The 19th cent. was one of restoration for monasticism. While in England, Germany, Austria, and Italy the ancient monastic congregations and the great monasteries of the Middle Ages had fallen into decay, and the survival of all difficulties, some attempts at monastic restoration were made in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and America. It will suffice to refer the reader to the articles ‘Beginnings of Monasticism in the Roman Church’, ib., vol. 5, pp. 445-445, for a fuller account of these attempts (cf. Heimbucher, i. 600).

V. Conclusion. – In an article that must necessarily be brief, we have been able to give only a very short summary or historical outline. To give it any degree of completeness one should study in detail the influence exercised by the monks on the Church and on society in general; consider what has been their work of sanctification, of charity, of apostleship; enumerate the services which they have rendered to civilization as savants, litterateurs, artists, agriculturists, and, at times, as statesmen. It was not, although venerated by their monastic profession to a life of retreat and renunciation, which is the kernel of their vocation, the monks have accomplished a work that has been called by no other society down to the present day.

If this résumé of monastic history had any pretensions to completeness, some mention should here be made of the nuns, in whose ranks are found characteristics as remarkable as those of the nuns, Medici, Sulpician, Gertrude, Hildegarde, Roswitha, and others. From the historical point of view, however, this is unnecessary. The nuns brought no new element into the monastic life, but were content to follow in the footsteps of the monks under the influence of the great reformers of the monastic order.


For a complete bibliography see Heimbucher, i. 643; art. ‘Asceticism’; O. Zöckler, ‘Asceticism,’ 450, 465, 481, 477, 707; R. Otto, ‘Mönchism,’ in P. J. Goffe, viii. 211 ff.; ‘Berlière, op. cit.; (Bibliography at the end of each chapter), and Bulletin d’idéal, hib. 1867-12, Suppl. au Revue Benedictine, Marburg, 1912; Butler, op. cit. pp. 635-687; Leclercq, loc. cit., and Chevalier, Repertoire: Topo-bibliographie, loc. cit., F. CABROL.

MONASTICISM (Buddhism).—I. The monastic order. — The monastic order in Buddhism, as instituted by Gautama Buddha himself, was not essentially a new creation in India, but was derived from ancient Hindu usage and practice. Separation from the world, in the solitary existence of a hermit, is found among the Hitavikrama, and the nuns, among the bhikshummas, have been almost from time immemorial a characteristic feature of Indian life. In adopting the principle of monastic rule and self-discipline as the basis of his religious system, and defining this as the sole way of religious attainment, the Buddha presented to his hearers no new doctrine or ideal, but urged and enforced a duty familiar to them from the teaching of their own sacred books. The distinctive feature of the Buddhist order, in which it was differentiated from its predecessors, and to which, in large part at least, it owed its wide extension and success, was the removal of all restrictions of caste.

Membership of the order was open to the highest to the lowest, without distinction of race or birth. All alike were bound by the vow of poverty, relinquished all personal or individual element of possession with its limitations of material enjoyment and spiritual endeavor that deliverance from the bonds of existence and misery which the Buddha taught, could never be achieved in the turmoil and distraction of a life in the world. To indicate, therefore, the life of renunciants and strenuous pursuit of the highest aim to which they pledged themselves the monks were known as bhikṣus, ‘beggars,’ bhāvanakṣas or bhavana-kṣaras, ‘endeavourers,’ the latter term being given to the novices or junior monks, and sthaviras, ‘elders,’ to those who were the senior or ruling members of the monasteries. The community of monks as a political or religious whole was known as the Sangha, or order, and with the Buddha himself and the Dharma, the sacred rule or law, formed a Buddhist triad, each member of which was idealized and invested with some sacred character that marks it as the object of a definite worship. On the sculptures the Saṅgha is represented as a man holding a lotus in his hand, the symbol of stainless purity.

In inception and intention the monasteries were not the establishment of Buddhist monks. To the latter no permanent abodes were assigned, they were to follow the wandering life of an ascetic or beggar, dependent for their livelihood upon the gifts of the laity, their only shelter the trees of the forest, or booths constructed of leaves and branches (parvata-sāla, parivasa-sāla). Only during Vesak (Varṣa), the season of the rains, when travelling became impracticable, or when they were executed only at the grave risk of injury to living beings, was it incumbent upon them to remain in a definite place or a permanent building. Caves, either natural or artificially excavated in the rock, seem to have been among the favourite dwelling-places of the early Buddhist monks. Gautama is represented as giving permission for five different kinds of abodes (patīka-tenāna): I. ‘you allow, O Buddha, these (the five caves and rocks) to be used by the bhikṣus, bhikṣummas, and bhiksukṣinas, storied dwellings, attics, caves.’ The more elaborate and permanent dwellings were, in the first instance, apparently always the gifts of wealthy laymen, who desired in this way to do honour to Gautama himself or to the order which he had founded. A usual name for the larger monasteries was saṅghārāma, the abode or delay of the Saṅgha; and the term vihāra was employed also to denote the temple where the images were enshrined in a building, which in a great many of the ancient monasteries at least, was usually distinct from the main hall.

It became necessary, moreover, at an early date to place restrictions upon the absolute freedom of entrance into the order. Such restrictions took the form of the prohibition of admission to those suffering from any mental or bodily defect, as the blind or lame, and to the vicious in habit or life,

1 Thus in the ‘three-refuge formula’ which every candidate for admission into the order was required to repeat the Saṅgha is personified, and to that Saṅgha, thus conceived, is attributed as the object of protection and aid: Buddhaka saṅghaṃ gacchhantu, ‘Bhikkhu saṅghaṃ gacchhantu, Saṅghārāma gacchhantu. ’I seek refuge in the Buddha, the Religion, and the Order’ (Mahān, i. 12. 4).

2 Cf. Chittà, vi. 1 ff.; SBX xx. 158; cf. Mohān, i. 30. 4, where these are termed ‘extra allowances’: adhīya-sāla is explained by the commentator to mean a gold-coloured flagged house.

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gamblers and those involved in debt. The consent of parents also was required in the case of a minor. No distinction or priority of caste, however, was ever recognized in Buddhism, although it seems to have been true that the early converts were for the most part Brahmans. Inasmuch as in and through the order alone was final deliverance to be attained, it was an essential feature of the Buddhist creed that no accident of birth should hinder a man from entering upon and prosecuting the path that led to salvation, for vérádha. It was impossible for the layman to work out his own salvation while in the world, lettered by its ordinances and under the spell of its attractions. He must renounce the world and become a monk, that, undistracted and at leisure, he might pursue the highest ends and win for himself final deliverance.

The earliest ceremony of admission to the monastic order appears to have been as simple as possible, and conformed to a recital of the 'three-page formula,' together with a declaration on the part of the applicant of his desire to become a monk. At first Gautama himself received and admitted all candidates. Later he entrusted this right to the monks themselves, each monk being permitted to retain on probation, if he found a candidate to be too strict, and ultimately the only limit to the number that a monk might himself receive was the condition of efficient overwork.

On admission the candidate provided himself with the usual almsbowl and the appropriate three vestments (trikhyavesa) which constituted almost his sole possessions. The color of the robes seems to have been originally dull red or reddish-yellow, as worn by most of the Hindu ascetics, but varies at the present time in different countries; in the north it is usually yellow. They were to be made in patches or torn pieces, like the rice-fields of Magada. Besides the almsbowl the ordained monk carried also with him a staff, a razor and tooth-pick, and a water-strainer, the last in order to ensure that no living creature should inadvertently be destroyed by him when drinking. The use of the rosary in addition was a practice of later origin. Frequently the robes were the gift to the Buddha or his disciples of wealthy laymen, who sought to secure merit for themselves by generosity to the order.

Upon converts from other sects who came desiring to take the monastic vows, a probationary period (prayūtihās, 'sojourn,' 'delay') of four months was imposed. Fire-worshippers and Jātillas (wearing the jata, i.e. with matted hair), however, were to be regarded on the ground of their orthodox belief; Sakyas also, because of their kinship with the Buddha.

The daily routine of monastic life admitted of little variation. The day began early with recitation and prayers, followed by the regular round for alms. Silently and with downcast eyes the monks moved in procession and presented themselves before the householders' doors, to receive whatever food might be placed in their bowls. For this they were not allowed to make request, as the Brāhmaṇ students and ascetics were accustomed to do. Whatever was bestowed they were to accept without question. If food were offered, they were to pass on to another house without showing remissness. On their return a simple noon-day meal was followed by rest and meditation, the monks sitting in groups, sometimes in the temple or hall of the monastery. In most of the

1 Mahābh. I. 89-76.
2 Dh. 52, 55. See art. INITIATION (Buddhism).
3 Mahābh. viii. 12.
4 Mahābh. I. 58.
5 Dh. ili. 8.
6 Mahābh. viii. 15.
7 Fera, p. 99 f.
would be theirs as a certain reward. In respect, however, of their wealth and resources the monasteries of Buddhist countries differ to a considerable extent. They are built on a grand scale and are full of buildings that are more numerous and lavish, are larger and better finished, and are more imposing in appearance. In the heart of a few of the great cities, the melancholy but once illustrious monasteries of Ceylon are often surrounded by a few buildings which are small and shelter few inmates. In Mongolia and Tibet they are large and elaborately furnished and decorated, and frequently occupy a prominent position in the central city. In Japan and Siam possess buildings of much architectural merit; and the monasteries and temples of Japan are not excelled for stateliness and charm by any in the world. The Chinese monasteries have suffered much from neglect and decay, and in many instances have within recent years been altogether abandoned, or diverted to secular purposes.

2. Nuns.—Apparently only with much reluctance did the Buddha consent to the establishment of an order of nuns (bhikkunis, Pali bhikkhunis). The traditional account relates that at the thrice-repeated request of Mahâpâja-pati, Gantana's aunt and nurse, strongly supported by Ananda, the Buddha gave his permission for women to go out from the household life and enter the monastic life under the discipline proclamed by the Tâthâgata. The concession, however, would probably have been less liberating, so Gantana prophesied, than the prosperity and duration of the faith which he taught; the monastic order, which had been established only for five hundred years instead of a thousand. On the same occasion he prescribed the obligations and duties of bhikkhunis contained in Eight Chief Rules, to which they were bound in strict obedience. The regulations involved subervience to and dependence upon the order of monks in all respects. A nun even of a hundred years' standing was to rise and respectfully salute even the youngest monk, nor was a nun to venture to admonish a monk, though she must submit to receive admonition from him. Further a nun may not keep Vassa in a district in which no monk is resident. It is probable that the ordination of women as bhikkhunis and the establishment of nunneries are in reality due to a later age than that of the founder of Buddhism. The institution has never become popular or gained a strong hold in any Buddhist country; and the number of the nuns has always been small relatively to the number of monks.

3. India.—The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian, Hiuen-Tsiang, and the two following centuries of the Christian era, found monasticism flourishing in N. India, and the great monasteries with their thousands of learned and studious monks exercised a powerful and attractive influence. They belonged in almost equal proportion to the two great schools of Buddhist doctrine, the Hinayâna and the Mahâyâna (Pali). In the time, however, of the visit of Hiuen-Tsiang, the most renowned of the Chinese monks (A.D. 629-645), they seem to have been losing ground everywhere to the rival sects of the Brâhmans. The most famous Buddhist monastery was that at Nâlandâ, the modern Barâgan near Gâyâ (p. 267), a description of which is given by the latter pilgrim. See further, art. NALANDA.

4. Ceylon.—In Ceylon the power and influence of Buddhism were at their highest during the early centuries of the Christian era, under the rule of the native Ceylonese kings, who were enthusiastic Buddhists, attained a high level, and were exercised not only ecclesiastically but also in political affairs. The rulers themselves received the ordination (p. 267), at the hands of the monks, who not only offered advice and exercised authority in matters of State, but also judged decrees penalties for breaches of the law. On the other hand, the kings interfered in the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and are themselves said to have taught publicly and expounded the principles of the religion. The most flourishing period of monastic life, when the communities of the monks were most numerous and wealthy, appears to have been from the 2nd cen. B.C. to the 10th cen. after Christ, when the Tamil invaders from S. India began to overrun the island half by half. Nalanda, which was then the chief home of religious faith and prosperity, destroying the monasteries and introducing the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. The death of the last Boddhisattva of the 12th cen. a brief revival of national religion took place with the re-establishment of national independence under Parâkrama the Great (c. A.D. 1097). After the death of the king, however, a decline of national and religious life again set in, during which the monasteries and schools of Buddhism manifested little vigour or initiative, and, although the religious life of the community maintained itself outwardly, it gradually fell to a low level of intelligence and spirituality. Only within the last few years have there been signs of a renewed vitality and interest in the purer doctrines and principles of the faith, and of energy or zeal on behalf of its preservation and extension.

The chief authority for the history of the order in Ceylon is the Mahâvihâra, or 'Great Chronicle,' of the island, the native record of which endured only for five hundred years instead of a thousand. On the same occasion he prescribed the obligations and duties of bhikkhunis contained in Eight Chief Rules, to which they were bound in strict obedience. The regulations involved subervience to and dependence upon the order of monks in all respects. A nun even of a hundred years' standing was to rise and respectfully salute even the youngest monk, nor was a nun to venture to admonish a monk, though she must submit to receive admonition from him. Further a nun may not keep Vassa in a district in which no monk is resident. It is probable that the ordination of women as bhikkhunis and the establishment of nunneries are in reality due to a later age than that of the founder of Buddhism. The institution has never become popular or gained a strong hold in any Buddhist country; and the number of the nuns has always been small relatively to the number of monks.

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sectarian differences in the island. These, how-
ever, concern monastic usage and habit rather than religious practice; in the latter respect there is little if any variation throughout Ceylon. There are three chief sects, the origin of which appears to have been due in all instances to external initiative and influence; and one of them, the Buddhist, is at least four hundred years old. In the last respect there is little if any variation throughout Ceylon. The earliest and most numerous sect is known as the Siamese, established about the middle of the 18th century, by a number of monks from Siam, who came to Ceylon to restore, it is said, the true succession which had been lost. About fifty years later a separation took place, apparently on disciplinary, not doctrinal grounds, and the Amarapura sect was founded, its leaders being monks who owed their rank and ordination to the Burmese city. The third and most recent sect, the most numerous, is known as the Mon, and the Amarapura sect was founded, its leaders being monks who owed their rank and ordination to the Burmese city.

The monasteries of Ceylon are for the most part small, rarely containing more than ten to twenty monks. The few larger and more important institutions alone, as at Kandy, will accommodate up to forty. They are generally divided into districts, the districts frequently only two or three monks live together. Recitation, confession, and preaching by the monks take place especially at new and full moon, and on the mid-days intervening; thus four such days make the twenty-six. The normal services last for ten days or a fortnight without interruption, and are carried out at the expense of the laymen, who by charity to the monks ensure merit for themselves. During the three months of Vassa (Was), the monks leave the monas-
terias and live in the villages, either in specially constructed sheds or booths or by invitation in the houses of rich laymen, who entertain them generously at their own expense. The rule that in the season of the rains, corresponding in Ceylon to our late summer and autumn, no journeying may be undertaken is interpreted in the sense that no monk may be absent from his village or temporary home for more than six or seven days.

5. Siam.—Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Siamese monastic rule is the control exercised by the Archbishops. The habits and discipline of the monks are similar to the practice of Ceylon. The king is visitor and patron of the monasteries, and he himself nominates the sangkarat, or archbishop, supreme ecclesiastical dignitary of the country. He selects for the office one of the four chief abbots, who are entrusted severally with the control of the northern and southern provinces of the kingdom, the general oversight of morals and ritual, and the management of the interests of the wandering monks of Siam, who are uncon-
ected with any of the sects, or monasteries. These hermits, who make their home in the jungle, are few in number, but are said to have been very numerous in the past; at least the monks of the monasteries themselves frequently spend a considerable part of the year in journeying from one shrine or sacred place to another. Parties of these pilgrims are known as phra no, as they live in procession along the roads they form a picturesque element in the country side. Each monk is accompanied by a siya, or attendant, who carries his alms-bowl and other utensils, and a portable shelter or tent consisting of a large Chinese umbrella, which is set up in the ground at halting-places and a white cloth thrown over it. There are also a few nuns, known as chii-siian, who live for the most part in huts in the neighbour-
ood of the monasteries. They are usually women advanced in years who are without relatives to provide for their well-being or maintenance. There are no regular nunneries.

The four chief abbots, together with four con-
ductors or assessors, form a sort of Court of Final Appeal in all matters of religious or ecclesiastical administration or disciplinary discipline. The Abbots, as in the hands of provincial ministers of the Church, who exercise jurisdiction within districts that correspond usually with the civil divisions of the country. The ecclesiastical organization, therefore, is parallel to that of the State, and the ruler of the State is supreme over all.

In Siam, as in Burma, the rule obtained that every male member of the nation should at some time in his life take upon himself the monastic vows, and become resident in a monastery. The accepted minimum period of residence was three months; after this the monk was free to return to the life of a layman. Most of the monks passed through the monastery schools, receiving an ele-
mentary education in reading and writing and the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The layman retained an attachment to the monastery of which he had been an inmate, and once at least in the twelve months, at the religious celebrations in the autumn at the close of Was, brought gifts and new robes for the use of the monks during the coming year. At Bangkok the king himself, as head of the Church, goes in procession with much ceremony, bearing rich presents and costly robes for the monks. In all the festivals and numerous public holidays the monks take a considerable if unofficial part, and are the recipients of much attention and many generous gifts. In Siam the obligation of indivi-
dual and personal poverty is less strictly observed than in most Buddhist countries. In some instances the monastic cells are adorned with books and pictures and furnished with ornaments and other objects of luxury, and the monks may be seen driving about the streets in carriages. The majority, however, live a simple life, and are regular in their duties and apparently sincere in their devotions. The monasteries also frequently derive considerable revenues from land or other endowments granted to them by Government, or from the gifts of private donors.

The routine of life within the monasteries is practically the same as in Burma and elsewhere in the south. The day begins and ends at an early hour. Morning prayers in the bii, the principal hall or temple of the monastery, before the great golden images, are followed by the usual early begging round. The food placed in the bowl is received in silence, and eaten
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naturally centred in the monastic communities established in the several cities on the important roads of pilgrimage, devoted with study and meditation and in giving instruction, in recitation from the sacred books, or in preaching. The usual title of the monk is phra, ‘saint,’ or ‘blessed,’ and that of the nun, maid, or ‘good mother,’ signifying ‘our Master.’ The Japanese term bonze is also in use among Europeans.

6. Burma.—The monastic life of Burma is in its essential features similar to that of Ceylon. The monasteries themselves, however, are on a far more elaborate and costly scale, and the lives of the monks are more strictly ordered and devotional. The monasteries have also been more closely in touch with the laity, both because the monks have mingled freely with the people in their festivals and religious ceremonies and, more especially, on account of the influential position which they have occupied as centres of learning and education. Previous to the establishment of European missionary and Government institutions, which to an increasing extent have supplanted them, every Burmese lad passed through the monasteries, owed whatever book knowledge he possessed to the teaching of the senior monks, and for a longer or shorter period himself participated as a recognized member of the community in the orderly life of the nunnery. The majority returned to a secular life and to the pursuit of agriculture or trade, the entire male population of Burma had practical acquaintance with the life of a monk, and knew from within its requirements and aspirations. The system contributed effectively to national unity and strength, and for many centuries made of the Burmese a literate people, even if the standard of learning was not very high. The boys learnt also respect for their elders and habits of regularity and obedience which served them well in their after careers. See art. BurMA AND dOCTANTS (Buddhism).

7. Tibet.—The distinctive feature of the monasticism of Tibet is its elaborate and gorgeous ritual, recalling in many respects the ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church. The similarity is due for the most part to the influence of the early Nestorian missionaries, who, while leaving little trace of their doctrinal teaching, succeeded in impressing upon the religious life of the country much of itself, and on the rival monasteries, which had been developed in Western lands and on Christian foundations. But, further, the Lamaist ritual includes ceremonies of exorcism and magic, accompanied by music, dancing, and dramatic performances, the whole most widely divergent from the spirit and simplicity of primitive Buddhism, the source of which is to be found in the ancient native superstitions and practices of the people, which the Buddhist missionaries from India tolerated either from necessity or of choice, if they did not actually foster them. The monastic communities of Tibet are wealthy and powerful, with large revenues and possessions. The buildings themselves are often of great size, sheltering as many as ten thousand inmates, and are imposing rather from their unrivalled position on the sides or summits of lofty rugged peaks than from any architectural excellence. At the other extreme, among the anchorites and hermits has been developed a rigorous and cruel asceticism, which is no less opposed to the true Buddhist spirit, but which is closely allied to and probably derived from the Stem of mysticism and practices of N. India. See art. LAMAISt.

S. Central Asia.—That for a considerable period Central Asia was the home of a broad and vigorous Buddhist life has long been known. That life

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immediately on the return to the monastery. No solid food is taken after mid-day. The intervals in the reciting and debating, however, are on a far more elaborate and costly scale, and the lives of the monks are more strictly ordered and devotional. The monasteries also have been more closely in touch with the laity, both because the monks have mingled freely with the people in their festivals and religious ceremonies and, more especially, on account of the influential position which they have occupied as centres of learning and education. Previous to the establishment of European missionary and Government institutions, which to an increasing extent have supplanted them, every Burmese lad passed through the monasteries, owed whatever book knowledge he possessed to the teaching of the senior monks, and for a longer or shorter period himself participated as a recognized member of the community in the orderly life of the nunnery. The majority returned to a secular life and to the pursuit of agriculture or trade, the entire male population of Burma had practical acquaintance with the life of a monk, and knew from within its requirements and aspirations. The system contributed effectively to national unity and strength, and for many centuries made of the Burmese a literate people, even if the standard of learning was not very high. The boys learnt also respect for their elders and habits of regularity and obedience which served them well in their after careers. See art. BurMA AND dOCTANTS (Buddhism).

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8. Central Asia.—That for a considerable period Central Asia was the home of a broad and vigorous Buddhist life has long been known. That life

1 See art. EDUCATION (Buddhist), vol. v, p. 177 ff.

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2 Cf. M. A. Stein, Ancient Khotan, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, passim, and Stein, Buddhist Caves of Khotan, 2 vols., 1882; also by L. Giles, J. Pells, and others, in JEAS, 1914, etc. Stein found that the memory of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Huien Tsang, is still retained at the ‘Halls of the Thousand Buddhas,’ in the west of the province of Kansu, and elsewhere in Central Asia till the present day. The Sutras, recitations, devotional, and devotion, and of the miraculous powers with which he was credited, proved to be a real power in the midst of the priesthood.

3 Hackmann, Buddhism as a Religion, lb, iii, ch. vi.; Edkins, Chinese Buddhism; Wigger, Buddhistische chinesen, L. Monachism, p. 133 ff.
The monasteries are usually small, the number of inmates rarely exceeding twenty-five or thirty, and sometimes, as in Ceylon, no more than three or four monks are found living together. The more important institutions are grouped around the capitol, but none are allowed within its walls. Each monastery’s architecture is different, the monks themselves command little respect, and are drawn, for the most part, as in China, from the lower classes. The example and influence of Japan also make it hard to keep householder of some of the buildings, which are fortified and built on high ground to dominate the country at their base. In the neighbourhood of Seoul a few nunneries exist.

The most distinctive feature of Korean monasteries is the presence of pictures on the walls. These are drawn and coloured on paper and mounted on silk, and usually represent scenes from the lives of the Buddha. Often the entire surface of the interior walls is hung with pictures, presenting a remarkable contrast to the monasteries of other lands. Externally the walls are covered with paintings in bright colours of bodhisattvas or other supernatural beings. The sanctuaries often contain only a single image, rarely more than two or three; and these are small, and for the most part of clay or wood. Metal images are almost if not entirely unknown.

In the dress of the monks they have preserved the national costume in the form of a long cloak with sleeves, worn over all, and generally white. The head of an ascetic is shaven, but not the beard. The shaved head, however, is not branded after the Chinese custom, although branding may be effected on other parts of the body, as the breast or arms. The robe is received from boys received by dedication or adoption in early childhood. Endowments are not numerous. Most of the monasteries are dependent for their maintenance upon the gifts of the laity, or, where opportunity serves, upon the personal labour of the monks in the cultivation of the temple lands.

11. Japan.—The temples and monasteries of Japan are large and well-appointed, and give the impression of a reality of creed and life which is almost altogether wanting to those on the continent. The numerous Buddhist sects of Japan have their home and abodes to life in the monastic communities, and the monasteries themselves in the details of their architecture present varieties of construction according to the sect to which they belong. In creed and belief the sects differ greatly among themselves, and have few features in common with the Buddhism of the south. In the past the activity and strenuousness of the national life found their almost complete counterpart in the monasteries, which formed associations of fighting monks at war with one another, oppressing and plundering the common people. In more settled times speculative thought, mystical, devotional, and idealistic, has been highly developed, perhaps most conspicuously in the Sect of the Pure Land, who hold a theistic creed, and expound and practise a moral code which has much in common with the mysticism of the oriental religions. As for life also, at different periods of the nation’s history, missionary effort and preaching have been prosecuted with zeal and success. Both at home and in China a similar work of propaganda is being carried on at the present time with much devotion and energy.

12. Conclusion.—It is natural to compare and contrast the monastic principles and life of Buddhism, of the Middle Ages and Early Middle Ages in Europe. In the general features of discipline and government there is much object in similarity. A monk is usually vowed to poverty and celibacy, and his chief duties are those of prayer, meditation, or instruction. His native castes, or sects, are classified in two: (1) the practice of literal mendicancy, which takes the form of a daily round, equipped with staff and begging-bowl, to receive whatever portions of food, drink, or clothing the poor may bestow. In the countries where the Mahayana type of Buddhism has prevailed this custom is not and probably never has been obligatory or usual. It forms a distinctive and characteristic element, however, of early Buddhist rule and observance. (2) According to Buddhist teaching, salvation is to be found only within the limits of the order. The layman can achieve his own deliverance only if and when he dons the robe of the monk, and takes upon himself the monastic vows. He must seek refuge from the world in a life of retirement, meditation, and self-denial, for no other can the letters of karma be broken and nirvana gained. In Buddhist polity and doctrine, therefore, the order holds a pre-eminent place distinct from and above that which it occupies in any other great religious system.


A. S. Geden.

MONASTICISM (Hindu).—The habit of monasticism owes its origin, it has been said, to the natural tendency of mankind toward mysticism and asceticism. These are developed, set in order, and satisfied, in the rule and restraint of the monastic life in India, more perhaps than elsewhere, the practice is of very great antiquity; and the motives and instincts suggested, although true in general of the rise and history of Indian monasticism, in two respects at least render an insufficient account of the causes at work. In the routine prescribed for the ascetics as far as this is taken from the solitary or wandering life of the hermits and ascetics, mystical devotion has played but a small part. Mysticism in India has shunned companionship, and the ascetic has been an ideal, and cherished pursuit of the lonely ascetic. And the latter, the ascetic motive or ideal, has been overwhelmingly predominant among the causes that have urged great numbers of men and women at all times to adopt the monastic robes and manner of life. A third motive, however, exercised a powerful influence in determining the choice of the monastic profession. This was
the Indian view of life as a whole. By the Indian
life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, and
religion the burden and sorrow of existence as the
chief and final [goal]. In many sectors of Indian
philosophy, especially the Buddhist, but also in that of
Hindu leaders and teachers before Gautama, this
end was to be achieved only in and through a mona-
stastic dedication and life. It was impossible for the
layman, dedicated to the pursuit of the highest
goals of travel, to renounce the world, to seek
salvation. Emancipated from these, he was free to devote
himself to the highest aim, and to win his way to
dominal enlightenment.

A second respect in which historically Indian
monasticism in general has been distinguished from
Buddhist or Christian is the deficiency of co-ordination or a central control. The various
orders have been for the most part loosely organized,
and that from want not of organizing power but of
inflation and will. The ideal of the Indian monk
or ascetic is not and never has been a fixed residence
and occupation, but rather freedom to wander at
pleasure, to visit the various sacred places and
shrines, and to dispose his manner of life and his
time independently in all respects as seemed best to
himself. And in fact the various methods of
the monastic life have undergone little change or
development since the earliest ages. The mendic-
ant, or wandering ascetic, rather than the resident
community, is the epitome of Indian religious life; and the monasteries
have served in a greater degree as lodging- or rest-
houses than for fixed and permanent habitation.
The earliest definitions of Indian social and reli-
gious life present the same features as are seen
in modern times—a large drifting population of
mendicants and ascetics, who find only a temporary
home in the monasteries, and after a longer or
shorter stay move on entirely as their own inclina-
tion prompts.

The habitual practice of a life thus ordered and
determined is of extreme antiquity in India. It
would seem to be based ultimately upon the Hindu
regulation of the four ārama (q.v.), according to
which every Brāhman towards the close of his
life must renounce the world and adopt the home-
less life and the ascetic garb. In intention, there-
fore, no low-caste or out-caste man could become a monk, but only the ‘twice-born.’ In practice,
of course, the wandering population is recruited from
all castes; and many follow the life as an easy and
convenient mode of existence, without any
trouble to themselves. The ancient Indian custom,
familiar to Indian thought and in closest harmony
with Indian ideals, formed the model for the great
Buddhist and Jain communities of monks, and
gave to them precept and habit and rule. Only in
organization did the younger communities go far
beyond anything that was developed in Hinduism.
Here the preference for an independent and self-
regulated life proved itself the stronger, and broke
away from all attempts at a settled and established
order or government.

The Hindu monasteries, or ‘maths’ (Skr. matha),
are not large or orize, providing adequate
accommodation for only a few inmates. Except at the
important pilgrimage centres, as Hardwar or Benares
(q.v.), where durable buildings of brick are found,
they are often little more than a collection of
huts or cells ranged around a central court-yard.
Permanent quarters are provided for the mukant,
or presiding abbot, of the monastery and his resident
students; but the other monks are generally
occupied at the periodical festivals by the members of
the order to which the monastery belongs. Attached
are a temple or shrine for the service of the deity,
and in the larger monasteries at least a separate
dhārmatālía, or resting-place, for the benefit
of travellers. The term maths appears to have
been originally applied to the solitary huts of the
religious recluse, and then to similar dwellings of the
communities of hermits living in the forests in the
practice of austerities. Of such a
woodland hermitage an attractive description is
given in Khādāsā’s Sakuntāla. The name was
ultimately extended to include all more or less
permanent homes of ascetics and hermits.

The maths exist in considerable numbers all over
India, but the inmates for the most part live a
retired life, keeping to themselves, and both they
and their homes are little known to outsiders or
Europeans. Each sect or monastic order has its
own maths, that of the founder of the order being
regarded as the chief. There is, however, no
central control, nor any interference in the manage-
ment or affairs of another monastery. The older
monastic buildings are of the simplest character
and architecture. Later more elaborate buildings
were erected, sometimes of more than one storey;
but they never carried the pretensions of the
Buddhist viharas. When the latter faith died out in Bengal, some of
its monasteries passed into Hindu keeping and were appropriated
for the use of Hindu monks.

To erect a monastery for the service of the monks
and wandering ascetics has always been regarded as an act of religious merit. The math
is the gift of a generous and pious layman, and of
such donors there has never been any lack in India.
In most instances an endowment for the upkeep
of the monastery is provided either at the time of
errection or by subsequent grant, and this is
increased from time to time by the gifts of patrons
who endeavour thus to secure merit for themselves.
The individual monk is bound by a vow of poverty,
but the monasteries often become exceedingly
wealthy in revenue and lands. Since the monks
themselves do no manual labour, nor indeed work
of any kind, the lands are usually farmed out to
Hindu lay-proprietors. The management, how-
ever, by the temple authorities of their large
revenues has sometimes been so defective that the
British Government has been compelled to inter-
fer, and take over temporarily the control of the
monastic estate.

The Hindu monk is known as yogin, one who
curbs his passions and has renounced the world, or
vratin, the devotee who has taken upon himself
the vows of renunciation and consecration. The
former term is technical among the Jains also, but
is said to be regarded with disfavour. The nais-
thika is the religious student, who engages himself
to remain with the guru as pupil and disciple after
the close of the regular period of service as a brah-
machārīn. The titles yogin and sannyāsin are
more appropriate and more usually applied to
the wandering ascetic, without home or stated
means of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu
 monastic, the mystic and saint, who endeavours to attain
union with God by the way of self-control and
asceticism. The sannyāsin has ‘cast off’ all worldly
utterances and attachments, and is separated from
every earthly wants or ties. Bhikṣu, ‘beggar,’ describes rather the common characteristic of
the class. In the Pali form of bhikkhu it has become
the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindu
usage ordinarily retains the Sanskrit term for
these names. All monks depend for their livelihood
solely upon the charitable gifts of the laity.
The daily round with the begging-bowl for doles of food
at the door of the Hindu householder is never made
in vain, and the flow of Indian charity and

1 The abbot of a monastery in the Punjab made complaint to
J. C. Oman of the crowd of idles and worthless aśūras who
charged themselves upon him and took advantage of his
hospitality (Mystics, Aṣuṣitas, and Saints of India, p. 292).
hospitality to ascetics is unstinted. The red- or yellow-coloured robe of the monk is an unfailling passport to generosity and benevolence all over India. Such generosity accords to the merit of the donor, and has no regard to the character or motive of those who receive the alms. Among the latter there are not a few whose robes over avarice and the desire of worldliness and indolence and a desire to save themselves the trouble of providing for their own wants. But there are also among them sincere men, often of considerable learning, earnest and devoted in their pursuit of the truth.

The Sanskrit law-books contain rules and regulations for the guidance of the ascetic life. The sixth book of Manu is entirely devoted to this subject. Hermits and ascetics are to beg for their food once a day, to be indifferent to their reception, neither vexed at a refusal nor exultant when their bowl is well filled, to restrain their senses and appetites, eating little, and always to be on their guard lest they accidentally destroy life, watching the ground before them as they move, that their feet may not crush any living thing. The same purpose is in view in the rule that a monk must not change his residence during Vassa, the season of the rains. Elsewhere it is provided that students, ascetics, and others shall be free from tolls and charges. They shall not be allowed to bear witness in the law-courts probably because, being separated from the world, their testimony with regard to its doings would necessarily be unreliable; nor do they inherit property. Punences also are prescribed for those who for successive days omit to go on the begging round or neglect their other duties. The oversight of the monastery and the responsibility for entertaining itinerant monks or strangers are in the hands of a presiding elder or abbot (matābhigāti). Around him usually is gathered a band of young disciples, who are instructed by him in the Hindu scriptures and render him personal service in accordance with ancient immemorial custom. There is, however, no definite or fixed hierarchy or gradation of office. The inmates of the monastery are free to come or go at their own will, and neither their movements nor their actions are in any way controlled. They must wear the monastic garb, observe the vow of poverty, and depend entirely upon the bounty of others for their daily food. Beyond these simple conditions they do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk or sanyāsin carries with him vary to a slight degree with the sect to which he belongs. The essentials are the robes and a begging-bowl; to which are usually added a staff, water-pot, and rosary, a strainer, a pair of sandals, the materials for smoking and betel-chewing, and perhaps one or more vessels for carrying or cooking food.

The vows (vyāsa) which the ascetic or monk undertakes to observe are five in number: avoiding hurt to any living creature, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, self-restraint, and liberality (Skr. ahiṃsā, satya, asteya, brahmābhāgya, tyāga). These have been adopted, with the exception of the last, in the Jain and Buddhist systems. There are also a few lesser vows: earnestness of mind, obedience to the guru, gentleness, cleanliness, and purity in eating. The third is explained as having reference to the danger to living beings involved in rough or hasty contact. There is considerable difference between the sects in respect of the degrees of ascetic self-denial or actual discomfort and pain which they voluntarily endure. Savite monks are as a rule, more extreme in their manner of life and austerity. The Vaisnavites allow themselves greater liberty and seclusion, if ever, in fact, upon themselves, or others, for mere indolence. The Jains, on the other hand, sometimes pass from the extreme of asceticism to that of self-mortification.

The chief and largest monastery is at Kuruksetra (v.p.), where the annual festival of the sixty principal sects is celebrated. It is in honour of the great festivals of the year. In one instance at least in a monastery visited by J. C. Oman the monk wore robes differing from those of the ordinary monk—usually long-sleeved or tunic and a turban of bright colours. The chief and largest monastery is at Kuruksetra (v.p.) near the Golden Temple, built of brick in two storeys and with two open courts, belonging to the sect of the Gurus. The Jains also possess monasteries and temples of considerable size. In all a large part of the religious worship consists in the reading of the Gṛhasth (v.p.), and sometimes of other Hindu sacred books. Except at the season of the great festivals the monasteries are usually almost deserted, but upon these occasions they are thronged with monks and others who have come to join in the feasting and religious ceremonies.

The monastic institutions of the Jains in some respects hold an intermediate position between those of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Their rule and order are more definitely framed than that of the former, but less exacting than the Buddhist and allow more freedom to the individual. As in Buddhism also, the existing system or practice of the Brahmans monks as ascetics formed the model on which the founder of the Jain faith ordered his own community. Mahāvīra himself is said to have had a following of fourteen or fifteen thousand monks, and more than twentv of these went out of the way of asceticism, and, being divided into twelve chief disciples, or gopālāvārās, or twelve if Gopāla be reckoned, who proved himself the unworthy rival and opponent of his master. Jain writers are said to compare the twelve disciples of their founder with the twelve apostles of Christ, and to assign to Gopāla the part of Judas the traitor.

The prevision and independence of the founder of Jainism are shown in the recognition which he accorded to the laity. It has been urged with much probability that this was one of the chief facts that enabled Jainism to withstand the stress of persecution and the steady pressure of the dominant Hindun, when Buddhism, based solely upon a priesthood, decayed and fell away. Mahāvīra established four orders of society with his system, each with its respective functions and rights: monks (bhikṣus or gyātins) and nuns (bhikṣuṇīs), laymen (śrāvaka) and laywomen (śrāvaka). The Jain laity thus hold a definite place in the Church by the side of the ecclesiastical order. The Digambaras, however, refuse to admit the right of the women to enter the order, and assert that they cannot attain salvation (mokṣa).

The five classes of the Jain monk are the same as those of the Brahmans such as the.

1 Cf. art. ASCETISM (Hindu), voL. II. p. 94.
 Initiation (dikśā) into the monastic order takes place at the hands of a priest after a year's preparation. The training of the novice also is similar to that of the Hindu monk; and it is probable that this was the original meaning of the fifth vow in Hinduism, although it is now differently explained. A sixth year is required before ordination. The higher degrees given to the Svetāmbaras, never to eat after dark lest they should inadvertently destroy life; others declare that this rule is implicit in the first, āhīṣā. To this duty of self-restraint every article of life, fruits, jains of every sect attach greater importance than either Hindu or Buddhist monks. The Jain layman is hardly less rigorous and careful than the monk. All Jain ascetics carry a piece of cloth to place over their mouths lest they cause injury when inhaling. The stricter sect of the Sthānākavāsinī (Dhūndhis) wear the mouth-cloth always, by night as well as by day; the other sects are less scrupulous. These precautions against the taking of life do not under all circumstances apply to the monk's own life. When the twelve necessary years of asceticism have been passed, which every monk observes in imitation of the founder of his faith, religious suicide is not only innocent but an act of merit and may be even a duty. Most of the gauḍādharas are said to have lived their lives by voluntary starvation, and the practice is reported to have been not infrequent in former times.

In addition to the mouth-cloth the Jain monk bears the usual begging-bowl, and a strainer for his drinking-water. The members of all sects carry also an instrument for sweeping the path before them, which in the case of the Digambaras is usually a peacock's feather; the Svetāmbaras and Sthānākavāsīs use a broom, of greater or less size. The head is shaved, and the two last-named sects wear the monastic robes of five pieces, of white or yellow colour. The Digambaras (sky-eld) go on foot, and the Sthānākavāsīs also, whereas the last-named is most probably found in the south of India. All monks are subject to the vow of personal poverty, but it is said that in many instances this is evaded, even to the extent of carrying coin or bank-notes on their person.

The monastic life both of the monks and of the nuns is ordered on similar lines to the Buddhist. In the ordinary course the inmates of the monastery rise early, and each then makes confession of the holy vow, after which or before he proceeds to the temple for morning worship. This consists in meditation, bowing down before the idol with recitation of a sacred mantra, and in prostrākṣa, or circumambulation, which is performed four or seven times. About ten in the morning the round is made to beg for food. One monk, however, goes on behalf of all the inmates of the monastery; and in this respect Jain practice differs from Hindu or Buddhist. The food may not be eaten in the houses of the laity, but is brought back to the monastery and divided among all. According to rule the begging round should be made only once a day, but it is often repeated in the afternoon. After returning confession is made to the guru before partaking of the morning meal. The hours from one to three are devoted to study; and, if an afternoon circuit is undertaken for alms, it is succeeded, as in the morning, by confession. The second and last meal of the day is taken about sunset, and no monk is allowed to leave the monastery after dark. 2

Money.

Money is the name applied to the instrument devised by man which enables him conveniently to effect exchanges of goods and services. It was a great advance upon barter when an intermediary was adopted by the trading parties that provided at the same time a measure of values and a generally acceptable medium of exchange. As man advanced from simple barbarism, he acquired some elementary forms of personal wealth, and the practice of exchanging with others to satisfy his growing diversity of wants would naturally arise; in course of time the advantage of having a medium of value which formed a unit of comparison of worth and represented a standard of values would come to be recognized. For this purpose objects of common utility or ornament were early adopted—oxen, cattle, sheep, furs, slaves, shells, nuts, precious stones, and bits of metal are examples of the various substances used as money in different circumstances and stages of civilization. These tokens were the selected substance used, and presents were accumulated as stores of value and used as means of paying tribute and debt. They thus became also a form of what is called 'capital' in modern economics.

Gradually the defects of some of the various substances employed to satisfy the money-function became apparent in their inconvenient bulk and lack of divisibility for small payments, their perishability and absence of equality and stability. Thus by degrees the essential attributes of good money emerged: it was found that the superior metals (gold and silver) possessed in an exceptional degree the qualities desirable in a good medium of exchange, and a measure of value. Money should have stability in value; it should be durable, portable, divisible; it should be easily recognizable and capable of being coined. No substances possess all these attributes absolutely, but gold and silver display them in the highest degree; consequently they have been generally adopted for money by civilized nations. Since they are natural products, variations in their supply create some fluctuations in value, as do also changes in demand which follow on the growth of population and the irregularities of trade. But, on the whole, gold has responded to this test by stability as a basis for its complex and ever increasing trade and commerce. Standard money has the attribute

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1 For a full statement and discussion of the Jain vows see Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 234 ff.

2 Stevenson, p. 228 ff.
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of universal acceptability; it commands confidence that it will be promptly received by others without loss of value. It measures the value of the services of labour; and wages as well as goods are estimated in terms of money. The value of goods, when expressed in money, is called their price.

The business of money-changer, of banking and finance, consists largely in the manipulation of money in its various forms and of obligations—debts, credits, loans, etc.—expressed in terms of money. They are either in gold and silver or by documents (notes, cheques, bills, etc.), i.e. by paper money, representative of sums of metallic money and ultimately redeemable in standard coin.

In introduction of credit-instruments, as the paper substitutes for gold are called, is an extension of the money-function and a refinement upon the employment of metallic money. It is virtually a shift of return to barter; for, while it diminishes the use of coin, it simplifies exchanges and substitutes for payment in metal a promise on paper; this representative money becomes a valuable commodity and multiplies business by its convenience. Debts are set off against debts by means of credit-instruments, substitutes for money that circulate quickly; they become a peculiar currency of promises or of money which they are easily transmitted by post; thus they vastly facilitate the business of exchange. The term 'credit' implies that these instruments are promises, and they rest in the long run upon the recognized metallic basis. A definite amount of gold must be accumulated and safely stored in order to give stability and confidence to the system.

In OT times money was always weighed (G. ouv). This was a necessary precaution in earlier periods, but in modern times the process of coined, exercised as an exclusive function of the Government, confers absolute certainty, accuracy, and uniformity, and inspires confidence; the stamped coin carries with it evidence of the amount and value of the gold that it represents, where gold is the accepted standard of value. The subsidiary coins of silver and bronze are legal tender only within moderate limits, viz. two pounds in silver, and twelve pence in bronze in Great Britain; they are only token coinage, and do not correspond to their intrinsic value in metal, which is small. The value of these coins, like that of all commodities, depends ultimately upon the law of supply and demand; the value varies with the amount available for money purposes, for large quantities of the precious metals are absorbed in the arts and as personal ornaments.

The quantity theory of money—that the value varies inversely as the quantity—assumes that all exchanges are made in the standard coin, but the use of paper substitutes, while it does not nullify the abstract theory, introduces modifications too technical for detailed explanation in an article which is mainly descriptive. The system of substituting paper currency for the standard coin requires for security that such paper shall be convertible into gold on demand. To provide this most essential requisite an adequate cash reserve of gold must be maintained unless the value of the paper money is large, and the notes cannot be met by gold on demand—has led many countries into great difficulties, and has frequently caused much loss and suffering.

The Icelandic law, which declares that gold destroys confidence, raises prices, and produces financial disaster; business is checked, and the injury falls with peculiar severity upon the wage-receiving classes, who find that their wages paid in paper at such times fall greatly in buying power. The law assumes that the currency on a sound basis. A large number of interesting economic problems arise in connexion with the use of money; they are, however, too technical for present consideration, which is restricted to a general account of the nature and services of this useful instrument of civilization.

Money is a powerful factor in the spread of civilization, in distributing the varied products of nature throughout the world. Money, in fact, may rank with roads, vehicles, beasts of burden, railways, steamships, posts, and telegraphs in the advancement of human material well-being. The oft-quoted passage, 'The love of money is the root of all evil,' is frequently misapplied as casting a slur upon money itself and upon those engaged in occupations concerned with its employment. The dictum was, however, intended as a condemnation of greed, selfishness, worldliness, and absorption in gain; its profound truth and seriousness render it in no sense condemnatory of the use of money, which is of such great service to society in the distribution of products as a ship, a railway, or any other instrument subservient to the material needs of man.

In many of the more elaborate civilisations, and in the gospel narratives reference is made to money in its ordinary uses; in all these cases its practical utility is taken for granted and its economic services unquestioned.


MONGOLS.—i. Ethnology and habitat.—Like the Aimus and the Dravidians (q.v.), the Mongols are a race distinctively Asiatic. They fall into three great divisions—Burutians (q.v.), Western Mongols (Kalmuks), and Eastern Mongols. The homeland of the Kalmuks extends from the Hoang-ho to the Manch (a tributary of the Don), their special centres being Astrakhan and the Caucasus, Zungaria, N.W. Mongolia, Alassan, N. Tibet, and the Chinese province of E. Turkestan. The races that inhabit chiefly Mongolia, the southern portion being divided into a number of tribes, such as the Tumels and Chakhars, while the northern section consists of the more homogeneous Kharsas.

The Mongolian type is best represented by the Kalmuks and the Khalkhas:

'Nearly an average stature (65.54-66.46); head, sub-brachycephalic (brach, ind. on the liv. ab. 58); black straight hair, pilous system little developed: the skin of a pale-yellow or brownish-hue, prominent cheekbones, this straight flattened nose, Mongoloid eyes, etc. (J. Deniker, Races of Man, London, 1901, p. 370).

Another peculiar characteristic of this race is the 'Mongolian spot,' small dark patches of pigmentation, especially in the sacral region, frequently observable in infants, but disappearing in early childhood. The 'Mongolian spot' is not, however, restricted to the Mongols; it occurs sporadically in cold-blooded animals, one of these, in the responsible functions of the Bank of England. The management and control of the reserve are matters too intricate for present discussion. The excessive issue of nonconvertible paper—i.e. notes which cannot be met by gold on demand—has led many countries into great difficulties, and has frequently caused much loss and suffering.

The Mongolian race has spread from its original habitat. It has profoundly affected the Chinese (particularly in the south) and Japanese; in Bengal and Orias the crossing of Mongolian with Dravidian has given the type known in Europe as the 'Mongoloid' types appear in the Himalaya region and in the Far East.

The chief Asiatic area occupied by non-Buriat
Mongols (Kalmyks, Khalkas, etc.) is bounded on the north by Siberia, on the south by China, on the west by Russian Turkestan and Chinese Turkestan, and on the east by Manchuria. It forms a high, but depressed undulating plateau, roughly 2500 feet in altitude, hemmed in by an immense double or triple chain of forest-covered mountains, known together as the Tung and Yulshan, on the one side, and by the Altai range and its offsets on the other. Although the greater portion is Gobi (a Turki word), or 'Great (Desert) Expanse,' and is desert in winter, or frozen down, and deep; andimpede seriously the sweeping movements of horsemen, there are plenty of salt lakes (only one of which escapes into Russia by a river), innumerable oases and pasture lands, suitably located sweet-water wells, and even cultivable or forest lands dotted about and available in turn at different seasons of the year to the nomads who know the peculiarities of the country so well. This fact explains how armies of millions can easily move on the simple condition that they possess sufficient cattle, horses, sheep, and camels to drive before or with themselves as food and clothing; nothing else need be taken for the journey, and the track is left by the way at various well-known places, and women with babies can be carried with the tents in huge carts. This vast rim of mountain range nearly all roofed with coniferous forest, and on the outer side rivers run into Manchuria, Russia, and Turkestan; but the gravelly expanse of Gobi with its parched atmosphere soon causes the sources flowing into the depressed desert portions of Mongolia to dry up or disappear into the sands, so that in many places recourse must be had to rude cisterns or reservoirs, automatically collecting fresh water after each summer storm. The Onon and Kerulen rivers, the valleys of which have during the past 2000 years witnessed the successive rise to political prominence of several obscure tribes, bring the north centre of Mongolia proper into direct water communication with Siberia (i.e. Russia) and N. Manchuria (i.e. China).

2. Civilization and religion. — Mongol family life has been admirably described in a series of articles written (anonymously) by a Protestant missionary for the Chinese Recorder (a Shanghai publication) in 1875. Immovable property is scarcely conceived of, and the idea of personal property and individual rights is almost equally lacking, except in reference to the property of the wife, which she retains, and to the animals under her control. Even one's wife—who, so far as nature allows it, seems to be the absolute equal of her husband—is only a life interest, for all wives (except one's own actual mother) pass over on the death of their temporary possessor, with the felt tent and the stock-pot, to the eldest son, or, failing sons, to brothers, cousins, or uncles. In case of great warlike expeditions, of course, there are temporary aggregations of men, and the modern Mongols, like the Turks and Huns, always have an annual tryst; but as a rule tribes scatter, families scatter, and individuals scatter, so that the yurt, or the felt tent (or mongge bo, as the Chinese call it in E. Mongolia), is the sole economical unit. In 1790 the entire Kalmyk nation, four subdivisions, consisted of only 200,000 tents all told, i.e. before they were conquered. In the distance, on the prairie or grassy plain north of the Great Wall, one sees one or more black spots like dung-heaps. These turn out on closer inspection to be felt bo, firmly attached by long ropes to posts, and so high as to keep them dry. It is the correct thing to make some sound on approaching; otherwise one or more powerful dogs, often of Tibetan breed, may attack the intruder. The same may be said of the yurt, which, rugged, withstand the wind and snow. For wealth or poverty the interior is hung with hand-some or shabby stuffs, and the exterior is sometimes additionally protected with Chinese oil-paper or other such impervious material; but severe simplicity is the general rule; all horses are make-shifts. If a man has horses and dogs, or even only one horse and one dog, and maybe works for someone else as a herd, he is a poor man; a rich man may have as many as 100 horses, 50 camels (all of the two-humped or Bactrian kind), to notion sheep and goats (never pigs); but, rich or poor, the mode of life is always the same—rough, strong, ardent, and deep.

3. Present-day distribution. — When the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1663 sent the Mongol tyrants in Peking back to their steppe, the old division into the Western or right 'wing' and the Eastern or left 'wing'—practically Kalmyk and Khalkha—was reverted to by the ejected Mongols, and these two wings were subdivided into the Dzijrughan Tunen, or Six Myriads. When the Manchu conquered or conciliated the Chou and other Inner (Eastern) Mongols in 1628–33 (i.e. before they became emperors of China in 1644 as well as Manchu emperors), they organized all of them except the Chahar into six chugsayen, or 'leagues' (translated by the Chinese word meng, 'sworn alliance'). These six leagues, four east (Chin Li) and two west (Shan Si), are again subdivided into 24 aimaks; or 'tribes' (translated by the Chinese word aim; this word aimak occasionally appears in Chinese Chinghizide history as aima, and in Chinese Mandchou history occasionally as aimen). See E. Bretschneider, A History of the Chinese, vols. 2, 3, p. 128, 129; also "Traces of Christianity in Mongois in the XlII century," by the archiepiscopa D. Wall, p. vii, v. 1 (1750).
This is not the place to introduce a discussion on language or a long list of native Mongol tribal names; but it may be mentioned as specially significant that the Khalkas tribe of the Chosokhan league are the absolutely direct descendants of Jenghiz and his family; they now occupy the steppes north of Jehol (thrice visited in 1899-71 by the present writer).

Besides the 24 tribes of Inner Mongols under their own native "jassaktu" and irregularly subdivided into 49 flags, or bannars, there is still a much larger number of Inner Mongols, of whom before the 'herdsmen,' who are not ruled by their own princes at all, but by the military governors at Tendue, Kalgan, and Jehol. The extramural area of which Kalgan (= the "gate" in Mongol) is the governing centre is popularly known as Chakhar, a word derived from the leading tribe, called during the Ming dynasty Chakhar, or Chakhannur. There are also the Mongols of Kokonor, descendants of a collateral branch of Jenghiz's family, with whom have been associated a number of Kalman tribes from the west; they also intermarry with the Manchus, but were not entitled, like the Inner Mongols, to style themselves "cousin." Besides these main divisions, there are the Tumet tribes of N. Shan Si, the Bargu, the Uriangai, the Mingad, the Jakchin, and other odd Kudar tribes of Mongolian type, which for convenience are ranked among the herdsmen, and are under the administration of one or the other of the Manchus (now Chinese) tsvangs, or military governors, from Uliansuuti in the west to Jehol in the east.

The Outer Mongols mainly consist of two races—the Khalkas and Kalmyks—between whom there were prolonged and bloody wars until the Manchus (after having subdued the Inner Mongols and China itself) reduced both to complete subjection. Even after the ejection of the Jenghizide dynasty from China, when both classes of Mongols were thrust back upon their deserts, they frequently crossed the desert and fought incessantly between themselves, besides, separately or in unison, making raids upon the Ming empire. The Khalka area is easily recognizable on any map because the four (originally three) tribes or Khanates into which they are divided are usually plainly marked as the Tushetu, Tsatsen, Jassaktu, and Salminoin khanates, which were the remnants of the first, or the last, or the middle, in the Ming dynasty, by the Dalai Lama of Tibet as a reward for services rendered to the Yellow-hats at the expense of the Red. These four Khalka tribes, or Khanates, were again subdivided into over 80 flags, or bannars, but this arrangement was complicated by two of their banners having been incorporated with the Inner Mongols, whilst, on the other hand, three Kalmany banners were incorporated with the Khalkas. The other two of the four Khalka khanates used to fall under the political influence of the Mongol khatuna, or sultan, at Urga, who had a Manchu resident to keep things right. A certain proportion of the Kalmany race was moved to the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor after the Manchu conquest of 1755-54, and it there falls under the control of the Inner Mongols as Jehol. These Mongol tribes are divided among themselves; the Kalmany have their own local saints both in the west and at Kokonor, but the Khalkas, the Khalkhan, and the Kalmucks, are almost hereditary enemies. Nor can the Kalmanas easily coalesce with the 49 flags or 24 tribes of Inner Mongols. The latter represent the true historical Tata, as

1 See Parker, 'Mandchur Relations with Mongolia,' Campagno against the Khalkas and Ochots," and other papers on this subject in China, Civilisation, 1899-90; also a paper on 'Kalmany Organization,' ib. xxix. (1898-99).

MONISM—The term. The term 'monism' was coined by Christian Wolff (1679-1754), and was used by him to denote the philosophical theories which recognized only a single kind of reality, whether physical or psychical, so that he could apply the name 'monists' equally well to the materialists and to the so-called idealists of his age. It is easy to understand why the word in this artificial sense should never come into general use, and in fact it was so employed only sporadically by individual philosophers here and there. In the 19th cent. the term 'monism' came to be used by the disciples of Hegel as designating their own peculiar mode of thought; thus, e.g., K. F. Goeschel, in 1832, published a work entitled Der Monismus der Weltanschauung, or 'The Monism of the World's Great Thought.' In this sense too, the term had but a limited usage. In point of fact, it first found a place in current speech as the designation of a philosophical movement close to the modern theory of biological evolution, and it was, in particular, the biologist Haeckel and the philo...
logist Schleiermacher who brought the word into general currency. In Germany the philosophical move-
ment referred to has found concrete expression in a "Free Monism," which is "theological" as it is drawn to itself a considerable body of adherents. Nevertheless, certain other applications of the term still maintain their ground. In special, the name "monism" is given to the psychical theories which, instead of subordinating the soul to the body, or the body to the soul, form the same aspects of a single fundamental process, and on this ground constantly referred to the other. Of monism in this sense Spinoza is generally regarded as the leading exponent. Finally, taking the term in its widest sense, we might apply it to every mode of thought which seeks to transcend the distinction between the physical and the psychical, and to reach an ultimate unity. The fact that these various significations are often mingled together in common usage has led to great confusion and much unprofitable controversy.

2. Monism as expressing an inherent need of the mind.—In its widest sense monism is the expression of a demand which no philosophy and no religion ever satisfied, which the human mind at length refuses to allow the real to fall apart into the irreconcilable opposites of body and soul, of nature and spirit: and every system of thought must eventually arrive at some kind of unity. German Christianity itself is a monism—a spiritual monism—since it traces all reality to the divine Spirit. In the philosophical realm, however, monism usually stands for the Spino-

nistic view, which recognizes an exact correspond-
ence between extension and thought, the visible and the invisible, finds the same laws and forces to work in each, and interprets the order and connex-

ion of thought and things in accordance with the order and connexions of things (Spinoza, Eth. ii. prop. 7: 'ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio rerum'). This view has the advantage of providing a solution of the simplest kind for a problem which cost Spinoza's predecessors much trouble: the human mind, namely, of the interaction of soul and body; for, on this theory, according to which the two series of facts proceed side by side quite inde-

pendently, and yet remain ever in mutual harmony, there is no interaction at all, the specific data of either series being explained by the relations of that series alone. Modern psychology, in following up this trend, has recently proposed the doctrine of 'psychophysical parallelism,' and strives to apply the doctrine to mental and bodily processes in detail. As this whole mode of thought appar-
ently permits each aspect to develop its own distinc-
tive character, without severing it or keeping it apart from the other, it has proved remarkably attractive to the human mind.

3. Its tendency to one-sidedness.—Its power of attraction, however, lasts only as long as we keep to the general outlines of the problem, and every attempt to give the idea a more precise application encounters great difficulties, and results in giving the preponderance to one or other of the two sides: either the physical becomes predominant, and the psychical a mere reflection or concomitant of it, or else the psychical is assigned the superior position and the physical becomes simply its auxiliary expression or a means to its ends. Thus monism inevitably breaks up into two forms—an idealistic and a naturalistic—and there has never been, nor can there ever be, a pure monism, i.e., a monism maintaining itself in its own right, apart from any: physical or laws peculiarly its own, but is in every respect subordinate to, and wholly interwoven with, external nature; nor again, on this theory, is human life endowed with any special significance or any distinctive vocation. It is true that this naturalistic monism, in its theory of practical life, recognizes the ideal ends of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, and undertakes the task of furthering them. But it can do so only by con-

travering its own naturalistic principles, and thus it comes to exhibit the fatal inconsequence of theo-

retically recognizing unity as its supreme aim while in practice falling into an absolute contradiction between thought and action.

The progress that this theory of naturalistic monism, in spite of its inherent flaws, is making in contemporary life, and at least, is due to the concurrence of various causes. Nature, form-

erly so often sadly ignored, has come to mean more and more for the modern mind. Not only does she reveal ever more fully the delicate texture of her being, but in you the self to the psychical has added vastly to our command of the environ-

ment. The importance of the material factor for human well-being is much more widely recog-
nized in modern philosophy than it was ever the case. The result of these various developments is that
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Nature now exercises a much more profound influence even upon our thoughts and convictions than she formerly did. This does not, of course, lead necessarily to a natu-ralistic philosophy, nor was there any great danger of such an issue as long as high spiritual ends held sway among human beings and dominated their common efforts. But such spiritual ends have not entirely lost sight of, yet largely obscured, in the development of modern life; with regard to the ultimate questions of human existence mankind is now in a state of grave disunion, and common effort has given place to widely different tendencies. Amid so much diversity regarding the content of the spiritual life, the longing for a single all-embracing theory of existence readily attracts men to the path of naturalism, which proffers what seems to be the simplest and most intelligible solution of the great problem. In reality, therefore, it is the defects of the opposite view that here lend strength to monism.

Another factor which—in Germany at least—operates in favour of naturalistic monism is found in the perplexities that have emerged in the province of religion and the Church. That religion at the present day besits no problems, and that the minds of men differ widely in the treatment of them, are facts that cannot be denied even by those for whom religion is a supreme interest. In Germany, the Church has naively aggra-vated by the intimate relations between Church and State, in such circumstances the doctrines of religion readily come to be felt as a restraint imposed by the State upon thought; and, where large numbers are already alienated from religion, or are in dubiety regarding it, there is a natural tendency to look with sympathy upon movements that set forth with perfect candour the conflict of ideals, especially the conflict between natural science and the teaching of the Church, and seek to bring it to a decisive settlement. From this position the monist may regard himself as a champion of freedom and truth.

4. Its function and limitations.—When we have in this way explained the spread of naturalistic monism, we have at the same time shown its limitations. It possesses a certain power and has also a degree of rightful authority as long as it maintains a critical attitude and provides incentives to special tendencies of thought; and this cannot be called judging. It insistson a higher recognition of the natural factors in human life, and demands that the assured results of modern science shall not be ignored by those who speak in the name of religion. Its weakness, again, shows itself in the positive aspect of its work, and in its claim to serve as a guide to human life and to satisfy the human soul. For such ends it has, in truth, nothing to offer but an intellectual interpretation of things—an interpretation which purports, by improving our conceptions of nature and by showing that man forms part of nature, to be able to supply the human heart with powerful impulses and endow it with happiness. But between ends and means, between claim and achievement, there is a wide disparity. The scientific procedure of monism, moreover, suffers from the defect of confusing natural science with the philosophy of nature, and of too rashly transforming the results of natural science into principles of the cosmos, while giving no recognition at all to the peculiar character of spiritual life or the process of universal history. But, whatever judgment we may pass upon this modern monism, it is certainly a notable feature in the life of the present day.
this attitude, it recurs elsewhere. Max Müller recognizes it in Greece, Italy, and Germany (III., 1878, London, 1879, p. 256), as well as in Finland (Opinions concerning the Science of Mythology, London, 1897, p. 294). Both these books speak of 'heno-
thecism or kathenotheism ' (III., p. 271), ' katheno-
thecism or by a shortened name henotheism ' (Carpenter, The Origin of the Decalogue, p. 149). When P. Asmeans describes the whole of ' Indo-
germanic' religion as henotheistic, because of the alleged tendency of all its deities to pass into each other, he is inspired by Max Müller's second usage, though he does not hint it.

It may seem to us that Müller has himself been guilty of a certain confusion. But the worst confusion of all is introduced by Pfeiderer (loc. cit.), who, instead of calling the followers of one deity ' monotheist' and of the others 'henotheist', makes the whole of ' India, the first henotheism' (III. 34 n.), and this he calls henotheism. We cannot wonder if high authorities have proposed to super-
priorize it ' henotheism' by some of its ambiguity (e.g. J. Estlin Carpenter, in EBR xxii. 72; H. Oldenberg, Rel. des Veda, Berlin, 1894, p. 101, note 1; E. W. Hopkins, 'Henotheism in the Rig Veda,' in Class. Studies in Honour of H. Driscoll Macdonell, New York, 1894, p. 77; Religion of India, Boston, 1895, p. 139 f.; A. A. Macdonell, Veda Mythology, Strassburg, 1897, p. 10 f., with references to earlier literature).

'Henotheism' is regarded by Carpenter as already extinct. The word is cited by E. B. Tyler (PC II. 335), but has certainly found little favour.

It might have wished to see 'kathenotheism' and ' monotheism' coeval, as names for two very different approaches towards monotheism, while the word ' henotheism' might either be wholly suppressed or else generalized to include both katheno-
thecism and monotheism, together with any other workings of monotheistic tendency that fall short of monotheism properly so called. There is much significance for theists in irresponsible movements towards recognition of one great help, one supreme power, one sovereign goodness.

Allan Menzies's distinction (Hist. of Religion), London, 1911, ch. iv. p. 55; he has been good enough to confirm or explain its meaning and origin. And yet henotheism follows Pfeiderer (and makes henotheism cover exactly the very approach of monotheism). But it is suggestive that this distinction is Max Müller's own must be repelled. Cf.

further, Müller's Physical Religion, 1891 (Glasgow Giford Lecture), p. 71: 'It must be regretted that other scholars should have used the name henotheistic in a different sense from that which I assigned to it. Nothing causes so much confusion as the equivocal use of a technical term that is Müller himself quite clear of blame), and the fnrmer of a new term has generally had the right of defining it.

The classical region of monotheism is the religion of Israel, whose phenomena, as we saw, probably suggested the name. The First Commandment of the greater Decalogue, Ex 20 or Dt 5) crystal-
izes the requirement and carries it into the moral region. Kindred Western Semitic races—possibly other races too—may have known something similar, upon its lower side. Moab or Ammon or Edom may have been loyal to the tribal god in mere patriotic prejudice. Loyalty to the God of righteousness, in Israel or in all lands under heaven, means vastly more. The only real justification for monotheistic behaviour is the monotheistic fact. It is indeed true that 'the distinction between mono-
thecism and monotheism' is often a narrow one (art. God [Biblical and Christian], vol. vi. p. 253). It is also true that the element of monotheism in human faith—as theologically, or fully Christian—is no bare recognition of facts which exist independently of our attitude. Faith is choice of God and a pouring out of our humble all in His service.
a philosophia or οὐδεθέσεις in the one Christ—since for their conceptions, too, φύσεις and ὑπόστασεις were equivalent terms—and thus seemed to endanger the unity of His person. Their leading opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, was famously concerned to maintain this unity, but he did it only by leaving out of account every element of human personality in the Saviour. According to Cyril, we must assume two nature in the divine and human, but the human, existed in Christ before He became man, and that at His becoming man these two natures were fused together in an indissoluble unity (συνηθείς δύο φύσεως καὶ ἑνὸς ἑνίκου τούτου ἰματίου καὶ ἀργήτου) and could thus be distinguished only in theory (ὡς χῶρα).

To denote this divine-human nature Cyril likewise availed himself of the formula μία φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου συνηθείς; he borrowed it from a confessional work of Apollinaries—the Περὶ τῆς συνηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου (cf. ERE i. 608), of which, it is true, he believed that Athanasius was the author. We cannot see how closely he approaches Apollinaries at this point. The Alexandrian, nevertheless, did not proceed to the conclusions drawn by the Laodicean, who rejected the view that the Saviour had to be either fully divine and partly human, or fully human and partly divine. To Cyril the formula remained a religious postulate, and he used all the resources of an artificial logic to give it also a theological validity. Hence, if he took even the most elementary idea of the divine-human nature, however, is something new in relation both to the divine nature and to human nature, and the properties of these, viz., sovereign majesty and possibility respectively, may be in mutual communication in Christ without forcing us to assume that there is any blending of them. In this way, accordingly, two natures go to form one (οὐδεθέσεις μία φύσεως [οὐδεθέσεις]).

To follow such intricate theories was a task beyond the power of simple and unlearned minds. It is true that, of the subtleties of Cyril's discriminative logic, Euchæthes, the aged archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople, had come to a knowledge of the idea expressed in the phrase μετὰ τῆς ἑνίκου μία φύσεως, but precisely on that ground he would not grant that Christ's bodily form was identical in character with the human (λογίου ἰματίου) at the local Synod of Constantinople in 449, addressing the tribunal of bishops, he declared, ἐὰν ἠτόκειον ἄρχων τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ; and, although in this position of evident propriety he most carefully modified his statements, he was condemned on the ground of the Docetic tendencies which he could not conceal (see art. DOCETISM, vol. iv. p. 332 ff.). Thereafter, in the memory of the Church, the name of Euchæthes was one of reproach, and Euchæthesianism was stigmatized as heresy. Another group who would not renounce the idea of διο φύσεως μετὰ τῆς ἑνίκου were those who in their deepest hearts assembed to the formula μία φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου συνηθείς defended by Cyril. For them it served to ease the situation that a distinction was now being made between the terms φύσεως and ἑνίκου. This distinction, in fact, soon came to be quite as important as that between οὐδεθείας and ὑπόστασεις in the doctrine of the Trinity. In the development of that doctrine the latter distinction was to be interpreted (as in the case of the divine persons, ὑπόστασεις) could participate equally in the divine being (οὐδεθείας); and in like manner it was now thought possible to explain how two natures (φύσεις), the divine and the human, could equally inhere in one person (ὑπόστασεις), viz., Jesus Christ.

The theologians of the West, from the days of Tertullian, had been accustomed to speak of the "double nature, and consubstantial, in one person, deus et homo Jesus." What they called "nature (substantia) found an equivalent expression in φύσεις, and persona could be rendered by ὑπόστασις. In reality, therefore, the best solution of the problem seemed to be that formulated by Pope Leo I, in his letter to Flavian of Constantinople (dated 449; the so-called Βίος Λέωντος, Ep. xxviii., "ad Flavianum") as follows:

Salva propriae utriusque naturae et substantiae et in unam consubstantiam et unam divinitatem, et unam in humanum, et unam divinitatis substantialia indivisa, licet virtute infinita, seu esse distinctum formam (μορφής) consumat alterius communie, et de semper prophete et de semper persona in utraque naturae intelligendi et Filium Dominum diutur descendisse, et auras Filii Dei erudicius indicet et suspells (PL liv. 768 ff.).

What was subsequently termed the communicatio idiomatum (αὐτοικία τῶν έμπαθών) thus already finds clear expression in Leo's words. Nevertheless Gibson is quite right in saying:

'An invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinarianism and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to paradise, a bridge as sharp as a razor, was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist ('Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire', p. 120).

In point of fact, while Western theology thus avoided the extreme of Apollinarianism, it was menaced by the sceptics of the Antiochene peril. Here too it could be said: 'Incidente in Sycliam qui vult vitare Codonem et Julianum et Antiochenum concilian- trine of the two natures in one person (Dyophysis- tim, or, grammatically more correct, Diplythism) not only failed to compose perturbed minds, but threw them actually farther. The controversy of the divine word, but of the one nature of the incarnate nature (σωφρονίστας, not σωφρονίστας), the intention being to indicate decisively that the point involved was not μία φύσις merely μετὰ τῆς ἑνίκου. We now proceed to trace the history of this Monophysitism properly so called.

2. The Council of Chalcedon and its results.—After Cyril's death in 444 the episcopal throne of Alexandria was occupied by Dioscurus, a man destitute of theological learning and possessed with a more daring ambition than even his predecessor. His great aim was to secure the supremacy of Alexandria, and the Alexandrian theology, in the Eastern Church, and, as long as he had the ear of the emperor, and Rome did not contest his claims, he seemed to be on the fair way to attain his end. After further modifications, he summoned a general Synod to meet in Ephesus in 449 (shortly afterwards stigmatized by Leo I. as intro- cistum, σώφρονος λογιστής, the Robber Synod'). Here, with the assistance of the civil power, and the physical violence of canonical Egyptian monks, he succeeded in giving full effect to his claims; and, while Euchæthes, who enjoyed the protection of Dioscurus, was restored to the communion of the Church, Flavian of Constantinople, Dominus of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyprus were deposed. The triumph of Dioscurus, however, was but short-lived, for not only did he damage his case by his ruthless dealings, but he committed the blunder of irritating Leo by refusing, in spite of the protest of the Roman legate, to have the Epistula ad Flavianum read at the Council. The result was a swift revulsion of feeling how the accession of the Council 450, and his sister Pulcheria, the moving spirit of the administration, had even before his death come to recognize that the transference of the ecclesiastical centre of gravity from the capital to Alexandria, and the consequences flowing to the Church from political control, might be attended with the gravest consequences. As emperor, with the acquiescence of her husband, the military commandant Marzianus, who was little interested in ecclesiastical or doctrinal affairs, she actively pro-
nated a plan of co-operating with Leo to put an end to the theological dispute at a great assembly of the Churches thus to restore the ecclesiastical balance in the East.

To achieve this desirable end was the task of the fifth Ecumenical Council, held in 451 at Chalcedon in the vicinity of Byzantium. The deposition of Dioscorus, as it could quite well be justified on grounds of ecclesiastical polity, was effected without difficulty. The demand that Leo's doctrinal letter should be levied as a syllabus, however, was resisted with the utmost tenacity by a majority of the members. After protracted discussions the Council at length agreed—not, indeed, without menaces from the throne—upon a formulory designed to make for reconciliation, although, as a matter of fact, it involved, in its most decisive passage, a rejection of the Cyrillian tradition. The formulory, which was carried on 22nd Oct. 451, starts from a recognition of the Councils of Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431), and reproduces the Nicene and the so-called Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed; it then affirms that Cyril's letters to Nestorius and the Orientals, as well as Leo's Epistle to Flavian, have been adopted as attestations of the true faith. It next proceeds to the confession of belief in Jesus Christ and his perfected man-in-Christ, and in the substantive unity with the Father according to His deity, consubstantial with us according to His humanity, in two natures (εἶς δὲ φύσεως, not ἐκ δύο φύσεως as in portions of the liturgical tradition), without confusion or change, without division or separation (ἀσυχρότως, ἀσύρματα, ἀχρωμίας). The confession ends with a statement already quoted from Leo's letter, now rendered as follows:

τῷ τῶν φύσεων λαμπρὸν ἀρχήρομυρψιν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, συμπληρωμένη μὲ μέλλων τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀποθεμάτων φύσεως καὶ εἰς τὰ προηγομένα καὶ μὲν ἐπονομαζόνσιν συνεργολογεῖν.

A decree, promulgated (7th Feb. 432) by the two emperors, Zeno and Anastasius, imprisoned severe penalties upon all who should henceforth dispute in public regarding the faith; offending clergy and arm officers should be deprived respectively of their priestly and military status, and others proceeded against by law. Dioscorus was exiled to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.

The results of the Council were not long in manifesting themselves. Peter of Alexandria, an active rival, broke out among the monks. Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, who had become prominent at Ephesus (449) as an energetic partisan of Dioscorus, at Chalcedon, at a time of a diminution of his ecclesiastical power, deserted the Alexandrian and his protégé Eutyches, and had also accepted the formulory, taking part, indeed, in its final revision. By this defection he lost the confidence of a large and influential body of monks in Palestine, who elected the monk Theodosius as bishop in opposition to him. The spiritual leader of the insurgents was Peter the Iberian, monk and bishop of Mayuma, the port of Gaza. The rebellious monks found a patroness of high rank in the empress dowager Eudocia, then resident in Jerusalem. It is told of one of these fanatics that, when Leo's Epistle was brought to him, he took it to the tombs of the Fathers and asked whether he should accept it or not, and that a voice cried from the tomb:

"Cursed be the ungodly Leo, robber of souls, as his name signifies; cursed be his profane letter, which sought to destroy the ungodly Palaeodorus; cursed be Chalcedon and its synod, which fixated on the image of a heretic, and who did not acknowledge two natures in Christ, the Son of God, after the union" (E. Renan, Hist. patriarchorum Alexandrinorum.

This wild outburst of hate expresses most appositely the state of feeling then prevalent in Palestine.

By A.D. 453, however, the movement was suppressed for the time by military measures.

In Egypt the situation was somewhat worse. A certain Proterius was forcibly thrust by the government upon the Alexandrians as bishop in place of Dioscorus. On the accession of the emperor Leo I. (457-474), Proterius (i.e., 'the Wretched'), who had been on friendly terms with Cyril and was known as a rigid Monophysite, was raised to the episcopal throne by methods of sheer violence. At Easter, 457, Proterius was murdered by the populace in the baptismity of the cathedral church, while Timotheus purged the Egyptian sees of Diphysites, and pronounced the anathema upon Chalcedon (the Synod, as it now comes to be called in the sources). Timotheus held his position until 460, when, after fierce conflicts, he was driven from Alexandria and banished to Gangra; he was subsequently sent to Cherson, and there devoted himself to the composition of a refutation of the doctrine laid down at the Synod of Chalcedon, a work which only recently (1908) came to light in an Armenian translation.

The patriarchate of Antioch was likewise kept in a state of unrest by long protracted dissensions. Here the presbyter Petrus Fullo (Διαφώσ, 'the Fuller'), who in no long time supplanted Bishop Martyrius, zealously opposed the composition of the Council, and contended for the doctrine that God had been crucified (ὑπὸ θέου ἐξαρήσαμεν). To the liturgy he added the singing of the Trisagion (Is 69) supplemented by the phrase ὁ σωτήρ μου ὁ θεός; and he also introduced the 'Credo (the Nicene) into the Mass, probably with a view to emphasizing his opposition to the Chalcedonian formulory, as also, however, to Eutychianism which his tenure of the see did not last long, for in 471 the emperor Leo ordered him to be deposed. The imperial government thus found itself confronted by a serious task. On the one hand, it was a matter of urgency to preserve unity between East and West, between Byzantium and Rome, and this could be done only if there was no deflexion from the lines marked out at Chalcedon; on the other, those in the East whose dissatisfaction and resentment were due to the Council had to be restrained, pacified and, if possible, reconciled to what had been done. The emperors Zeno (474-491) and Anastasius (491-518) exerted all their energies to establish ecclesiastical equilibrium in the East, but they failed altogether in the task of maintaining peace with Rome at the same time. A proceeding of signal importance was the attempt of Zeno (482) to gain acceptance for a new formulory, the so-called Henotikon, in place of the Chalcedonian symbol. The Henotikon was designed to give emphatic expression to what was common to all parties, and accordingly it recognized the Councils of Nicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus as witnesses to the faith, disclaimed Nestorius and Eutyches, and condemned every one who 'now or ever, at Chalcedon or elsewhere, thought or thinks otherwise.' The formulory expressing the doctrine of the natures of Christ were adroitly kept in the background, so that every cause of offence might be removed. In spite of all, however, the policy of conciliation was not successful on the whole. It is true that Acazios, the court-patriarch of Constantinople, and Petrus Mongus (i.e., 'the Stammerer'), who now occupied the episcopal chair of Alexandria instead of Timotheus Aelurus, worked straightforwardly for the union of the warring factions, but the policy of reconciliation was repudiated by the uncompromising Monophysites, especially in Egypt, where the extremists (Διαφωγοί) actually took their names from the rest of their party. On the other hand, the convinced Diphysites, including the Acoemite
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monks of Constantinople, bitterly resented the virtual repudiation of Chalcedon. The most serious result was the severance of relations with Rome. This was due in part, no doubt, to the dogmatic problem, but certainly not less to jealousy of the ever-growing ascendency of the Constantinopolitan bishop as 'eccumenical patriarch'—a title that move did not approach. The question of communion between East and West which was brought about in 484 by Felix III. of Rome presents itself as the outcome of an inner necessity. That ecumenical and ecclesiastical convocation, and monophysites were to subordinate their own will to that of Christ's priests. The two convocations remained apart for thirty-three years in bitter controversy. The result was the recognition of Chalcedon and the condemnation of the monophysites. This renewed anancy with Rome, purchased at so great a cost, carried with it, of course, a close analogy with the Monophysites. During the reign of Anastasius the latter had gradually won a position of greater influence in Church politics. Anastasius, too, no doubt, tried to steer a middle course between the monophysites, but his own Monophysite convictions tempted him, especially towards the close of his reign, to show an imprudent compliance to the more fury and impetuous spirits in the opposition party, and it is not without good cause that his name stands in the Monophysite calendar of saints. The aggressive movement of the malcontents began in Syria, where the Monophysite leaders, and especially the leadership of Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Hierapolis (cf. § 3), gained an ascendancy over the Monophysites. At the Synod of Tyre (618, or, more probably, 515) they renounced the Council of Chalcedon, and thus placed the Monophysites in the position of the policy of the empire, directed from Constantinople. Palestine, too, was the scene of a Monophysite reaction, which in Egypt they completely gained the upper hand. The change of policy begun in Justinian's reign was dictated mainly by a desire to put an arrest upon these successes. A fierce persecution was the result, especially in the diocese of Antioch, many bishops, including Severus and Philoxenus, being banished from their sees.

3. The Monophysite theology. The views of the Monophysites regarding the theological problem were by no means homogenous. The fact that the sect were unanimous was their opposition to Leo's Tome and the symbol of Chalcedon—this idol with the two faces, as Zacharias Rhetor called it. Only a few of them drew from the doctrine of the one nature the Docetic inferences of Apollinaris or even of Eutyches. The majority tried to keep to the lines marked out in the theology of Cyril. This was the case, e.g., with Theodoret of Antioch, ecclesiastically the most influential, and theologically the most outstanding, champion of moderate Monophysitism, while Julian of Hal-

It was far from the minds of Severus and those who shared his views to argue for a fusion of the divine and the human in the person of Christ. Their insistence upon the singleness of Christ's nature after the Incarnation was the result of the conviction that the hypothesis of two natures necessarily implied two subjects or individual entities. What they found specially objectionable was the inference drawn with Severus and Philoxenus of Hierapolis more extreme in their views.

Severus, born c. 455 at Scopoli in Pisidia, was the grandson of a bishop and the son of a town-councillor. He studied
divided the one Christ into two φύσεως, since no nature could possibly assert itself (αυτερις) that could be rejected; and thus the hypothesis of two φύσεως led to that of two υποστάσεων, and so to the abhorred heresy of Nestorius. In conformity with the position of Cyril, and with a mode of expression he adopted with much force in the writings of Theodoret, the Arians, viz. ἄνθρωπος Θεός and Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (cf. art. MONOTHELETISM, § 1, p. 822a), Severus took as the basis of his speculations the inherently contradictory position of the Logos, as united to the full divine and human nature of Christ. The Logos, in His act of assuming flesh—flesh animated by rationality—becomes flesh and man, and, as man, is born of woman, but still remains, even as He had been, one, since, in virtue of such an indissoluble union, and without detriment to His inherent character, He transfigures and transfigures the flesh with His own glory and power. The united elements thus form a composite nature and a divinely-human hypostasis, and it is to this that all His activities are to be traced.

The thesis that the body of Christ was subject to the laws of nature was deemed of the utmost importance by the Severians and Theodolians, who saw in it an expression of the identity of essence between that body and our own, and were thus able to avoid the heresy of Eutyches. It was probably a consequence of this dogma, which was accepted by the extremists of the party. To Julian and his followers it was simply inconceivable that Christ's body had been subject to corruption (φαντασμός), which has been a characteristic of human nature since the Fall. In order to understand the precise usage of this term in the present connexion, we must note that it did not refer to the φαντασμός which denotes the complete dissolution of the body into its elements at death; all parties were at one in asserting that Christ's body was not subject to φαντασμός, if I so express it, i.e. as decomposition. The question at issue here had to do with the natural infirmities of the human body (ἀνάθεμα πάθη)—its liability to hunger, thirst, weariness, sweating, weeping, bleeding, and the like. The view of Julian, Philoxenus, and the Galatians was that, while Christ certainly hungered and thirsted, it was because He desired, not because He required (οὐ υπόθεται φύσιν), to do so—because, in short, according to the divine counsel (κειμένος ἀνάθεμα), He had assumed and united the human character, and His was the Son of man, as man was before the Fall, while all other men, though sons of Adam too, were possessed of a body and a soul of a nature that was due to Adam's fall.

We are thus able to understand the heretical designations applied by the warring Monophysite parties to one another. The Julianists or Galatians charged their opponents with phthartolatry, the worship of the corruptible. Those phthartolatry, however, retorted upon their accusers with the epithet 'aphthartodocetai' or 'phantasistas,' i.e. those who would change the reality of Christ's human experience into a mere appearance. As a matter of fact, the latter view was quite a natural inference, and many of the extremists were led astray by it. The most extravagant view seems to have been reached by those Galatians who asserted that the body of Christ, from the moment of its union with the Logos, should be regarded not only as incorruptible (ἀναθανάστως) but also as uncreated (ἀναθεματωμεν). These were stigmatized as 'kistolatres' by their opponents, whom in return they called 'kistolaios,' i.e. 'worshippers of that which was created.' Divisions arose even among the Severians themselves. The Question, a deacon, taking this opportunity of expressing his views, repeated the arguments which had been stated in the previous paragraphs as Mk 13a and Jn 11a, maintained that, as the body of Christ was subject to natural conditions, so its animating spirit could not be regarded as omniscient. To the adherents of this doctrine their opponents applied the term 'symbol.'

4. Justinian and the new orthodoxy.—On 1st August 527 Justinian became sole emperor of Rome. It does not fall to us here to set forth fully his far-reaching ecclesiastical policy in its transforming effect upon all things. One factor in his attitude towards the West was his recognition of the Roman chair as the supreme tribunal of the Church, though this did not prevent him, after his victory over the Goths, from giving the popes an experience of his autocratic power. The defection of the Eastern Church gave the imperial ecclesiastic many an anxious hour. He soon came to recognize that his persecution of the Monophysites (see § 2 at end) had been a grave error. Little as he might wish to displace once more the orthodoxy now officially recognized, he could hardly help desiring to reconcile the Monophysites, especially as the empress Theodora was working with growing fervour for the rehabilitation of the party with which she sympathized in her devout moods. A few years after Justinian's accession to the throne, accordingly, negotiations were opened with the insurgents, and the most eminent of the bishops deposed in 518—not, however, including Severus—were summoned to Constantinople, where, after a long conference, they would be won over at a religious conference. In this conference, on the orthodox side, only such theologians were to be present as unequivocally the Church had been considered since the fall of the empire.

This Theopaschite formula was manifestly a friendly overture to the Monophysites. But the ex-colleague of Severus was of no avail; after two days of verbal controversy, came to nothing. On 15th May 533 Justinian issued an enunciation in which he once more declared Chalcedon to be a standard of faith co-ordinate with the three earlier councils. The negotiations with the Monophysites were, nevertheless, still proceeding, and communications were now opened with Severus as well. Severus, yielding to reiterated pressure, went at length to the capital, where in 539 Anthimus, a protégé of the empress Theodora and a theological partisan of Severus himself, had been raised to the episcopate. But the interlude was not of long duration. In the following year the emperor was able to so influence the emperor that the doctrinally suspect patriarch was superseded by the orthodox Menas. It is nevertheless the case that, during the entire reign of Justinian, the Monophysites firmly maintained their position at the court, while in Syria and Egypt their ecclesiastical power was supreme (cf. § 5).

Justinian himself made zealous efforts to comprehend the points of the doctrinal controversy. His great aim was to reconcile the teaching of Cyril and the Symbol of Chalcedon. In this he found effective support in that most eminent of his theologians, Leontius of Byzantium (+ 543, or 553), a monk in Palestine, who, in his Ευφροσύνη αυτού τούτου Συμβουλίου, επαναλαμβάνει κατά Νεοπροφηταμβαίον και Ενενταναίων ἐπιστημόνων τιτρών, be occupied by a work of the same name, which was a composite, and he said of it that the doctrinally suspect patriarch was superseded by the orthodox Menas. It is nevertheless the case that, during the entire reign of Justinian, the Monophysites firmly maintained their position at the court, while in Syria and Egypt, their ecclesiastical power was supreme (cf. § 5).
Monophysitism

Cyril's doctrine. It was nevertheless the use of this expression that led to the introduction of schismatics into the Byzantine theology.

Justinian died in 565. Under his successors the Monophysites of the city and diocese of Constantinople had much to bear, and their harsh experiences have been graphically described by John of Ephesus, himself a Monophysite, in his Church History. Negotiations for a union of the warring factions, it is true, were once more resumed, but were forsook to failure by the circumstance that the imperial court would not surrender the understanding with Rome, while the Monophysites regarded that understanding as the root of all evil. The consequence was that in the course of the 6th cent. the Monophysite communities in the Byzantine patriarchate were destroyed one after another. The Churches of Egypt and the Eastern provinces, on the other hand, remained quite inviolable to the ecclesiastical influence of the capital, and the severance of the purely Monophysite communion from the Catholic Church became even more complete.

5. The independence of Monophysite churches.

The Monophysites of Syria never ceased to regard the banished Severus as the rightful patriarch of Antioch, and declined to recognize the standing of those who were successively appointed to the office by the emperor of the empire. The church life was Jacob Baradai (i.e. 'he with the horse-cloth'); + 578), who, originally a monk in Constantinople, had been ordained, c. 541, bishop of the place. The archbishop of Baradai (cf. § 5) then also resided there; and in consequence the Syrian Monophysites came to be called Jacobites. Baradai, in his long journeys in W. Asia and Egypt, instituted communities, and consecrated patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The chief representatives of literature in Syria were nearly all Monophysites.

From the time when Islam became the dominant power in Syria, the Jacobites decreased in numbers more and more. At the present day there are only some 200,000 of them in the Turkish empire, and about 1,000,000 in Egypt—on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon. Their ecclesiastical superior (formerly entitled 'maphrian,' now 'katholikos') resides in the monastery of Deir-Safaran, near Mardin. Efforts made by the Jacobites, from the close of the 18th cent., to effect a union with Rome had a very meagre result. At the present day the Roman-Catholic Syrians number about 200,000, and are subject to a patriarch, who takes his title from Antioch, but lives in Mardin.

In Egypt the conflicts between the Severanians and the Jacobites (cf. § 4) at length captured the unity of Monophysitism, which, nevertheless, became the faith of nearly the whole Coptic population. The patriarch of the orthodox, the Melchites (i.e. 'imperial'), who was also pro-curator of the province, could count upon the homage of very few outside the higher official ranks in Alexandria and some of the larger towns. The Melchites were represented in the synods of the Copts, and with the help of the Nubians and the Aladons. From 616 marauding bands of Persians ravaged the religious stations on the Upper Nile, and it was only after the Arabs, with the hearty good-will of the Copts, took possession of the country that the Monophysite patriarch ventured to leave his place of refuge in the Upper Egyptian desert. During the Middle Ages the condition of the Coptic Church was a fairly prosperous one, but subsequently it was sorely harassed by the new wave of Muslim fanaticism, and it is only within recent times that it has been able to make a fresh advance. The Christian Copts of the present day still maintain their Monophysite creed (see, further, Art. Coptic Church).

Finally, Monophysitism penetrated also to Armenia. The Armenians, while still engaged in battling for their own faith with Parsi Mazdaism, were quite ready to adopt the dogmas of the Monophysitism, as they had been engaged by Muslim fanaticism, and at the Council of Dvin, in 554, they overitly accepted the more radical position represented by Julian of Halicarnassus. From that time they have remained faithful to Monophysitism, though they subsequently gave their adherence to the more moderate Severian school.

Literature. — 1. Sources.

(a) Decrees of the Councils, Declaratory, 

(b) Historical works and Chronicles;

2. Historical works and Chronicles. — Zacharias Rhetor (Scholaschius), shortly after the accession of Anastasius, wrote, from a precise standpoint, a treatise on ecclesiastical events from the Council of Chalcedon to the death of Zeno (extract only in a Syrian version; see below, under Historia Monophysitana); Theodorus Lector, Anagnostus in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th cent., wrote, in addition to the orthodox standpoint of the Church from Nestorius to Justin I., which now exists only in fragments; Eusebius, a compiler of the era period by an unknown monophysite writer, and including the history of Zacharias Rhetor mentioned above (ed. G. Alten and G. Krüger, Leipzig, 1889); also F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, London, 1899; John of Ephesus (c. 685), Ecclesiastical History (ed. von Zeiten, 1805; E. Bistort, 2 ed., Paris, 1899); the work of Eusebius, quoted by the above writer, see: Eusebius, in Eclog. hist. c. 690 (ed. C. Lillie, Leipzig, 1885-86). Of the Latin chronicles the Monophysites' Historia Ecclesiastica, Brevisarium conciliorum, and Julian (cf. § 3), the following writers of the earlier period deserve mention: Jacob of Sarug (c. 521), the author of widely read metrical hagiologies, which earned for him the title of 'Flute of the Holy Spirit'; Sergius of Remis (c. 530), physician and priest, who translated from Syriac several works of Aristotle and Galen, as also of the pseudo-Dioscorides Arrepontica; Jacob of Edessa (c. 700), equally renowned as theologian, liturgist, writer, philosopher, historian, exegete, and grammarians; George, bishop of the nomading Arabs, a writer whose letters have come down to us in large numbers. Of the medieval authors of the most prominent is Bar Hebraeus (Abifrus; c. 1250), whose Chronicle forms one of the most important sources of information regarding Monophysitism.

From the time when Islam became the dominant power in Syria, the Jacobites decreased in numbers more and more. At the present day there are only some 200,000 of them in the Turkish empire, and about 1,000,000 in India—on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon. Their ecclesiastical superior (formerly entitled 'maphrian,' now 'katholikos') resides in the monastery of Deir-Safaran, near Mardin. Efforts made by the Jacobites, at the close of the 18th cent., to effect a union with Rome had a very meagre result. At the present day the Roman-Catholic Syrians number about 200,000, and are subject to a patriarch, who takes his title from Antioch, but lives in Mardin. The Monophysites, who were also pro-curator of the province, could count upon the homage of very few outside the higher official ranks in Alexandria and some of the larger towns. The Monophysites were represented in the synods of the Copts, and with the help of the Nubians and the Aladons. From 616 marauding bands of Persians ravaged the religious stations on the Upper Nile, and it was only after the Arabs, with the hearty good-will of the Copts, took possession of the country that the Monophysite patriarch ventured to leave his place of refuge in the Upper Egyptian desert. During the Middle Ages the condition of the Coptic Church was a fairly prosperous one, but subsequently it was sorely harassed by the new wave of Muslim fanaticism, and it is only within recent times that it has been able to make a fresh advance. The Christian Copts of the present day still maintain their Monophysite creed (see, further, Art. Coptic Church).
MONOTHEISM.—In the history of religion monothelism, the doctrine that 'there is one God,' or that 'God is One,' is somewhat sharply opposed to a newer belief, pantheism. The contrast, when it appears in the religion of a people, or in the general evolution of religion, tends to have an important bearing both upon religious practices and upon religious experience, since to believe in 'One God' means, in general, to abandon, often with contempt or aversion, many older beliefs, hopes, fears, and customs relating to the 'many gods,' or to the other powers, whose place or dignity the 'One God' tends henceforth to take and to retain. If these 'many,' as the older beliefs, which some form of monothelism replaces, had dealt with them, were themselves for the most part 'polytheistic' monotheism which is at times in question opposes, and replaces, some form of 'polytheism.' This is what happened when Judaism and Muhammadanism replaced old local faiths. If one were satisfied to view the contrast the light cases closely resembling these, and these only, then the natural opponent of monothelism as a belief in 'One God' would appear to be, in the history of religion, polytheism as a belief in many gods, besides those that are properly to be called gods.

Since, however, there are various religions and many superstitions which recognize the existence of powers such as, despite their more or less divine character, lack some or all of the features which naturally belong either to God or to gods, and since demons, the spirits of the dead, or magic powers may be in question in such religions, the name 'polytheism' can hardly be quite accurately applied to the whole class of beliefs which are in any important way opposed to monothelism. So, in the history of religion, monothelism has two opponents: (1) polytheism proper, and (2) beliefs that recognize other more or less divine beings besides those that are properly to be called gods.

In the history of philosophy, however, monothelism has a more general and opposing beliefs. Polytheism, as an explicit doctrine, has played but a small part in the history of philosophy. To the doctrine 'God is One' or 'There is one God,' where this doctrine forms part of a philosophy, there are opposed forms of opinion which are often classified under three heads: (1) philosophical pantheism, (2) philosophical atheism, (3) philosophical scepticism regarding the divine beings. The modern name 'agnosticism' has been freely used for a philosophical scepticism which especially relates either to God or to other matters of central interest in religion.

Frequently, in summaries of the varieties of philosophical doctrine, the term 'pantheism' has been used as a name for such philosophical doctrines as 'identify the world with God.' Pantheism is often defined, in the world. But a more careful study of the philosophical doctrines which have gone under the name of pantheism, or which have been so named by their opponents, would show that the name 'pantheism' is too abstract, too vague in its meaning to make any clear insight easily obtainable regarding what ought to constitute the essence of a philosophical pantheism. In the same way, the term 'divine immortality' and divine transmigration are abstract notions.

The two propositions (1) 'God is One,' and (2) 'God is identical with all reality,' or 'with the principle upon which all reality depends,' are not, on the face of the matter, mutually contrary propositions. However, in many systems of philosophy, or theology, or religious tradition, the first proposition appears to be contrary to the second depends upon the special interpretation, and sometimes upon the special prejudices of critics, sects, or philosophers of a given school.

One who asserts the 'unity of God' may or may not be laying stress upon the fact that he also makes a sharp distinction between the reality called God and other realities—e.g., the world. That such sharp distinctions are often in question is an important fact in the history of philosophy. Nevertheless the doctrine that 'God is One' has been philosophically maintained at the same time with the doctrine that 'God is all reality.' For such a view, the two doctrines would simply be two ways of expressing the same centrally important fact. One who wishes to understand the numerous controversies, subtle distinctions, and religious interests which at one time or another have been bound up with the name 'pantheism' must be ready to regard that doctrine 'monothelism,' when used without special explanation, is a poor instrument for making clear precisely where the problem lies. In brief, one may say that, while the term 'pantheism' has been freely employed by philosophers, as well as religious writers, devoted to practical religious interests, it is, as a historical name, rather a cause of confusion than an aid to clearness. The proposition, 'God is One,' has, despite the complications of doctrine and of history, a comparatively definite meaning for any one who advances a philosophical opinion concerning the nature of God. But the proposition, 'God is all reality,' is a really difficult proposition, and of the history of thought, no one meaning which can be made clear unless one first grasps all the essential principles of the metaphysical doctrine of the philosopher who asserts this proposition, or who at least is accused by his critics of asserting it. If we endeavour, then, to make clearer the essential meaning of the term 'monothelism' by contrasting the historical forms of monothelism with philosophical doctrines which have been opposed to it, we may attempt to solve the problem of defining what is essential to philosophical monothelism by dwelling upon a contrast which, especially in recent discussion, has had a place in asserting only opposing beliefs, e.g., that in speaking of the name of the 'One God' who is the essential being of monothelistic belief, either (1) one holds that God is 'immanent' in the world, as asserting the doctrine of the 'divine immalance,' or (2) one holds to the doctrine of the 'transcendence' of God, thus asserting that the divine being in some fashion 'transcends' the world which He has created or with which He is contrasted. But here, again, one deals with two doctrines which, in certain philosophical contexts, do not appear to stand in contrary opposition to each other. For, as is well known, there are philosophies which insist that God is in a certain sense 'immanent' in the world, and also in a certain sense 'transcendent' in His relation to the world. Aristotle, in a well-known passage (Met. X, vii., 986 b, 20 ff.) in the relations of the doctrines which are here in question, when he stated the question as to whether the divine being is related to the world as the 'order' is to the army, or as the 'general' is to the army. Aristotle replied by saying that in a certain sense 'God is both the 'order' of the world and the 'general,' although rather the general.' Thus the opposition between divine immalance pantheism and divine transcendent monothelism is an abstract opposition.
ing the most important part in the history of philosophical monotheism (see art. INMANENCE).

Another attempt to get the issue between mono-
thetical and the contrasting or opposed philoso-
phical doctrines clearly before the mind may take
the well-known form of declaring that monotheism,
properly so called, lays stress upon the 'per-
sistence' of the divine, or on the whole of the
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ing or as tending towards pantheism, have as their
essential feature the tendency to view God as
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ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel. 'We include under the phrase that form, or type, or aspect of monotheism, which characterizes philosophy and theology, the idea of a God who is the cause, or the explanation, or the correlate, or the order, or the reasonableness of the world. It seems fair to call this form 'Hellenic monotheism.' In the history of philosophy, monotheism, in a form which has grown up under the influence of Christianity, this idea of God has, of course, become interwoven—sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously—with the ethical monotheism of Israel. But, when a philosophy of Christian origin is in question, while in some respects this philosophy, if positively monotheistic, is almost sure to be strongly influenced by ethical monotheism, the most important and essential features of the philosophy in question will be due to the way in which it deals with the relation between the order of the world and the nature of the 'One God.' Aristotle's statement of his belief that the Logos is identical with the 'order' or is related to the world as the 'general' is related to the army is a good example of the form which the problem of monotheism takes from the Christian point of view.

(3) The third form of monotheism is very widespread, and has actually had many different historical origins. In the history both of religion and of philosophy this form of monotheism, somewhat like the Ancient Mariner, 'passes, like night, from land to land' and 'has strange power of speech.' Often unorthodox at the time or in the place where it is influential, it has indirectly played a large part in the creeds of various times and places. Usually fond of esoteric statements of doctrine, and often conditioned by common sense as fantastic and intolerable, it has had many times of great popular influence. History of Christian philosophy has had great difficulty in defining the relation of orthodox doctrine to this form of opinion. In the history of philosophy the more technical statements of it have formed part of extremely important systems.

This form of monotheism is especially well marked in the early history of Hindu speculation. It is often called 'Hindu pantheism'; and it is indeed to be ascribed to Indian soil. On the other hand, it has a less exclusive relation to Indian philosophy than the Hellenic form of monotheism, in its later history, has to Greek philosophy, so that the connexion here insisted upon between this kind of monotheism and the early history of Hindu philosophy must be interpreted somewhat liberally. In fact, at the close of the history of Greek philosophy this third form of monotheism appeared as a part of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. Yet in this case an Oriental origin or direct influence is extremely improbable. Examples of the tendency of this form of monotheism to take on new forms, and to be influenced by other motives than those derived from the religion or philosophy of Indian soil, and in the recent revival of such types of doctrine in various forms of 'intuitionism' and 'anti-intellectualism' in European thought.

The essence of this third type of monotheism is that it tends to insist not only upon the 'sacred reality of God,' but upon the 'unreality of the world.' The name 'ascesism' therefore is more suggestive for it than the name 'pantheism.' It might be supposed to imply strictly that 'God is real,' but all else besides God that appears to be real

is but an 'appearance' or, if better estimated, is a 'dream.' If we attempt to make more precise the vague word 'pantheism' merely by saying, 'God and the world' as it were, and 'the one,' the natural question arises, 'If they are not one, then which one?' But what we may now call, in a general way and upon the general historical development of man, the 'monotheism of the one, the general question arises, 'If they are not one, then which one?'

The threefold distinction now made enables us similarly to review some of the great features of the history of philosophical monotheism. It is in a way which cannot here be stated at length, but which, even when summarily indicated, tends to elucidate many points that have usually been unduly left obscure.

The ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel was not the product of any philosophical thinking. The intense earnestness of the nation into whose religious experience it entered it has kept it as the basis of the age-old world. The beginnings of Christianity soon required philosophical interpretation, and in any such interpretation the doctrine of the righteous God must inevitably play a leading part. This is the course of the development of the Church. This doctrine sought aid from Greek philosophy. Consequently, the whole history of Christian monotheism depends upon an explicit effort to make a synthesis of the ethical monotheism of Israel and the Hellenic form of monotheism. This synthesis was as attractive as, in the course of its development, it has proved problematic and difficult. The reason for the problem of such a synthesis, as the philosophers have had to face that problem, lies mainly in the following fact. Whether taken in its original form or modified by philosophical reflection, ethical monotheism is, in the form of 'God is righteous,' very sharply contrasted God, 'the righteous Ruler,' or, in Christian forms, 'God the Redeemer of the world,' with the world to which God stands in such ethical relations. On the other hand, for the Hellenic form of monotheism, the problem which Aristotle emphasized about the 'order' and the 'general' indeed exists. But in its essentials Hellenic monotheism is, on the whole, a secular form of philosophy, which deals with the world and the world together. Our later philosophies, in so far as they are founded upon Hellenic monotheism, must therefore attempt explicitly to solve the problem which Aristotle stated. And, on the whole, such philosophies tend towards answering the question as Aristotle did: God is both 'order' and the 'general' of the army which constitutes the world. Hellenic monotheism, moreover, is influenced by strongly intellectual tendencies. On the other hand, the monotheism of Israel was, even in its ante-philosophical form, a kind of voluntarism. God's law, viewed as one term of the antithesis, the world, which He rules, or which He saves, viewed as the other, are much more sharply contrasted than Aristotle's 'order' and 'general' tend to be. When, in the development of the philosophies which grew out of the Greek tradition, the Hellenic concept of the Logos (q.v.) assumed its most characteristic forms, its intellectual interests were, on the whole, in favour of defining the unity of the divine being and the world as the most essential feature of monotheism. But, at each stage of this development, this intellectual or rational unity of the Logos and the world gradually came into sharper and sharper conflict with that type of monotheism, which dwelt upon the contrast between the righteous
Ruler and the sinful world, and between divine grace and fallen man. Therefore, behind many of the conflicts between so-called pantheism in Christian tradition and the doctrines of 'divine transcendence' and 'divine personality,' there lies the conflict between intellectualism and voluntarism, between an interpretation of the world in terms of order and a lived interpretation of the world in terms of the conflict between good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness.

Moreover, in terms of this antithesis of our first and second types of philosophical monotheism, we can state only half of the problem. Had the monotheism of Israel and the Hellenic doctrine of God as the principle of order been the only powers concerned in these conflicts, the history both of philosophy and of religion would have been, for the Christian world, far simpler than it is. The motives which determine the third idea of God have tended both to enrich and to complicate the situation.

It is true that a direct connexion between ancient Hinduism and early Christian doctrine cannot be traced, yet: for very general reasons, the Indie type of idea of God became, in the course of time, a part of Christian civilization for very various reasons. As we have seen, the doctrine that God alone is real while the world is illusory depended upon motives which were fitted to India. In the form of what has technically been called 'mysticism,' this view of the divine nature in due time became a factor both in Christianty and in philosophical interpretation. The Neo-Platonic school furnished some of the principal technical formulations of such a view of the divine nature. The religions experience of the Graeco-Roman world, in the times immediately before and immediately after the Christian era, also in various ways emphasized the motives upon which this third type of Christian monotheism depended.

The Neo-Platonic school thus found room within the limits of orthodoxy for the recognition, with certain restrictions, of the tendency to view the world as mere appearance, ordinary life as a bad dream and salvation as attainable only through a direct acquaintance with the divine being itself.

The very complications which for philosophy have grown out of the efforts to synthesize Hellenic monotheism and the religion of the Prophets of Israel, have repeatedly stimulated the Christian mystics to insist that what the intellect cannot attain, namely, an understanding of the nature of God and His relation to the world, the mystic experience can furnish to those who have a right to receive its revelations. Philosophy—intellectual philosophy—falls (so much mystics assert) to solve the problems raised by the contrasts between good and evil, between God and the world, as these contrasts are recognized either by those who study the order of the universe or by those who thirst after righteousness. What way remains, then, for man, beset by his moral problems, on the one hand, and his intellectual difficulties, on the other, to come into real touch with the divine? The mystics, i.e. those who have insisted upon the third idea of God, and who have tested this idea in their own experience, have always held that the results of the intellect are negative, and lead to no definite idea of God which can be defended against the sceptics, while, as the mystics always insist, to follow the law of righteousness, or without the aid of divine grace, does not lead, at least in the present life, to the highest type of the knowledge of God. We approach the highest type of knowledge by faith, for faith permits, if we recognize, in the form of some sort of a negative theology, the barrenness of intellectualism, and if, meanwhile, we recognize that the contemplative life is higher than the practical life, and that an immediate vision of God leads to an insight which no practical activity, however rigorous, attains. To teach such doctrines as matters of personal experience is characteristic of the mystics. To make more articulate the idea of God thus defined has formed an important part of the office of theology.

Without this third type of monotheism, and without this negative criticism of the work of the intellect and this direct appeal to immediate experience, Christian doctrine, in fact, would not have reached some of its most characteristic forms and expressions, and the philosophy of Christendom would have failed to put on record some of its most fascinating speculations in theology.

It is obvious that, on the face of the matter, the immediate intuitions upon which mystical monotheism lays stress are opposed to the sort of insight which the intellect obtains. Even here, however, the opposing tendencies in question are not always in any very direct contrary opposition in the thought or expression of an individual thinker or school of philosophers. Each successive exposition of mysticism may devote a large part of its philosophical work to a return to the Hellenic type of theism. That this was possible the Neo-Platonic school had already shown (see art. NEO-PLATONISM). Where are no Christian monotheism is strongly under the Neo-Platonic influence, it tends to become a synthesis of our second and third types of monotheism. In such cases the monotheism is Hellenic in its neatness for order, and categories, and for an intellectual system of the universe, and at the same time devoted to immediate intuitions, to a recognition that the finite world is an adequate expression of God in terms of an ineffable experience, rather than in terms of a rational system of ideas. Such a synthesis may, in an individual system, ignore the conflicts here in question. Nevertheless, on the whole, the opposition is bound to become, for great numbers of thinkers and, on occasion, for the authorities of the Church, a conscious opposition. And the opposition between the ethical and the mystic types of monotheism is in general still sharper, and is more fully conscious. Despite all these oppositions, however, it remains the case that one of the principal problems of Christian theology has always been to bring the third of the ideas of God, the third of the tendencies to define God as One, into some tolerable and true synthesis either with the first or with the second of the three types of monotheism, or with both.

In the technical discussions of the idea of God which have made up the introductory portions of many systems of so-called 'nature theology' it has been very general for the philosophers of Christendom to emphasize the Hellenic type of theism. The so-called philosophical 'proofs of the divine existence' make explicit some aspect of the Hellenic interest in the order and reason of the world. The 'design argument,' first stated in an elementary form by Socrates, and persistently present in popular theology of the monotheistic type ever since, is an interpretation of the world in terms of various special analogues between the particular sorts of adaptation which the physical world shows us and the plans of a designing intelligence, in the case of art, or natural, in cases called 'cosmological argument' makes more in general terms from the very existence of this 'contingent' world to the Logos whose rational nature explains the world. The highly technical 'ontological argument' which such thinkers often use in the course of the effort to define the very nature of an
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orderly system. In its briefest statement the ontological argument is epitomized by Augustine whom he defines as 'Veritas' and states that Veritas must be real, since if there were no Veritas, the proposition that there is no Veritas would itself be true. The more highly developed forms of the ontological argument reason in similar fashion, and are framed in part of the Logos, or of the rationally necessary order system of the universe—in other words, from the realm of Platonic ideas, in so far as it is manifested through and to us, in the reality of such a system beyond our intellect.

It has been insisted, and not without very genuine basis, both in religion and in the controversies of the philosophers, that all such efforts, through the intellect, to grasp the divine nature lead to results remote from the vital experience upon which religious monotheism and, in particular, Christian monotheism must rest, if such monotheism is permanently to retain the confidence of a man who is at once critical and religious. Into the merits of the issues thus indicated, this is no place to enter. In any case, however, both the warfare of the intellectual schools with the contrast between intellectual theology and the religious life have often led to philosophical efforts to escape from the very problems now emphasized to the exclusion of the divine, or to assert that there is no philosophical solution to the religious problem of theism. Thus intellectualism in theology, in the forms in which it has historically appeared, has repeatedly tended to bring about its own elimination. The more highly rational it has become, and the more its apparent barrenness, or its inability to combine the various motives which enter into the three different monotheistic tendencies has become manifest, the more the result of a careful analysis of the intellectual motives has led either to the revival of mysticism or to a sceptical indifference to philosophical theology. To say this is merely to report historical facts.

Some negative results of the more purely Hellenic type of monotheism became especially manifest through the results of the Kantian criticism of reason and of its work. It is extremely interesting, however, to see what, in Kant's case, was the result of this criticism of the traditional arguments for the existence of God. By temperamental Kant was a mystic, and he believed in the existence of a mystical type. For him, therefore, the failure of the intellect meant a return to the motives which, in no philosophical formulation, but in the form of an intensely earnest practical faith, had long ago given rise to the religion of Israel. Therefore the God of Kant is, once more, simply the righteous Ruler. Or, as Fichte in an famous essay defined the idea, 'God is the moral order of the world.' This Kantian-Fichtean order is, however, not the Hellenic order, either of the realm of Platonic ideas or of the natural world. It is the order of 'the kingdom of ends,' of a universe of free moral agents, whose existence stands in endless contrast to an ideal realm of holiness or moral perfection, after which they must endlessly strive, but of whose real presence they cannot never become aware through a mystical vision or by a sure logical demonstration. The righteous man, according to Kant, says: 'I will that God exists.' Kant defines God in terms of this will. Monotheism, according to this view, cannot be improved, but rationally must be acknowledged as true.

Yet, in his Critique of Judgment, Kant recognized that the requirement to bring into synthesis the intellectual drill, and to interpret our aesthetic experience, i.e., our acquaintance with the kind of perfection which beauty reveals—this ideal, a synthesis of the ethical, the intuitional, and the rational—remains with us. And, despite all failures, this ideal is one from which philosophy cannot escape.

The revived interest in intuition and in religious experience which has characterized the transition from the 19th to the 20th cent. has once more made the mysticism and the Hellenism of the Logos, or of the rationally necessary order system of the universe—other words, from the realm of Platonic ideas, in so far as it is manifested through and to us, in the reality of such a system beyond our intellect.

While no attention can here be given to the solutions of the problem of philosophical monotheism which have been proposed during the last century, the problem of monotheism still remains central for recent philosophy. It may be said that dagnostic formulations are at the present time often treated with the same indifference which is also characteristically shown towards the faith of the fathers, and is owed simply as a heritage. Nevertheless, the problems of philosophical monotheism remain as necessarily impressive as they have been ever since the early stages of our intellectual theology. They are simply the old problem of philosophy itself. What the whole history of the monotheistic problem in philosophy shows becomes to-day, in view of our explicit knowledge of the philosophy of India, and in view of our wide comparative study of religions, more explicit than ever. Philosophy is a necessary effort of the civilized consciousness, at least on its higher level. Monotheism is a central problem of philosophy. This problem is not to be sufficiently dealt with by merely drawing artificial or technical distinctions between Platonic or Neo-Platonic theses; nor can the problem be solved by calling it the problem of the immanence of God as against his transcendence. The question 'Is God personal?' becomes and will become more explicit in its modern formulation the more we become aware of what constitutes a person. Meanwhile, as was remarked above, the problem of monotheism has other aspects besides the problem of personality.

The essentials of the great issue remain for us, as for our fathers, capable of formulation in terms which have undergone change. To repeat, the philosophical problem of monotheism is (1) In what sense is the world real? (2) In what sense is the world a rational order? (3) In what sense is the world ethical? The effort to answer these questions cannot be made by exclusive emphasis on one of them. For, as we have seen, the problem of monotheism requires a synthesis of all the three ideas of God, and an answer that shall be just to all the three problems. Whether monotheism is true or not can be discovered, in a philosophical sense, only through a clear recognition of the contrast of the three ideas of God, and the synthesis which shall bring them into some sort of harmony. The further discussion of the nature of this harmony does not come within the scope of this article (see art. God [Biblical and Christian]).


JOSIAH ROYCE.

MONOTHELETISM.—1. The problem. The Monenergetics or Monothelite controversy seems
at first glance to be a mere sequel to the Mono-
ophysite conflict, a knowledge of which is assumed
in the present article. On a closer examination,
however, we see that the later controversy has a
character of its own, since it shows how the adop-
tion of the orthodox Diphysite point of view was
not regarded as leading necessarily and directly to
Dsophysite. In the controversy MONOPHYSITISM
(p. 811 ff.) it was indicated how the new orthodoxy
came to terms with the problem of the two natures
in the one person of Jesus Christ—the problem raising
questions about the Theodorean. The person of the
God-man was conceived as arising from the
person (ὑπόστασις) of the Logos, which assimilated the
human attributes, and upon which, as the
core of personality, human nature was, so to speak,
governed by the process of υπόστασις. On this
hypothesis it might seem entirely justifiable to
ascribe everything that Christ said or did to the
one volitional activity (ἐνέργεια) of the God-man,
and actually, indeed, to regard all as emanating
from His unaided will (δύναμις). Such a view,
moreover, could be supported by the evidence of
earlier Fathers. Cyril, with reference to Lk 8th,
said of Christ: ὁ θεός γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος (i.e.
word and hand) ἐποίησεν ἡς ἐνέργεια; and it was
possible, above all, to adduce the witness of a
passage in the fourth Epistle of the psuedo-Diony-
smus, by which the teaching of ἐνέργεια
was destined to play so important a part in the
coming days. The Monophysites were possessed with the idea that the redemptive
activity of the God-man emanated wholly and
soley from divine nature, providing the
stimulus which was mediated by His
rational soul and brought to realization in His
body. Nor had even the natural operations of
Christ as a rational being their source in His
human nature purely by itself, as that nature
subsisted, not by itself alone, but in the divine
nature conceived as inherently personal. Hence
that which the Monophysite characterizes as human nature
was itself the work of God: it was one energy,
whose source is God, and whose instrument was
His humanity; it was one will, and that will was
divine. To Sergius of Constantinople (cf. § 8) it
seemed perfectly obvious that the rationally en-
dowed body of Christ effected its natural move-
ments only in accordance with the measure
assigned by His divine will, and that, just as our
body is governed by our rational souls, so also
the whole complex of Christ's human nature was
constantly directed by His deity.

The objections urged by the opposite party against
this theory of the oneness of Christ's
ἐνέργεια were based upon the feeling that it sur-
rendered the distinctively human element in Christ's
activity, since it implied that His human nature
was a mere passive instrument, and must therefore
be conceived as innaminate or, at least, as non-
rational. Such a view, however, was in reality a
reverson to Apollinarism (q.v.); and, even if the idea of the one composite
energy really presupposed that of the one composite nature as held by the Sever-
fans. In point of fact, the theses of the Monem-
physists approximate very closely to those of the
Severians—the more the later party of the Mono-
physites. As the Monophysists themselves came
to recognize this, they surrendered the phrase μία
ἐνέργεια and rallied around the θεός ἐνθάμα. This
position they regarded as unassailable, since two
wills (as distinguished from mere impulses or
natural tendencies to action) seemed inevitably to
involve two subjects endowed with volition (δύο
ἐνέργειαι), and that the human will was in the
God-man a will which diverged from His divine will, that divergent will could spring
from nothing else than an ungodly tendency in
the nature which He had assumed. Such a view,
however, would have been in conflict with the
document of the sinlessness of Christ's human
nature, in which all parties were at one, and would
therefore have been accounted blasphemy. Gregory
of Nyssa, writing long before, had said: τὸ κεκύρω
δέντον ἀδελφόν Ἰωάκην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως
ἀντικαταβλέπει. The adverse party was wont to appeal to passages like
Mt 26:20, where the human will and the divine will
seem to stand in opposition; but the Monophysites
sought to interpret these in the light of the
orthodox interpretation of this text, Christ had a human
will κατ' οἰκείωσιν only. They did not mean to
deny the presence of a human activity in the one
will of Christ, but they held that this activity was
entirely due to His divine will. In relation to His
divine ἐνέργεια, they maintained, the human
ἐνέργεια becomes a πάθος, and, when Gregory said
of Christ that His soul wills, he meant that the
volition of Christ's soul was due to the will of the
Deity who was personally united with His soul,
and that, accordingly, it was divine volition in a
human form.

The Monophysists and Monophysites sought to
support their contention also on the ground that the
phrase δύο ἐνέργειαι had never yet been heard in
the doctrinal controversy; and, while this claim
was not altogether without some show of reason that none of the δι
ἐνέργεια τῆς ἐνέργειας, i.e., none of the
recognized Fathers of the Church, had made use
of the phrase. As regards the formula of the δο
ἐνέργεια, another divine nature providing a
stronger one. In earlier writers the phrase δο
ἐνέργεια is used only as expressing a final con-
sequence foisted upon those who held the doctrine
of the two natures. The use of the phrase in a
positive sense can be traced only in a single work,
written—if genuine—before the Monophysite con-
troversy, viz. the treatise τῆς ἡμέρας ἀριστερᾶς καὶ
τῆς ἡμέρας οὐκείωσιν ascribed to Dionysius of
Alexandria (+ 697). But, while the Ditheitists
were thus unable to call tradition to their aid, they operated all the more zealously with the
inherent logic of their case. In point of fact, no
logical objection could be urged from the stand-
point of the new orthodoxy, as, e.g., from that of
Leontius of Byzantium, against the procedure of
ascribing δύο φύσεως ἐνέργεια to the δοῦνα φύσιν.
Indeed, it was pointed out by our rational souls, so as to
amptonise the consistent development of the
position affirmed in the formula of Chalcedon,
that helped the doctrine of the two wills to gain
the day. It is true that the contradiction involved
in the doctrine of the two natures was rendered
still more palpable in that of the two wills. But
these who had come to terms with the former
document had no difficulty in accepting the latter,
and it is the aim of the following historical sketch
to show how this point was reached.

2. The beginnings of the controversy.—The
succession of the Monophysites did serious damage to Byzantium and its Church. It smoothed
the way for the advance of the Arabs and of Islám.
Far-seeing and energetic politicians sought to
arrest the mischief by working for the ecclesiastical
reconciliation of the eastern and southern prov-
inces of the empire. The most outstanding
figures in this movement were the emperor Hera-
cius (610-641) and the patriarchs Sergius (618-638),
Sergius, a Syrian born of Jacobite parents, was
already giving his mind to the thought of union in
the early years of his tenure of office. He caught
at the watchwords μία ἐνέργεια and μία ἐνέργεια ἔγγον
τῆς ἡμέρας, and, so far as it was possible, to
forbid the controversy by the Alexandrian Mono-
physites, and he succeeded at the outset, on the
basis of the doctrine implied by these expressions, in winning the Emperor's approval to his designs. Soon afterwards (622) Hermæus issued an edict proscribing the doctrine of the δύο ένιον. But, although Sergius brought all the weapons of patristic learning to bear upon the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites, the negotiations made little headway. It was not until 633 that indications of real progress began to show themselves. Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, whom Hermæus had threatened, thenceforth was treated with respect. In Lazia, he succeeded in bringing about a union with the Theodosians, i.e. the Monophysites (see art. MONOPHYSITISM, § 3). The doctrinal programme drawn up by Cyrus, while setting the doctrine of the two natures in the forefront, guarded it carefully by special clauses; it distinctly recognized the Cyril- lian terminology of the one incarnate nature, and it adopted the Aneagapitite formula of the one theanthropic energy. The Monophysites had some grounds for thinking that, as one of our sources puts it, it was not they who made alliance with Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon with them. About this time, too, the metropolitan church succeeded in effecting an understanding with the Armenian, though this did not last long. The greatest triumph, however, was the winning of Athens. The Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, for now the occupants of the three great Oriental sees were all on the same side. But at this juncture the union that had been brought about with such difficulty was gravely imperilled by the action of a Palestinian monk. This was Sophronius, who had at an early date maintained relations with the Alexandrian patriarch Eulogius and John the Merciful. He now seemed to be preparing, as he had threatened, to lodge a protest with Cyrus against the articles of union, in which he thought he discerned Apollinarianism. As Cyrus hesitated to withdraw the articles at the request of Sophronius, the latter proceeded to Constantinople and tried to induce Sergius to delete the expression πία ένιον from the document. The patriarch was not prepared to take that step, but for the sake of peace he agreed to send his Alexandrian colleague a letter recommending him to have done with the dispute as to one ένιον or two, but forbidding him to sanction the thesis of the two wills, which he stigmatized as blasphemy. With that Sophronius was satisfied. Sergius, moreover, secured another triumph in gaining the support of Pope Honorius for his pacific policy (cf. § 3). Shortly afterwards (634) Sophronius was appointed to the see of Jerusalem. He broke away at once from the accepted understanding by referring in his inaugural encyclical to the two natures, though he certainly avoided any overt acceptance of the doctrine of the two wills. His action was deeply resented by Sergius, and Honorius tried, though without success, to persuade him to drop the objectionable expression. Eventually the emperor issued a decree, framed by Sergius—so-called Ecthesis of 638—forbidding all mention either of one energy or of two energies: of one, because the mention of it might lead to a denial of the two natures, and of two, because two energies seemed logically to involve two mutually antagonistic wills.

3. The case of Honorius. —Honorius of Rome, by reason of his attitude in the Monothelite con- tradictory, was, as will be explained below (§ 5), put under the ban by an Ecumenical Council. This proceeding has had such important consequences in the history of the doctrine that we cannot afford to ignore it. Here we must first of all ask what Honorius had really said. The misstep in which he explained his theological position to his colleague in Constantinople is extant only in a Greek translation, but the agreement of this translation with the Latin autograph was definitely confirmed at the Council. In this letter Honorius had set in the foreground his desire that the controversy as to one or two energies should be allowed to rest or to be relegated to the grum- mians. The introduction of the new phrases into the doctrinal terminology might bring those who used them under suspicion either of Eutychianism or of Nestorianism; nevertheless he adhered impartially to the view that, whatever decision might be made between the hypothesis of the one and that of the two energies, it was at all events necessary to accept the doctrine of a single will (μίας τοις θεολογικών του κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); for, as the Son of God had assumed a pure and supernaturally begotten human nature, the idea of a second will, disparate or antagonistic (διαφόρου ἢ ἑνώτος θελημάτων), was simply out of the question. Passages like Mt 23rd or Jn 5th, in which Christ seems to mark a contrast between His own will and the will of God, did not in any real sense indicate a different will, but simply referred to the economy of His assumed humanity (οὐκ εἰς ταύτα διάφορα θελήματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ θεολογία τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τῆς πρεσβολήθεσις). Christ, as an example, adopted the manner of this dispensation in the name of the one will, and not, as the case might appear, of the one will, and not, as the case might appear, in order that we should follow His footsteps, not seeking our own will but the will of God.

The letter of Honorius reveals throughout an intelligent and accurate grasp of the situation. To reproach its writer with having adopted the doc- trine of the one will is simply an anachronism. For that doctrine had not yet become eclesiastically problematic, and was of no especial respect. Even if, in order to do so, Honorius had already been said, had not put the doctrine of the two wills upon his programme, and the question as to the Monothelitism of Honorius is of a piece with that regarding the Monophysitism of Cyril of Alexandria. We might venture to say, indeed, that, if Honorius had, a generation later, occupied the Roman chair in place of Agatho, he would have given the same supplement as the latter did, and thus, to speak paradoxically, would have pronounced his own condemnation. Agatho and the Council of 681 stood face to face with a situation of a totally different kind. As Monothelitism had then become a dogma of orthodoxy, to simply bind to condemn it, and, in doing so, they could not avoid reproaching the missive of Honorius as well. Above all, however, we must not forget that Agatho not only refrained from protesting against the anathematization of his predecessor, but by the voice of his legate actually gave it his sanction. In the following year Pope Leo II. expressly ratified the condemnation in a communica- tion to the emperor, in which he spoke of Honorius as one "qui hanc apostolicam sedem non apostolicae traditionis doctrina illustravit, sed profana prodi- tionem inaneamculam fidel subvertere conatus est." This judgment is, no doubt, unduly severe, and, measured by the standard of historical truth, positively false. Still, it certainly shows the remarkable freedom from prejudice with which the authority of a pope in matters of doctrine could then be viewed even in Rome itself. It is quite incompetent, on the other hand, to bring the case of Honorius into the question of papal infallibility. If we keep in mind the provisions of the Vatican dogma regarding the import and scope of the pope's infallibility, we shall see at once that they do not apply at all to the missive of Honorius. It is the case that in our historical judgment this attribute might with equal justification be applied to any other utterance of a pope.
death of the emperor Heraclius, and the brief reigns of his two sons, his grandson, Constans II. (641–659), son of Constantin III, was raised to the throne in consequence of a court revolt. Constans, too, adhered to the Ecthesis, which, however, had meanwhile encountered a keen resistance, especially in Africa. The N. Africans, and Pope John IV., officially condemned Monotheletism; the N. African bishops raised a vigorous agitation against it; and soon the whole western province was agitated against the Ecthesis. Constans, on the other hand, remained loyal to the Ecthesis. The patriarch Pyrrhus, who had succeeded Sergius, was deposed by Constans on political grounds, being suspected of influence with the exarch, and a monk, looking like doctrinal views with himself. Pyrrhus went to Africa, and there intervened vigorously in the conflict. With Maximus, an abbot of Constantinople, who had likewise remained in Africa, he conducted a discussion, the records of which are among the most notable documents of the whole controversy. Here Maximus proved the victor.

This Maximus was the most eminent, and effective champion of Dithyleism, and his constancy to his creed won the title of "Confessor." He was born c. 659 at Constantinople. He held, when a youth, a high State functionary, and he acted as imperial secretary in the reign of Heraclius. From 659 he visited the council of Chalcedon (2), where he soon attained the dignity of an abbot. He worked energetically on behalf of Dithyleism both in Africa and at Rome, and it was at his instigation that the Lateran Council of 669 (see below) was summoned. As the part which he thus played ran counter to the interests of the emperor, he was at length committed to await his trial. In 663 he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and two years later he was banished. In 682 the usurper, Leontius, interceded on his behalf, and he was released from a legal process, as a result of which his tongue was cut off and his right hand struck off, and he died within the year in exile on the east coast of the Euxine. The best known of his extant works is his Scholia to the pseudo-Dionysian writings, and it was, in fact, the comments of Maximus that secured the Church's recognition of these texts.

The vehement opposition of the Dithyletes, however, served to bring to the centre of ecclesiastical policy of the emperor. Already in 648 Constans, acting on the advice of the patriarch Paul, had issued a decree, the so-called Typus, declaring that the dispute regarding the doctrine of the wills must come to an end at once. The Typus, unlike the Ecthesis, avoids all argumentation on matters of detail; disobedience to its provisions was to be visited with severe ecclesiastical and civil penalties. But the Dithyletes would not be silenced. They had now their centre in Rome, and a Council conducted in 649 by Pope Martin in the Constantinian basilica of the Lateran Palace; a council of Greek monks who had fled to Rome, affirmed, in explicit conformity with the declaration of Chalcedon, its adherence to the doctrine of two wills and two energies corresponding to the two natures of Christ. The action of Martin raised an agitation in both East and West, and the emperor, bitterly resenting this, as well as the pope's friendly relations with the exarch Olympus, then lying under suspicion of high treason, had him sent to Constantinople (653), and, after a criminal trial, banished to the Chersonese, where in 653 death released him from his sufferings.

5. The 6th Ecumenical Council and the end of the controversy.—For a time it appeared as if the new policy of peace would be attended with success. Pope Vitalian entered into friendly alliance with the emperor; ecclesiastical communication between East and West was tacitly restored; and, when Constans visited Rome in 663, he was received with due imperial honours. At the murder of the emperor, however, the antagonism broke out more fluently in the East than in the West, and the division led to a formal rupture of ecclesiastical relations. Such a state of matters was felt by the politicians, as formerly in Justinian's time, to be intolerable; and to deal with it the emperor Constantine IV. Pogonatus summoned the 6th Ecumenical Synod. In November 669, accordingly, the Eastern prelates, together with the legates of Pope Agatho, assembled in the Hall (τριγώνον, hence 'Trullan Council') of the imperial palace at Constantinople. This Council, after considerable interruptions, until September 681, is recognized officially by both Churches as the 6th Ecumenical Council. The members, with abundant excepts from the Pulpit, heard in turn from one point to another, until at last the Roman representatives won acceptance for the doctrine of the two wills, and procured the condemnation of its opponents, living and dead, without any real change in their opinions; as we saw above (§ 3), Pope Honorius. The Roman point of view is set forth in the comprehensive statement laid by Agatho before the emperor—a document that came to be regarded as a counterpart to the Tonus of Leo I. (cf. art. Monotheleism, § 1). In the Symbol of the Council the terms in which the Chalcedonian formula defines the relation to the two natures are applied to the two wills and energies, corresponding to the two natures of Christ, in the person of the divine will.

Thus the two wills corresponding respectively to the two natures are not opposed to each other (ἐν ἕνῃ στροφῇ); on the contrary, the human will is united to the divine will, and the divine will is the principal will to which it is subject (ἐν ἕσσον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον αὐτὸν [i.e. τῶν λόγων] θῆλη καὶ μὴ ἀπεκτίνητο ἡ ἀντιλαβών, μᾶλλον μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐστατικώς τὸν θρόνον καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δείκτη), for it was necessary that, while the will of the flesh must indeed act, it should be subordinate to the divine will. Just as the flesh of the God-Man (ἐν θεον λόγων) is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called flesh, and rightly called, the will of the God-Man. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (ἐν θεον αὐτῷ ἐστι), so the human will of this flesh is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called flesh, and rightly called, the will of the God-Man. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (ἐν θεον αὐτῷ ἐστι), so the human will of this flesh is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called flesh, and rightly called, the will of the God-Man. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (ἐν θεον αὐτῷ ἐστι), so the human will of this flesh is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called flesh, and rightly called, the will of the God-Man. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (ἐν θεον αὐτῷ ἐστι), so the human will of this flesh is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called flesh, and rightly called, the will of the God-Man.

Eventually the emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711–715) undertook to deal with it, while his successor, Anastasius II. (713–715), restored the authority of the Council of 680–681. But Monotheletism was still faithfully adhered to by the Maronites of Lebanon.

Literature.—I. Sources.—(1) Letters and other writings of Maximus, some that took part in the controversy, as found in the documents of the Lateran Synod and the 6th Ecumenical Council; (2) contemporary works, esp. the writings of Maximus Confessor (ἦν πανθεικόν πολέμων καὶ Μικράντις, Disputatio cum Pyrrho) and statements in Anastasius Sinaitæ, 'De arti εἰς εἰσόδον et De monasteriis' (A. M. Script. Vet. Nova, Oliva, Rome, 1851, vi. 195 ff.); (3) later chronicles and historical works, as, e.g., the 'Topia αὐθεντάς of the patriarch Nicæus, and the Apophthegmata of Theophanes.

II. Modern works.—The reader should consult the works cited at the end. Monotheleism; those of Gibbon, Walsh, Gorner, Hefele, Harnack, and Krumbacher are valuable; also, in fact, it was intermittently fanned to fresh outbursts by the wranglings of the Byzantine court. Eventually the emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711–715) undertook to deal with it, while his successor, Anastasius II. (713–715), restored the authority of the Council of 680–681. But Monotheletism was still faithfully adhered to by the Maronites of Lebanon.
MONSTERS (Biological).—Monstro vocantur quia monstrat. 1 This ancient platitude may seem ridiculous to-day, but it has not yet lost its meaning entirely. Doubtless in a modern civilized society the birth of a two-headed lamb, of a "bull-dog-faced" calf, or of a monkey-exchange of the uterus for a portion of the body, would be set down as a portent of disaster or proof positive of witchcraft. Yet to a certain section of the community the objects present opportunities of enlarging the common store of biological knowledge. The specimens themselves demonstrate eloquently the possibilities of aberration in the processes of normal development and growth. They testify to the existence of numerous independent forces or influences, balanced delicately under normal circumstances. They point to a disturbance of the balance. They reveal the nature of individual influences, as manifested when one has been exerted in excess, to the exclusion or suppression of the countervailing factors.

In biology monsters are regarded as extreme instances of developmental varieties. Variations of lesser degree of the class of "abnormalities," although, as explained in art. ABNORMALITIES (Biological), no hard and fast line separates the two groups. Many monstrous formations are determinate effects affecting the embryo or the fetus, though the post-natal period of growth is by no means free from disorders productive of a comparable result. And instances of the latter kind, such as retarded adolescence, or precocious senility, may be included fairly with others showing the extreme tenuity of the neural zone between health and disease.

The study of monsters falls naturally into two divisions: (a) the investigation of their actual structure, and (b) research into the mode of their production.

(a) On the anatomical side a classification has been attempted, and it is based upon consideration of the part or parts actually affected. In view of the vast number of categories thus recognized, only the most cursory survey is possible here; and, instead of rehearsing the long list of classes and their subdivisions, it must suffice to note that, while the whole body has suffered in some cases, in others certain parts only will be found to be distorted.

The developmental history of monsters shows us that, as a general rule, the departure from what is normal will be greater and more complete in proportion as the disturbance was early in its occurrence. For in the first phases of development, when the total mass of the embryo is almost infinitely small, even a slight error will affect the rudiments of every organ and structure that is to be perfected subsequently. At this point again two distinct groups of monsters must be separated. In some cases the uterus may void its contents prematurely as a shapeless mass; to this, in human pathology, the antiquated term 'mole' is still applied. Or, again, the disturbance may lead to partial 'gemination,' i.e., to some distorted kind of twin-formation. Thus twins of equal size may continue to grow though connected with each other, and at the birth may produce such a phenomenon as the 'Siamese twins.' In other instances of this class the twins are quite unequal in point of size and, it may be, of development. As a result, an abortion is the issue, the residual portion of the twin attached to it. The two are then distinguished as the 'autosite' and 'parasite' respectively. The parasite is most commonly attached to the autosite in or about the middle line of the body. It may present almost any part of the body, though it is more wart-like excrecence to that of a headless trunk with arms and legs. In rare instances the parasite has been found to be entirely enclosed within the mass of the host, so that it is not visible externally at all.

Lastly, in yet another class of monsters, the process of gemination may have been complete but unequal, and one twin is born in a normal state, while the other suffers deformation, whether of mass, consisting of various tissues and rudiments of organs in the most complete comission. Even the latter may be maintained alive throughout the intra-uterine period of existence.

Apart from these instances of 'twinning,' we may notice that certain particular structures such as the heart or the brain may be defective to the point of obliteration, while a large class bears witness to interference with such normal processes as the formation of the face or the closure of the walls of the body to protect the viscera.

(b) The study of the normal processes of development throws a flood of light on the problem of explaining the particular aberration responsible for the occurrence of a monster. Physiological investigations have dealt with the nature of the disturbing causes, and to these we shall now turn.

The artificial production of monsters first claims attention. In fish-hatcheries the occurrence is accidental and unexploitable, yet the frequency with which grotesquely-formed individuals appear among the fry is so well known as to be almost a matter of common knowledge. The eggs of the domestic fowl have been used for experimental purposes for at least fifty years past. In this department of biology the name of the French observer, C. Daresse, deserves special mention. The more usual modes of procedure are to subject the eggs during artificial incubation to selected abnormal influences. These may be of the nature of magnetic force, variations of temperature, or, again, the disturbances caused by partially vanishing the eggs, or by subjecting them to incessant rotation. In these ways various physical agencies have been shown to be influential in producing monstrous forms. Eggs of other animals (often those of Invertebrates) have been employed to test the effects of chemical agents or of altering the chemical constitution of the media in which the developing eggs normally rest. Such ova have also been the subjects of experiments in which the fertilizing element has been varied. Physiological research of this kind has established clearly the susceptibility of the egg-cell to a variety of influences, whether these be physical, mechanical, or chemical. At this point another possibility seems to demand notice. The influence of so-called maternal impressions has long been discussed by those who are not prejudiced on this subject. Only the highest forms of life are suitable for observation or research in this respect, and it cannot be said that the potency of such impressions has been established.

Turning more particularly to human beings, it may be mentioned that medical research has shown that certain monstrous developments, viz. Acronegaly and Achondroplasia, are due to the excess or deficiency of certain fluids which normally pass with the blood to bathe the tissues of the body. In this department of research only the first steps have been taken as yet.

In such ways the anatomical study of monsters shows the investigator imperfectly, but the physiologist is able to point to the disturbing element. Thus we are left with the impression that, where the balance of reacting forces...
is so delicate, no absolute standard of what is a normal form is possible. The individual is connected with others which we call abnormal by an infinite number of intermediate forms. And the abnormal examples in turn lead on to monsters.

That which is born is the outcome of a host of interacting forces. Its capacity to maintain existence and to reproduce its kind depends first upon its conformation, and then upon the environment in which it finds itself. Two marks may be made in conclusion. Though the attribute of vast size is commonly associated with our ideas of monsters, yet from the biological point of view this is not necessary, and huge monsters are but representative of one of many possibilities.

And lastly, while in this article the occurrence of monstrous forms among animals has been reviewed, it is to be remembered that most of the considerations here set forth are applicable equally to the vegetable kingdom.

LITERATURE.—Special meetings may be made of C. Daresete, Bouddhisme et à la production artificielle de monstrous in Paris, 1877; other contributions to the literature are so numerous as to preclude even a partial enumeration here. Reference is made to the bibliography provided by E. Schwab, Morphologie der Missbildungen, Jena, 1906.

MONSTERS (Ethnic).—1. Various kinds of monsters.—The existence of monstrous beings, human or animal, is believed in at all levels of culture. They are referred to or described in stories, traditions, or myths, or as they are depicted or represented in some artistic form. Among savages monstrous beings are often supposed to exist, like the Bun-yip of Australian tribes—a mythic water-monster who carries off women—or the monsters or demons said to swallow yonths at initiation in New Guinea. Frequently more or less disgusting features are supposed to be the result of some monstrous or abnormal feature—one eye, more than two eyes, eyes under the arms, vast ears, two or more heads—or be headless or featureless or of great size, or to possess tails. Ghosts, especially ghosts of those who have died a violent death, are often visualized as monsters of a more or less horrible kind, usually with a fondness for human blood. Among barbaric peoples similar beliefs are found, especially in Oriental mythology and folklore. Here whole classes or tribes of monstrous beings exist, like the rakshasas of Hindu myth—hideous fiends with shape-shifting powers, or the ghoul or the ghunghroo (Arabic belief), or the satyrs, centaurs, and cyclopes of Greek mythology. Here also human tribes of monstrous form are a subject of popular belief. The people of Jâhab (Java) were supposed by the Arabs to have their heads in their breasts.2 Herodotus describes some of the tribes supposed to live beyond the region of the Scythians—men with goats' feet, men with one eye (the Amazons)—and other tribes believed in by the Lityans—monsters with dogs' heads or headless with eyes in their breasts.3 Pliny also writes copiously about such tribes.4 Irish mythology speaks of tribes of men with dog, or cat, or goat heads. Tribes or individuals covered with an abnormal growth of hair are often mentioned by ancient or medieval travellers from the Carthaginian Hanno onwards. In Egypt monstrous creatures were often figured on tombs, and the god Bes is depicted as a dwarfish but monstrous and repulsive figure.

The monstrous creatures of Babylonian and Assyrian art are well-known—winged bulls or lions with human heads, and other abnormal forms. These were set in front of entrances as a means of frightening away evil spirits, and a similar use of horrific figures is known elsewhere (see Delitzsch, vol. iv. p. 848 ff.), at both lower and higher levels.1

Among the folk everywhere monstrous beings have a real existence to the imagination, and are doubtless such kinds of similar beings believed in by their forefathers. But the influence of Christianity was often to give a sinister aspect to the supernatural beings of the older paganism. The water-horse and water-bull of Celtic lore are typical examples of monsters which have still a real existence to the folk in remote districts. Demoniac beings are also often envisaged as monsters, and everywhere more or less repulsive giants and dragons have been subjects of popular belief (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS, GIANTS).

The mythologies of most races tend to give a demonic, gigantic, or monstrous form to the supernatural creatures of culture-heroes or the gods—Tânat and her brood in Babylon, the opposing hosts of beings whom Isâ daily conquered in Egyptian belief, the Demons, Giants, and Charon, who strive with gods in Hindu, Greek, Teutonic, or Celtic myth. They typify chaotic forces, the powers of evil, or the powers of order, and hence they constantly tend to be regarded as evil, while their enemies enjoy righteoussness and goodness.

As early as the days of primitive man monstrous forms have been depicted in various ways. Thus in caves and mounds men and women of sinister faces may represent demons, while other curious hybrid figures, half-human, half-animal, have been variously interpreted, but may represent monsters of the imagination of the ancients. Savage art tends to give all its human or supernatural subjects a grotesque, if not monstrous, form, often, no doubt, from lack of skill, but there is sometimes a deliberate exaggeration, in a horrible or grotesque direction, of features or of one or more members of the body. This monstrosity of feature is also seen in masks worn on ceremonial occasions by savages, and often meant to represent the faces of particular spirits.4 Indian art delighted to represent their divinities as many-headed or many-armed—a method which has spread into adjacent countries.5 Tibetan representations of demons or gods are often repulsive in their monstrosity. Reference has already been made to the monstrous Babylonian figures. In medieval and later Christian demonology demons and the devil were depicted in the most sinister and horrible forms—half-animal, with exaggerated features, tasks, horns, tails, or with faces on chests, stomach, or knees.6

2. Origin of the belief in monsters.—Probably no single origin is to be looked for. There may have been different origins for the belief as a whole, or particular monstrous forms may have had an origin different from that of some other forms.

(a) Imagination is doubtless responsible for much of the monstrosity that is attributed to men, mythical animals, or demons in mythology or primitive tribes. As man's imagination permeates the world around him with spirits, so these appeared to his imagination as gorgons, hydrenas,


2. Cfr. ERE VI. 603 f.


5. Cf. Hahn, Head, for other instances.

6. This is particularly noticeable in illuminated MSS or in pictures of the Temptation of St. Anthony type. Cfr. Le Doux and Housay, pataine.
and chimeras. There was a constant tendency to visualize the creatures of belief as human and yet not really human, and yet more than animal. As man drew little distinction between himself and animals, as he thought that transformation from one to another was possible, such fancies of savages have a certain plausibility. This, in part accounts for animal-headed gods or animal-gods with human heads. Or, where gigantic superhuman strength, wisdom, or productivity was concerned, man represented these to himself by a combination of monstrous features, of which he thought in waking hours could no more rid itself than could Frankenstein escape his monstrous creation. The combination of existing but diverse forms which seem in sleep and human beings to monstrous forms would play a part in the drama enacted during the hours of sleep. Such forms, seen in sleep by men to whom dreams had an intense reality, became a real part of the contents of the actual world in which they lived. Primitive and savage men are like children, and they no doubt had their night terrors, caused by fantastic or horrible figures seen in dreams and still appearing to haunt them when sleep was rudely broken by the effect of fear. Again, hallucinations seen in waking hours by those whose mental balance was deranged might also aid in the creation of monsters, as they form part of the world inhabited by persons with certain kinds of mental affliction.

Such hallucinatory appearances, described to the sane, would be accepted as real, and it is probable that hallucinations may have been a part of normal life and given to seeing visions, is never quite sane. But, again, the savage in his waking life is probably the subject of hallucinatory impressions to a far greater extent than the civilized man. His psychic state when awake bears a close resemblance to his psychic state when asleep. What he thinks he sees is actual to him, and every illusion, however incredible or monstrous, is a fact. Even in cultured Egypt there were figured on the tombs the monstrous forms which the deceased thought he had seen in his lifetime.

(c) Monsters, again, may owe their origin to a basis of fact. Any large predatory animal whose coming and going was obscure would tend to be envisaged in still more awful guise. Some, indeed, have argued that belted survivals of now extinct animals may have given rise to the monsters of folk-tale and tradition, and, if this were true, it is certain that the impression made by them would easily become legendary. Most monstrous savages have had a fish or animal. These, which are really exaggerated forms of actual animals seen by their ancestors, but unknown to their descendants in their new habitat—e.g., the monstrous lizards of Maori tradition are the creatures of the reptile-crocodiles of the early possessors. Perhaps actual abnormal or monstrous births may have assisted in the formation of mythical monsters, or would tend to be regarded in popular belief as matters of common occurrence. Thus, in China the standard histories are full of such pro-
digies. It is certain also, apart altogether from the possibility of abnormal births as a result of bestiality, that men have often speculated upon this or imagined the effects of such unnatural unions between different species of animals or between beasts and human beings. This is seen in universal folk-lore and in ancient myth, as well as in the half-gossipping tale of Frankenstein and his creation. And in the pseudo-scientific works on natural history from the time of Linny onwards. Medieval theology also believed that the union of demons and man or the human and monstrous forms would assist to them, or this or that feature was exaggerated, or habits of a peculiar vileness were ascribed to them—e.g., forms of loathsome cannibalism. Even remoteness or ignorance of such tribes would invest them with distorted forms. Here, probably, is to be seen the origin of the belief in those monstrous tribes already alluded to. Invading peoples, behaving with brutality, are sure to be regarded as monsters. In the same way the monstrous cannibalistic ogres of folk-tale are exaggerated forms of actual cannibals (see Cannibal-
ism). Again, where certain deformities are assumed by warriors to strike terror into their opponents, where faces are painted or tattooed, masks or animal-head dresses worn, these are apt to become a real part of the men themselves. They are regarded as monsters living in abnormal forms.

(d) Lastly, the misinterpretation of fact may easily give birth to monsters. This is especially seen where the bones of fossil animals of large size have been regarded as those of monsters or giants, or their tanks as the claws of monstrous birds—the griffin or the rukh. Hence the rise of many myths about these beings—e.g., of how they were slain by gods or spirits beneficent to men.

There is no doubt that the belief in the existence of monstrous forms has had a profound influence on the mind of man, probably for the reason that, as has been proved experimentally, any abnormal shape has a strong power of suggestion.
MONTANISM.—1. The movement now generally known, from the name of its founder, as Montanism had its birth at a village called Ananias in the province of Asia, probably not far from Philadelphia (Ramsay, Cities and Bishops of Phrygia, p. 578). There, as it seems, about A.D. 150, Montanus, a recent convert, was guided by visions to prophesy. His prophecies were accompanied by strange phenomena resembling those associated with demoniacal possession. In what way his exercise of the prophetic charisms was regarded by his opponents as differing from that of the genuine prophets we have various hints from nearly contemporary documents: he spoke while he was actually in a state of ecstasy; the true prophets received their messages while lying ill to their faculties returned to a normal condition. Moreover, the ‘ecstasy’ of Montanus was a kind of madness, deliberately induced, whereas prophets, according to the New Testament, even when in a state of ecstasy, were of sound mind; the so-called ecstasy of Montanus was, in fact, not προφητεύειν, but rather, as a contemporary writer (Ep. Clem. ii. 7, § 7), ἐκπροφητεύειν, agreement with these statements an oracle of Montanus declares that the prophet is as a lyre played upon by the divine spectre; and the form in which most of his extant utterances are cast implies that there was a more personal instrument, and that the phrases which fell from his lips were actually the ἰερογλυφικά λόγια of the Deity. His opponents reminded him of the style of the ancient prophets, who as human agents proclaimed the will of God—Thus saith the Lord. 2. After a time—as seems to be implied, a considerable time—Montanus was joined by two companions, Maximilla and Priscilla, both women, with whom he left deserted their husbands, and who also claimed to possess the prophetic charisms. Their utterances were similar in manner and in content to those of their leader. 3. There can be no doubt that Montanus maintained that this ‘new prophesying’ differed essentially from all preceding prophecy. Thus the novelty of its form was to be explained. It was the immediate fruit of the conversion of the Paraclete (Jn 14:16–18). The apostles had not the perfection of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 12:8); this was reserved for the new prophets, of whom Christ spoke in Mt 26:30. This is stated to be the Montanist doctrine by many writers, and it is the basis of the exaggerated assertion of Eusebius (HE v. xiv.), that Montanus claimed that he himself was the Paraclete. 4. It is not clear whether in the earliest period the prophecies were regarded as mouth-pieces of the Paraclete in the same sense as Montanus. Eusebius suggests the contrary when he reports that, while Montanus was held to be the Paraclete, the women were ‘as it were prophetesses of Montanus’ (cf. ibid. Alex. Strom. Trtn. iii. 41. 2; pseudo-Tert. Harr. 7). It is possible that at first they were put in a lower position, Mt 23:24, but not Jn 13:1–12, being taken as referring to them; and it was only after a later time, perhaps after the death of Montanus, that they were regarded as equal with him. 5. It is evident that the acceptance of the ‘new prophecy’ as embodying the final teaching of the Paraclete, and as in some sense superseding earlier revelation, was the cardinal principle of Montanism. This is made manifest by the very phrases ‘new prophecy’ constantly used by its adherents; by the title προφητεύοντος which they arrogated to themselves, as distinguishing them from other Christians (cf. 1 Cor. v. 1f., Col. ii. 6, 18: cf. Alex. Strom. iv. 13 [PG viii. 1300 C]); and by the polemics of anti-Montanist writers, whose argument was mainly directed to proving that this ‘so-called prophecy’ was in truth a false prophecy proceeding from the spirit of evil. The charge was not regarded as confined to Montanus and the women. Theodosius, e.g., was an ecstatic, and was reported to have died while in an ecstasy. 6. We are not surprised to learn that this sudden outburst of prophecy, and the claims that were made for its leaders, provoked much opposition. Many of those who heard Montanus and his companions would naturally regard the Phrygian bishops made an ineffectual attempt to prove and refute the spirit that spoke in Maximilla; another, who had come from Anchialae in Thrace, attempted to exorcise Priscilla. At first, we are told, the movement advanced slowly: ‘but few of the Phrygians were deceived.’ But after a time, it seems, the majority of the Phrygian Christians became adherents of Montanus. Thus only can we account for the fact that at an early period his followers were commonly spoken of as ‘the Phrygians,’ and their teaching as the heresy of the Phrygians (cf. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὴ ἁπάντη, whence the Latin term, although even then some formal protests were issued by the bishops. While the movement was still in its infancy, Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, wrote a treatise against the Phrygians, and by the year 177 the majority of many bishops, at least one of whom came from Thrace. Other contumacies of the new teaching followed it (Ens. HE v. xvii. 1). Many synods met in Asia and excommunicated its adherents. On the other hand, the Montanists used scattering words about the ecclesiastical rulers, and stigmatized them as slayers of the prophets. They put forth treatises in which the arguments of their opponents were unanswered. It is impossible to determine with accuracy the date of the inevitable crisis; but it is certain that in Phrygia before the year 177 the Montanists were excluded from the Catholic Church (Ens. HE v. i. 4; cf. xvi. 22, which clearly refers to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius). 7. It is difficult to fix the date of the beginning of the prophesying of Montanus. The choice is usually held to lie between A.D. 150, under which year Eusebius records the origin of the movement in his Chronicon, and A.D. 156–157, which is supported by Ephythasius (Harr. xiv. 1). It is not clear, indeed, that these two dates are necessarily, for Ephythasius in the year, not of the earliest prophesying of Montanus, but of some prominent event which he regarded as the starting-point of the ‘heresy’—the Lacedaemonian war, or the promulgation of one of Montanus’s more startling innovations. In any case, he is probably that Ephythasius who is the earliest authority for the statement that Claudius Apollinaris wrote his anti-Montanist treatise—which Ephythasius appears to have dated on insufficient grounds after 174 (Lawlor, Ephythasius, p. 105f.) —when Montanus with his false prophetesses was in the act of introducing his new teaching (HE v. xv. 11). We must regard caution. It is to be observed that Apollinaris wrote some time after Montanus had joined by his false prophetesses (6, v. xiv. 2)—an event which was itself probably a good deal later than the beginning of the prophesying. Further, (1) the history of which a short account has been given in the preceding section requires a period of a good many years; and (2) Maximilla, the last of the three leaders, died in 179–180. The movement must have enjoyed the advantage of its super- vission for a sufficiently long time to give it the strength and stability which it undoubtedly possessed. These considerations point to an origin much before 172. The earlier date is therefore to be preferred. It should be observed that the statement of Ephythasius is open to an error in one passage (perhaps two) in which he gives dates connected with the Montanist movement (Harr. xiv. 2, li. 33). 8. That the Paraclete was manifested in Montanus, and in him and his companions revealed the fullness of Christian revelation, and that the original essential doctrine of Montanism. But, since it was the office of the Paraclete to supplement the teaching of Christ, it was to be expected that this doctrine, when it was translated into a system differing at many points from the teaching of the Church as usually understood. Montanus,
it is true, did not consciously deviate from ecclesiastical dogma. His opponents bear witness that he accepted the canonical Scriptures and was orthodox in his teaching, but the distinction of the death and the doctrine of the Trinity. But in another sphere his 'innovations' were considerable.

9. Not long after the beginning of the prophesy- ing, Montanus crossed the Phrygian border and established himself with his followers at a city called Pepuzza, which Ramsay (pp. 213, 573) places west of Eumeneis, and not far from the Phrygian city of Demetrius. With the neighbouring village of Tyimon, he named Jerusalem. To this settlement, which was then the centre of the holy city of Eastern Montanism, he endeavoured to gather adherents from all quarters. These facts, coupled with the lavish promises made by the prophets to their adherents and certain predictions of Maximilla (Eus. HE v. xvi. 9, xvii. 4; Epiph. HE, xviii. 2), apart from a more explicit oracle attributed to another prophetess (Epiph. HE, xlix. 2), would lead us to the conclusion that the 'new prophecy' taught men to expect in the near future, at Pepuzza, the final Parousia of the Lord (Eus. HE v. xvi. 9), and that a high priest held the doctrine of chiliasm, but chiliasm of a new kind. It was this hope of the Parousia at their Jerusalem that gained for them the name of Pepuzian.

10. Connected in some measure with their chiliasm was their view of the prophetical office in the Church. The prophet's charisma was not an occasional gift, bestowed on the need for its exercise arose; according to the dictum of 'the Apostle' (1 Co 13:13), it was perpetual, one of the notes of the Church. Consequently Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla received their office in a line of succession. Quadratus and Annonius of Philadelphia were the links which connected them with Agabus, Judas, Silas, and the daughters of Philip (Eus. HE v. xvii. 3, 4; Epiph. HE, xviii. 2). But, since Montanus and his companions were the channels of the ultimate revelation, they were the last of the prophetical succession. After them would come the end.

11. Again the exalted position given to the 'new prophets' led naturally to the assignment to them of prerogatives generally regarded as belonging to the bishops, and thus to a conflict between the prophets and the regular hierarchy. The prophets had the authority of an oracle (Epiph. HE, xix. 11; Tert. de Frat. 21). This power they shared with the 'martyrs' or confessors (Eus. HE v. xviii. 7).

12. Once more, the association with Montanus of two prophetesses involved the recognition that women might hold high office in the Church. Maximilla and Priscilla seem to have made independent contributions to Montanist teaching (Hipp. Polyli. 19; cf. Did. Alex. de Trin. iii. xlix. 5; ZKG xxxvi. 480); and they were probably in the habit of prophesying in the congregation (Eus. HE v. xvi. 9: απολυτα). There is evidence that, at any rate in later times, other women followed their example (Orig. ap. Cram. Did. x. 279), or even outdid it; for we read of a prophetess in Cappado- via in the 3rd cent., perhaps a Montanist, who baptized and celebrated the Eucharist (Firmilian, ap. Cypr. Ep. lxxv. 10), of female bishops and priests, and of virgins who regularly officiated in the congregation at Pepuzza (Epiph. HE, xlix. 21; Did. Alex. de Trin. iii. xlix. 3).

13. Montanism made laws regarding fasts (Eus. HE v. xvii. 9; cf. ZKG xxxvi. 2; v. xvii. 2; Hipp. Phil. x. 25; Tert. de Icet 13). This does not mean, apparently, that he increased the number or the rigour of fasts, but rather that he reduced them to rules, eliminating that of free will in such matters, making them a duty to be observed by all Christians alike, and not only by those who used them as a means for attaining higher perfection. Among these ordinances (perhaps a later development, due to alterations of the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of the Trinity. But in another sphere his 'innovations' were considerable.

14. Under the same category may be brought the Montanist repudiation of second marriages. For on this point the two lists of numbers (1 Co 7:26, 34) must not be exaggerated. The Church discouraged second marriage; the Montanists held it to be fornication. That which the Church permitted in special cases the Montanists excluded by a law which admitted no exception.

15. We learn (Eus. HE v. xvi. 50, xviii. 5) that the Montanists held martyrs (suffering confessors) in high honour, and set special store by their opinion on questions of doctrine and practice. But this was no peculiar feature of their system; it reflected the general feeling of the age. And, when they went a step further and allowed them the power to forgive sins, they were in agreement with some of the orthodox. (Tert. de Frat. 22), if not also with those of Phrygia. It must be added that there is no proof of the statement, often made, that Montanian canonization was a severe assentiation, and that its adherents more analogous to heresies than other Christians in the same district, or displayed special eagerness for martyrdom. Such evidence as exists points in the opposite direction (Labriolle, Butzbachia, pp. 157-159).

16. Montanism, after its ascendency from the Church, though it retained the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons, developed in its organization some peculiar features. Montanus was responsible for the innovation (as it was esteemed) of salaried preachers, and for the institution, doubtless connected therewith, of collectors of money, headed, as it seems, by a steward (ευφέρων Eus. HE v. xvi. 14). St. Jerome (Ep. xiv. 33) reports, that in his day the bishops and Justianin (Cod. Just. I. 20. 3), that the hierarchy consisted of the patriarch of Pepuzza, ευφέρων (apparently the successors of the stewards), bishops, and inferior ministers.

17. Of the peculiarities of Montanism here enumerated some were a revival—perhaps rather a survival—of the belief and practice of an earlier period; such, e.g., are the recognition of prophets as a permanent order (1 Co 12:28; Eph 4:11; Didache, 11 ff.), the prohibition of second marriage (Athenag. Leg. 33; Theoph. ad Antol. iii. 15; Iren. iii. xvii. 2), chiliasm (Just. Dial. c. Tryph. 50; Eus. HE iii. xxxix. 12 ff.). Others are in harmony with what is known of the Oriental religious temperament, especially that of the Phrygians, and may be accounted for by the influence of environment. Among these are the 'enthusiasm' of the prophets (Boywetsch, Gesch. des Montanismus, p. 62 ff.), the ministry of women, and the expectation of an immediate Parousia (Hipp. in Dion. 18 f. Orig. c. Iren. vii. 8—10). The substitution of Pepuzza for the literal Jerusalem may be due to the same influence. It had, at any rate, the practical advantage of providing a holy city in the district from which Montanus drew the greater number of his adherents.

18. It is not necessary to pursue the history of
Eastern Montanism in detail. For some years after the death of Maximilla, the last of the original trio, in 178-180, there were no prophets, and the Church and the world enjoyed peace—facts which, as anti-Montanistic writers pointed out, disproved the claims of the first prophets. But the spread of the sect was not permanently checked. Tertullian's work against Montanism and its adherents has taken place shortly before A.D. 200 (Eus. HE v. xviii. 3-12), and ultimately adherents of the movement were found in every part of Asia Minor, in Phrygia (from the use of bread and cheese in the mysteries), the Tessalodromites (from a peculiar way of dressing hair), and the Lamproi (of Phrygia). This Passaloyotes is a variant form; cf. Ramsay, p. 576), and the Ascodografus or Ascetie of Galatia (from orios connected with a wine-skin (Epiph. HE viii. 22); Ramsay, p. 300). It is perhaps scarcely correct to speak of Montanism as a sect. In its later stages it was rather a conglomerate of sects somewhat loosely held together by an acknowledgment of the manifestation of the Paraclete in Montanus (cf. Voigt, p. 131).

21. The earliest notice which we possess of any knowledge of the Montanist movement in the West appears in the year 177. In that year the Christians of Gaul, setting out as ambassadors for the peace of the churches, wrote letters to Pope Eleutherius and to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia expressing their opinion of the movement. Since Eusebius (HE v. iii. 4) pronounces their judgments pious and orthodox, it may be inferred that they have been, on the whole, anti-Montanist. And this conclusion is confirmed by an examination of the account of the assembly at Lyons, written at the same time (de Labriolle, La Crise, p. 225 f.). If we may judge from two passages of Ireneus (Herr. xi. 9, iv. xxiii. 6 f.), who was their emissary to Rome, though they avoided the extreme position of the Alogi (see arc. Logos, above, p. 137), in their zeal against Montanism rejected the Johannine writings, and though they refused to deny the existence of prophetic gifts or the right of women to prophesy in the church, they yet condemned the followers of Montanus as schismatics. It would seem that Eleutherius confirmed their judgment.

It is difficult to explain this incident without supposing that there was at the time a Montanist propaganda in Rome. No doubt the Montanist missionaries there were quickly followed (perhaps preceded) by representatives of the orthodox party in Phrygia; and it may be conjectured that among these was Aviceius Marcellus of Hierapolis in the Pentapolis, 'the chief figure in the resistance to Montanism in the 2nd cent. There were two parties of Montanists, who took different sides in the Monarchian controversy, and both of them appealed to the oracles of the prophets as well as to their own writings (Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 17), and the followers of Aviceius of Hierapolis, the chief of the Montanists, is indicated as having been at Rome (Ramsay, p. 709). He certainly visited Rome with a purpose in some way connected with the welfare of the Church; and in one of the passages from Ireneus (Herr. xii. 2) we are told that the Montanists recall both the labors of the Gallican Christians for the peace of the churches (cf. Ireneus Herr. iv. xxxii. 7 with Eus. HE v. iii. 4) and a treatise dedicated to Aviceius almost at the time when his famous epistle recording the visit to Rome was written (cf. Ireneus Herr. iv. xxxii. 6 with Eus. HE v. vii. 1 f., and see Ramsay, pp. 709 ff., 722 ff.).

22. Twenty-five years later, under Pope Zephyrinus, a fresh attempt was made to introduce Montanism into Rome. The Montanist leader Proclus held a disputation there with Caesius, who was afterwards published, and some fragments of which remain (antic. Comm. 211, 212). The various communities seem to have been commonly designated by the names of local leaders. Thus we hear of the followers of Proclus or of Abosephus (pseudo-Tert. Herr. 7), the adherents of Montanus, the Priscillians, and the followers of Phrygia. The latter the name see Voigt, Eusebius’ scholastische Urkunden des antimonistischen Kampfes, pp. 107, 129 f.). The anonymous last name of this class to emerge was that with which we are most familiar, 'Montanists' (first found in Cyril, Cat. xvi. 8). There are also nicknames, which we may suppose to have been merely local, and to have witnessed to local customs (cf. Jerome, in Gal. ii. 2). Such are the Artodytis of Galatia (from the use of bread and cheese in the mysteries), the Tessalodromites (from a peculiar way of dressing hair), and the Lamproi (of Phrygia). This Passaloyotes is a variant form; cf. Ramsay, p. 576), and the Ascodografus or Ascetie of Galatia (from orgies connected with a wine-skin (Epiph. HE viii. 22); Ramsay, p. 300). It is perhaps scarcely correct to speak of Montanism as a sect. In its later stages it was rather a conglomerate of sects somewhat loosely held together by an acknowledgment of the manifestation of the Paraclete in Montanus (cf. Voigt, p. 131).

23. It secured some foothold in Spain. But of its history in that region we know nothing except
that it had some adherents there at the end of the 4th century (Pacianus, Ep. i. 11).}

24. In Africa the propaganda had more success. By the end of the 2nd cent., knowledge of the 'new prophecy', and Pepuza, perhaps from Rome, less probably direct from Phrygia—and it gained there its most illustrious convert in the person of Tertullian. St. Augustine seems to have gone beyond his evidence when he stated that Tertullian first heard it in London; he would certainly in later life a sincere and ardent champion of the teaching of Montanus, as he understood it.

25. The qualifying words are necessary: for Tertullian, as a 'boredom in the pages of Tertullian, differs so much, and withal is so little conscious of difference from the Montanism of Phrygia that we are compelled to suppose that his acquaintance with the teaching of the prophets was imperfect. He can hardly have received direct instruction from Eastern Montanists; his knowledge of their tenets must have been, in the main, derived from books, including a collection (de Fuga, O.; note the words 'et alibi') of the oracles of Montanus and Priscilla (he never quotes Maximilin by name), which was apparently incomplete.

Tertullian accepted, without reserve, the claim of the Montanists in Phrygia and the Paraelete. But, though he speaks of prophetic speech in a state of ecstasy (de Lei. 3), we find no hint in his writings of the strange phenomena which were then normal companions of prophecy in Phrygia in the East. He tells us (de An. 9) of a sister who fell into an ecstasy during a church service; but she was not permitted to communicate the revelation which she had received till the congregation had departed. None of the usual anti-Montanist arguments (see Epiph. Hær. xlviii. 3-8) would have had any force against ecstasy so well controlled and so little identified with a state of frenzy. Again, Tertullian never mentions Pepuza. He was a chiliasm, and he expected the Parousia in the near future; but he believed that it would take place in Jerusalem (see de Mort. iii. 24). He cannot have read the oracle (Epiph. Hær. xlvii. 1) which declared that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepuza. Tertullian agreed with the Phrygians in allowing to the prophets authority to absolve from sin, though he has some difficulty in reconciling this view with his own opinion that certain sins are unpardonable (de Pud. 19, 21). But he is indignant with those who hold that martyrs have a like prerogative (ib. 22).

On another subject he is in conflict with the Phrygians. He will not permit a woman 'to speak in the church' had reached Carthage—without, nor to offer, nor to assume any function which belongs to a man' (de Virg. Vel. 9). If the sentence had been less trenchant, one might have supposed that it came from an anti-Montanist polemic.

26. The crutches of the prophets (ed. with commentary in de Labriolle, La Citro, pp. 34-100); the anonymous writer of a.d. 192 (quoted Ed. Hær. v. xix. 1); Apollinaris of Larryma (a.p. 250, quoted ib. 3), the second document worked up in Epiphanius, Hær. xliii. 2-18 (a.p. 180-300); Hippolytus, Syntagma, represented by pseudo-

27. Even on subjects in which he was in entire accord with Eastern Montanism we find no essential difference between his earlier and later teaching; e.g., he expressed disapproval of second marriage in his pre-Montanist treatise ad Uxorem; the arguments used are identical with those of his de Exhortatione costitatis and de Monogamia, including that founded on the nearness of the end, which is more strongly stated in the earlier work. His description of the Parousia as a final event of the millennium occurs in all three. The result of his adoption of Montanist principles is seen merely in the fact that an absolute prohibition takes the place of a more general rejection of marriage. In other words, that he draws the logical conclusion from his argument. Here, as elsewhere, he found in oracles or visions only a new sanction for opinions already formed.

28. Thus we see that, if the form of Asiatic Montanism was largely determined by environment, and possibly by the influence of individual leaders, the form of African Montanism, or, as it was afterwards rightly called, 'Tertullianism,' was determined by the personal force of Tertullian himself, and doubtless in some degree by the environment which moulded his character. We cannot forget that the home of Tertullianism was later to become the home of Novatianism and Donatism.

29. If it be asked, What was there in Montanism to attract such a man as Tertullian? it must be remarked that he was unaware of, or ignored, many of those features of the movement which to Eastern opponents caused most scandal. There are remained the prostration of those in the living Church, burdened with a few corollaries, most of which had been anticipated by his own thinking. Premising this, we may accept the answer of Swete (Holy Spirit, p. 79): 'For Tertullian the interest of Montanism lay chiefly in the assurance which the New Prophecy seemed to give that the Holy Spirit was still teaching in the Church.' It need only be added that the acceptance of the Montanist oracles as embodying the teaching of the Paraelete was made easier for him by the support which they seemed to give to opinions which he maintained in opposition to other Christians held.

30. The Montanists seem to have become an insignificant body after the death of their founder. They are never referred to by St. Cyprian, in spite of his renunciation to his veneration to his tender as well as the sect returned to the Church when St. Augustine was at Carthage, and he reports that, when he wrote his work on heresies, their basilica was in Catholic hands (Hær. 88).
MORAL ARGUMENT—MORAL EDUCATION LEAGUE

TERUTAN, adv. Omnes Horrescent, Epiph. Hier. xvi. i.; Filsa,
trum, Nuncius, ch. 13.; Philomena, vili., x., 19., xii. 1,, in Dom. ill. 20.; the early document underlying Didot's "Principals," Privatiss. i., 41., 1553; Morav,'s "Nouvomirc
hodohodikou kalderon" (ed. G. Fücker, in ZKG xxvi. (1909) 467 f.);
Montanist treatises of Tertullian.

1879—J. de Soynes, Montanism and the Primitive Church, Cambridge, 1878; G. F. Bwetsows, Die Gegenwart des Montanismus, Leipzig, 1895;
F. M., C. H. M., Edinburgh, 1897; J. H. A. O. Bonwetsch,
K. A. R. in Pfr. 8; G. Salmon, art. "Montan's in DCB; H. G. Voigt,
Eine verschiedenen Ursachen des antikerchristlichen Kanon; J. E.
Remarq, "M. und die Geschichte der Christengemeinde," Phign, 1896;
Primitiveness of the Christian Church," London, 1896; H. W. H. D.,
J. H. A. O. Bonwetsch, "Montanism in the Primitiveness of the Chris-
Bonwetsch, "Montanism in the Primitiveness of the Christian Church,"

MORAL ARGUMENT.—"Moral argument" is
distinguished from logical either in the nature of the
facts to which appeal is made or in the assurance
which the conclusion expresses. It is possible
that both implications are associated with its
meaning. But in general it is often used to denote some
probability, or the nature of it is distinguished from the
certitude of logical argument.

It is probable that the term derived its specific
import from the implications of the 'moral argu-
ment' for the existence of God and immortality in
the Kantian philosophy. In this method of 'proving'
then Kant remarked the impossibility of
meeting the demands of the moral law in this
life, and, as this law required the adjustment of
duty and happiness, he sought this realization in
a life to come. To effect this adjustment the exist-
ence of God was supposed to be required. This
argument was assumed to be valid when all the
logical arguments for the same conclusion were
null and void. The want of absolute assurance
implied in the conclusion was transferred to all
arguments which gave what is called 'moral
certainty.'

This also derives part of its meaning from the
implication that the moral order of things favours or
expresses the ultimate significance of what lies
behind it. That is, the assumed rationality of things is
taken to imply the nature of the causal agency
behind it, and the 'moral argument' is an
expression of what is supposed to be implied by the
admission of an actual moral order in the world,
while the moral argument is supposed to be limited
to a physical order and its implications.

A fuller exposition of Kant's moral argument for
the existence of God and immortality is the follow-
ing:

Happiness is the natural condition of a rational being in
the world, and is the natural accomplishment of virtue.
In fact, the moral law itself requires a union or synthetic connection
between virtue and happiness. But in the present natural
order this ideal union is not effected, and we cannot treat the
world as rational unless it provides for this connection between
them. The connexion requires an infinite time for its realisa-
tion, and hence we have to postulate immortality as the con-
dition of realizing the demands of the moral law which holds
valid for the present. Immortality thus becomes a necessity of a
rational order. But this union of virtue and happiness, not
being a necessary one, requires the causal intervention of some-
thing to bring it about. Since we postulate immortality as the
condition of rationality, we postulate the existence of God to
effect the realization of happiness in connection with virtue.
The "moral argument," thus, is that immortality, if valid and binding as it
requires God and immortality to make its imperatives rational
and its rewards possible.

LITERATURE.—J. Kant, Kritik der reinen Vernunft, ed. G.
Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1879, iii., 531-540, and Kritik der prakti-
schen Vernunft, ed. Hartenstein, d. 1897, v., 137-160; B. P.
Bacharach, "Kant's Ethical and Religious Thought," London, 1895,
ch. v.; Kuno Fischer, "Immanuel Kant und seine Lehrer,"
Munich, 1899, il., 113-126.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

MORAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.—Following on
the rise of the Ethical Movement (q.v.) in
England, a number of persons interested in the
training of men and women for the express
purpose of imparting moral instruction on an ethical basis
pure and simple, and in such a manner as to meet
the needs of children drawn from all denominations,
the chief issue of Ethical Instruction was the
opportunity of an approaching election of the
London School Board to invite a wide variety of
society to send delegates to a conference.

In July 1897 the delegates met under the presidency
of Frederick Harrison, Bishop of London, and
the proceedings of which the leading statements were as follows:

1. "That there is urgent need of introducing systematic
moral instruction without theological colouring into the Board
schools in place of the present religious teachings."

2. "That this moral instruction should be made the central,
culminating and converging point of the whole system of ele-
mentary education, giving unity and organic connection to all
the other lines of teaching, and to all the general discipline of the
school life."

A direct result of this conference was the estab-
ishment of the Moral Instruction League at a
well-attended meeting in St. Martin's Town Hall
on 7th December 1897, and annual meetings have
been regularly held and reports issued since
January 1898. The original object, 'to substitute
systematic non-theological moral instruction for
the present religious teaching in the school,'
was changed, in 1901, to the purely constructive policy
'to introduce systematic non-theological moral
instruction into all schools.' On the same
principle, the object was, in 1909, relieved of the
phrase 'non-theological,' and modified into
'to urge the introduction of systematic moral
and civic instruction into all schools, and to make
the formation of character the chief aim in education."

At the same time the title of the society was altered to the
Moral Education League. The League, however, definitely
affirms that it 'works on a non-theological basis,' and both its consid-
able output of literature and practice during
the seventeen years of its history (1898-1915) have
obviously exhibited its detachment from all forms of
sectarian and denominational principles. Its
supporters in the earlier stages made attempts,
with some success, to induce parents to take ad-
avantage of the Conscience Classes of the Education
Act of 1870, withdraw their children from religious
instruction, and apply for special moral lessons.
These efforts ceased as the League became absorbed in its
scheme for building up a sound method of civic
teaching, and for illustrating that method by lessons publicly
under the direction of a Moral Instruction Circular.
The scheme was nominally conducted by the Union of Ethical
Societies, but naturally proved very useful to the
League as a means of propaganda, and it was
maintained for several years. The League's
views by meetings, in the press, and among Education Committees and
Members of Parliament gradually leavened public
opinion. In 1904 the Government Education
Council appeared with a preface in which character-training
was emphasized; in 1905 the official volume of
Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and
Others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary
Schools was published under the title of the
character; and in 1906 the Code, issued by August-
us Birrell, directed local authorities to devote
'greater and more systematic attention' to the
subject, though the choice of the words 'inciden-
tial' and 'natural' was left open. In 1909 a debate
on moral instruction, led by G. P. Gooch and
William Collins, took place in the House of Commons, and the young League representatives waited upon the Minister of
Education (W. E. H. Longman) in May of the same
year. Since that date the League has been
quiescent in the political field, and has mainly
MORAL LAW

devoted its energies to influencing the opinion of educators and the general public. A return issued by the League in 1908 showed that, of the 327 local education authorities in England and Wales over 100 had taken definite action in emphasizing moral instruction in their schools, in some cases by setting apart a lesson in the secular time-table, but usually by incorporating special moral elements in the religious course; and twenty authorities had adopted the Belsham plan laid up by the League. Besides this syllabus, which supplies a detailed series of notes for the seven standards, the literature of the League includes a number of text-books by W. A. Chesterton, Baldwin, Waldegrave, Rolston, Reid, Wicksteed, and F. J. Gould, numerous pamphlets, a Quarterly (beginning April 1908), and a volume designed for use in India (Youth's Noble Path, 1911). The education authorities in Bombay, Ceylon, and Mysore have evinced practical interest in the methods of the League; and significant sympathy has been shown by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, and many other Indians as well as Anglo-Indians. Each annual report testifies to a spirit of inquiry aroused in various colonies and foreign countries. A remarkable testimony to this spirit was afforded in 1907, when a special committee of the Punjab Education Department was appointed by the Government to inquire into the system of moral instruction and examiners in training in schools examined witnesses and collected papers, its report being published in two volumes in 1908 (vol. i. 'United Kingdom,' vol. ii. 'Foreign and Colonial'). The inquiry was carried on independently; but several members of the League sat on the Committee and contributed to the volumes just named. A still more striking reinforcement of the League's endeavours appeared in 1906 in the shape of the first International Moral Education Congress, held in London under the secretaryship of G. Spiller. A similar congress was held at The Hague in 1912.

F. J. GOUId.

MORAL LAW.—The concept of law is one of the two concepts which may be taken as fundamental in an ethical system. According as we start from the idea of a good to be realized or of law to be obeyed, we have a teleological or a jural theory of ethics. The former of these was the characteristic type of Greek theories; the latter became predominant in Christian times. Under the stress of human ignorance, as fundamentally a matter of self-expression or self-realization, and its laws are regarded as rules for the attainment of a good which every man naturally seeks. The Christian idea of God was able to maintain his paradoxical position that no man is willingly vicious and that all vice is ignorance. Such a position is essentially a naturalistic one, implying a naivety in human nature which needs only enlightenment to realize its natural good. Moral conduct is the rational pursuit of happiness.

In a jural system of ethics, on the other hand, human nature is conceived as divided against itself and therefore in natural opposition to the good. Morality is not a harmonious development of natural powers guided by the idea of happiness, but a right view of natural life as an authoritative law. It is not the natural value or the pleasure of an act that renders it moral, but its value as commanded by the law. It is not commanded because it is good, but it is good because commanded.

It is evident, therefore, from this distinction of starting-points and attitudes that the term 'moral law' is not to be regarded as having practical efficacy in conduct. The idea is of an order which is to be imposed upon human nature and, accordingly, to be accepted by the rational will. One must, therefore, distinguish between such an imperative, which does not rest upon any natural desire for happiness, and a moral rule or law in the teleological sense of the term. The moral laws, in the teleological view, are not imperative, but counsels of prudence, pointing out the best ways for the attainment of happiness. Their practical efficacy rests upon a natural desire for satisfaction, and hence, in their hypothetical character, they have more the nature of conditions or uniformities in the sense of the term 'law.' They are rules of applied psychology. Although such rules are often spoken of as laws, yet, lacking the element of imperativeness, they are perhaps better not designated by that term.

Historically, the conception of morality as law is an early one, primitive morality consisting in obedience to tribal custom regarded as ultimately imperative for the individual. When ethical reflexion awakes, however, with its scepticism and questioning of authority, the natural view of morality is the teleological one, and the concept of moral law gives way to that of good. Experience and a deepening of the moral and religious consciousness, such as occurred in the Hellenistic age and in early Christian times, revived the dualistic idea of morality, and we have the Christian moral theories with their doctrine of subordination and obligation. While these were at first theological in character, in modern philosophy we find the idea of law maintained also upon a natural basis.

Considered with reference to the nature of moral law and its authority, three types of system may be distinguished: (1) teleological, (2) natural, and (3) rational.

1. Teleological. — In the teleological systems moral law is regarded as a rule of conduct which has its ground in the natural or will of God and not in the nature of man or in the consequences involved in obedience or disobedience to the law. The rule may be for the good of man, but it is for his good because it is the divine will, and not the divine will because it is for his good. 'Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever,' God is the beginning and the end of the moral world, man but an incident in the creation. Sometimes it is the will, sometimes it is the intellect, that sets the standard, but in all cases systems of this type are theoretically almost identical. To follow the various forms of scholastic theory, so far as they succeed in really breaking away from their classical originals, as well as the chief systems of Protestant morality, is to seek Socrates.

The serious difficulty in theological systems has always been the question of the authority of the divine law and its hold over the individual. Emphasis upon the divine has tended by contrast to raise new centres of interest in the human, and men have always refused to remain satisfied with the idea of a law whose basis is outside themselves. The significant element has therefore been found either in the consequences of the law for man, in which case we have a utilitarian principle, or in the human nature itself, under which hypothesis we have a natural basis for morals.

2. Natural.—Natural laws or basis for morals may therefore be described as an order of human nature, known to be such by the unaided reason of man, and recognized as binding without reference to the desires or pleasures and pains of the sentient life. Man knows himself as properly of a certain nature, and cannot reasonably depart from the rules involved in its realization. These rules are not imposed from without, but the external law of his own nature and binding only as such. To be moral is to be truly a man, and to be truly a man is to be truly a rational animal. The norms of reason are the moral laws. This type of theory

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was prevalent in the earliest period of modern ethics, and represented the attempt to place morals upon a rational basis. The general idea takes various forms as it is expressed in the Stoic formulæ of Grotius and the Neo-Platonic doctrines of the Cambridge Platonists and their like. While the

istic in their philosophical implications and foundations, these systems agree in their desire to free

morals from theological authority and to found them upon rational, i.e. a given

In Kant, the principle of morals is based upon a transcendental basis. Yet in so doing they tend to lose their juridical character and revert to the teleological type of

their Greek originals. The dictates of reason which reveal these moral or natural laws are indeed authoritative, but their validity rests upon the value of the good end or ideal which they express. Moral law, when rationalized, ceases to be supreme, whence it was very easy for the transition to be made from these Platonicizing systems to the early forms of English utilitarianism. Indeed, in spite of their legal terminology, it is hardly accurate to include them at all under the juridical type; they are the natural compromises of the transitional period.

3. Rational.—The rational interpretation of moral law finds its clearest expositor in Kant. It is not enough to state that the rational, i.e. English theory of conscience half a century earlier, but even in his conception the supremacy of conscience does not involve independence of consequences; it is a principle to decide between the rival interests of self-love and something better, not to dictate a law irrespective of either. It was Kant's merit, as he conceived it, to separate out the pure principle of a moral law and present it free from any admixture of that from which it is drawn if it is a common rationalization of consequences. To be moral is not to seek to satisfy a desire for anything, however good, but to obey a dictate of reason determined by nothing outside its own rationality. This is thus a moral imperative of a being not naturally inclined to obedience. The motive to obedience is respect for the law itself without the necessity we feel in our sense of moral obligation. The law, as grounded neither in the nature of God nor in its consequences for man, is thus absolute and the expression of a free reason which commands of itself alone, or is autonomous—

to use a term from the new form. Thus, there is such a categorical imperative of the only fact given us by pure reason, and that, if there are free beings, they must govern themselves by such laws is evident; but how these free beings to all, and how we assume can be subject to such absolute dictates of reason—these are matters involved in the mysteries of personality. The form of such a law, as independent of consequences, must be

abstract. Be rational, or 'act from a maxim fit for universal law,' is the formula. It is thus essentially negative—a critical test rather than an informing principle. No act is to be done whose maxim is not capable of universalization, but no principle is given us, apart from experience, by which to determine any positive control for the will.

In illustration of this rational concept of moral law, Kant's theory of motives indicates most adequately the juridical concept of morality in general, the essence of which, as in Kant's system, is the privacy and absoluteness of law. In the theological forms the law tends to become heteronomous and foreign, and hence immoral, while in the natural systems it tends to subordinate itself to the concept of good and thus lose its juridical character. In Kant's system alone is it at once a law and absolute.


NORMAN WILDE.

MORAL OBLIGATION.—The word 'obligation' comes from Lat. *obligare,* and implies that we are bound to some rule or norm. While legal obligation is based upon a chain of authorities, some external coercion, a sense of the personality being bound by that which may have no external authority to enforce it, and which, indeed, may be but very imperfectly formulated. In its act, it is a voice of humanity to a universal human experience of a sense of this obligation or 'oughtness.' Even the most primitive speech reveals the sense of an inner compulsion, and an inner voice that says 'I must.' In its actual history, however, this inner compulsion has rarely been quite separated from the sense of some external coercion. We find it first expressed in a series of more or less definite limitations. Its earlier chapters are written in a series of commandments, saying, 'Thou shalt not,' and this primitive morality is based upon customary and largely exter

nal usage; it is law. It is, however, in an increasingly elaborate system of 'tabas,' which form a link between the external and internal authorities. The realization of an internal authority as compelling as any external coercion is a relatively modern thing, and in theory what practical purpose early made definite, namely, that to the extent that coercion becomes foreign to the agent, the to that extent it ceases to be the agent's action. Moreover, older moral reflection failed to draw any sharp line between the sense of moral obligation, as a category of the practical understanding, and the voice of the rule or norm to which the moral agent feels himself bound.

1. Uncritical religious intuitionism ascribed both the sense of moral obligation and the contents of the ethical code to an innate sense, and regarded both as a divine implanting in the human soul. Thus to both was ascribed a certain absolute and fixed character that often ended in an unreal and static moralism of fixed laws and philosophical history and reflection have revealed the fact that all codes are, in part at least, subject to change according as social and economic conditions change. And, as it became clearer and clearer, the question naturally arose whether the whole sense of moral obligation was not equally empirical and derivative of any normative or permanent character. Men began to seek its origins in the ebb and flow of human tradition. Thus arose the question of the seat of this inner voice and the historic genesis of conscience.

2. Greek intellectualism was prone to seek the origin of this sense of obligation in the rational process. Plato represents Socrates as identifying all moral obligation with rational insight, and he himself taught that morality recognized the given heavenly types of norms and philosophical history and intuitionism in the eternal ideas of the good. And, though Aristotle parted company at this point with Plato, and saw the social and empirical character of the ethical norms, yet on the whole Greek intellectualism never succeeded in keeping clearly apart these two elements in every ethical situation—the code of morals to which a moral agent is bound and the inner compulsion by which he is bound. The Greeks thus swung between an uncritical intuitionism and an equally uncritical empirical rationalism. It may now be taken for granted that, though the discursive reason is and always must be concerned

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in every ethical situation, and is more particularly interested. In the critical group this code of ethics, nevertheless it is vain to seek the origin of the sense of moral obligation in the rational process alone. Nor can we successfully re-state the doctrine clear rational insight into consequences of any kind.

3. Critical rationalism began with the work of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. Locke had little difficulty in showing how untenable was the Aristotelian intuition which sought for inherent codings of morals. But both Hume and Hutcheson leave unanalyzed a 'moral sense' as something ultimate. This moral sense Adam Smith, in his brilliant ethical treatise, sought to resolve into sympathy, or at least to trace its origin to sympathy as a natural attribute of man. It was distinctly on the basis of this critical rationalism that Bentham and the two Mills made their famous analysis of the sense of moral obligation in terms of utility, and more especially of social utility. So far as this enterprise rationalism dealt with the codes of morals found in human history, it was fruitful and stimulating in a high degree. At the same time, it became increasingly evident that empirical utilitarianism could build no bridge from the socially useful to the sense of personal responsibility to be socially useful. John Stuart Mill conceived an intuitive capacity for estimating values as higher and lower, and thus also a capacity for the intuitive recognition of moral values as higher or lower. Conceding critical rationalism as an element of rational utilitarianism realized that Bentham's system had gone into bankruptcy.

4. Biological evolution, however, infused new life into the discussion as to whether the origin of the sense of moral obligation might not be found in the socially useful. It was suggested by Darwin himself that the conflict of instincts, and the survival of groups obeying the instincts that made for group-preservation, would in a large process of development link the socially useful with the morally right, and this line of inquiry has been followed up by Leslie Stephen, Alexander Sutherland, E. Westermarck, L. F. Hobbse, and others. The exceedingly useful light that this line of research has thrown upon the gradual development of social codes of conduct has led to confusion of the two forces involved. It may be rashly conceded that the socially useful has determined in a measure, perhaps we may say in large measure, what men consider morally right, but the origin of the category 'moral obligation' remains unexplained. Evolutionary analysis has not yet succeeded in building a bridge between the socially useful and the sense of moral obligation to the group. Somewhere at some time such a sense must appear in unmodified life as a variation, and this variation having been once assumed, law and morals link themselves with group purpose, as von Hering aboundsantly shows (Der Zweck im Recht, esp. Vol. I, ch. vi.), but the biological analogy has been distinctly overworked, and it is becoming increasingly evident that evolutionary philosophy must assume variations and does not explain them. Thus on the ethical field origins are no more explained than on the biological, and the question of a moral obligation cannot so far be successfully analyzed into unmodified elements. Moreover, even in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficulties in connexion with the socially useful, for historically it is easy to show that the sense of moral obligation has time and again protected courses of conduct patently socially detrimental.

The twofold task of ethical inquiry is, in many different phases reasserting itself, and, especially on the ethical field, there are many attempts to re-state more satisfactorily the position of Kant and Locke. There is some return to Jacobi and Fries, and the philosophers of Wundt, Eucken, Eisler, James, and Sergison are suggesting new formulations for the sense of moral obligation as a category of the practical reason incapable of further analysis. In the Einstein empty concept, it is true, in this form whose content is given in empirical experience and is subject to the laws of evolutionary process and progress, among which laws the socially useful is one of the most important, factors in the psychological point of view Wundt and James, as well as Eisler and others, assume the capacity for moral distinction and the sense of moral obligation, without attempting to analyze the category further, while realizing that the content of moral appication is a subject for scientific examination, and has its own evolutionary history. From this point of view the feeling of moral obligation arises as a variation, and maintains itself by its social usefulness.

Sergison has as yet given no development of his philosophy along ethical lines, but the revival of a critical intuitionism has found support in his main contention, and followers of Fries and Jacobi see in the sense of moral obligation the evidence of a capacity for reaching beyond the phenomenal, and link this with a re-statement of the Kantian argument for God's existence. And, according to this school, the fundamental significance of the sense of moral obligation is the compelling power of the purposeful character of life. The unity of our mental and spiritual life demands that moral judgments be not isolated in the form of critical rationalization may be beyond our power. However divergent the empirical codes of social behaviour may be, the existence of a moral obligation is an element everywhere. The socially useful process itself is involved in a defence of the inherent validity of moral obligation.

5. Conclusion.—Moral obligation may then be said to so far defy any further analysis of its nature and origin as are all other origins and variations. It is a category of the practical reason, and is in so far super-rational, but the contents of the moral judgment are subject to the rational process, as in the sphere of the phenomenal. Thus the total ethical complex reveals rational, sympathetic, endemonic, and hedonistic elements. But into no one of these can the sense of moral obligation be successfully resolved. Moreover, this sense of inner compulsion, covering as it does fields of action which no external coercion could regulate, is everywhere becoming the regulative principle, by which human beings replace in the moral a natural outward law, and giving the sense of new freedom, because our obligation is the categorical imperative of the informed conscience, and has its seat within, and is not based upon, outward law with its concomitant of external coercion.


THOMAS C. HALL.
MORAL SENSE.—The term 'moral sense' is practically equivalent to 'conscience,' and shares the field of ethics with such principles as rectitude and duty, happiness and social health. In the form of συνείδησις, the term 'conscience' appears as early as Periander and Bism (Stoebes, p. 192, 219, 221), and for the moral sense, Epicurus uses the synonym νοησις (bk. iii. ch. xxiii.), while the disapproval of conscientia is referred to by Cicero (Laws, i. 14). Upon the basis of a natural moral sense, St. Paul speaks of the conscience. Those who performed by nature (φύσις) the works of the law, being guided by conscience (συνείδησις, Ro 2). The appreciation of an inner moral sense distinct from external commandment seems to have arisen in the 17th century. In this sense, conscience, in Antigone, where the heroine appeals to a higher principle of action, while she repudiates the established law; the Sophists distinction between φιλος and φιλαρχος further marks off the internal sanction of conduct from all forms of external statutes. However important the principle of a moral sense may appear to be, it cannot be denied that the most profound moral systems have been elaborated in independence of it. Socrates based Greek ethics upon the general principle of knowledge, whence Plato and Aristotle, Stoic and Epicurean, perfected the ancient ethical ideal, leaving for the followers of conscience to the modern moralists. The meagre development of ethical theory in medieval times failed to develop the notion of a natural moral sense; it is in modern systems of ethics that the hypothesis of the moral sense is to be found; even here such ethical philosophies as those of Kant and Spinoza were perfected without appealing to a special sense of morality.

When modern ethics began with Hobbes, it was the opposition to relativism and egoism that led R. Cumberland (de Legibus Naturae, London, 1672) to postulate conscience and benevolence as the true moral sentiments, although it was the latter principle that received chief emphasis. As a deist, Shaftesbury insisted upon a 'natural sense of right and wrong' (Inquiry concerning Virtue, London, 1699, bk. i. pt. iii. 2), which he identified with conscience, and thus spoke of 'religious conscience' and a 'dispelling consciousness' (bk. ii. pt. ii. 1). With F. Hutcheson the moral sense was discussed more aesthetically than ethically in the form of a dissected appeal for universal humanity, whereupon he inquires, 'If there is no moral sense ... if all approbation be from the interest of the approver, What's He candies, or we to Him?' (Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil, London, 1725, sect. i. 5).

J. Butler was the first to subject the moral sense to exact psychological analysis, whence he regards conscience as the 'principle in man by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions' (Sermons upon Human Nature, London, 1726, serm. i. (Works, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, i. 31)). This inward sense of approval and disapproval is further regarded as a principle of 'reflexion' whose essence is that of 'authority' (serm. ii.). Butler tends to complicate the problem when he asserts that the dictate of conscience is ever in accordance with self-love, while the supreme sanction of the moral sense is found in the principle of harmony with nature.

Among the ethical idealists of the 18th cent., Richard Price and Kant opposed the notion of a moral sense as such, and sought in reason the ultimate moral authority. In his Review of the Principles of Conscience (The Philosophical Repository, London, 1758), Price denies the validity of Hutcheson's 'moral sense,' and appeals to the 'understanding' as the ground of ethical distinction, although Price's treatment of the understanding makes it possible for him to depart from mere rationalism and to concede that feeling will help them out, even in what concerns general laws (Metaphysics of Morals, tr. T. K. Abbott, London, 1889, p. 61).

In its treatment of the moral sense, then, the Enlightenment (q.v.) insisted upon something even more rationalistic than conscience.

The tendency of the 17th and 18th centuries was to regard the moral sense as something rational, the tendency of the 19th and 20th centuries has been to reduce the principle in question to the social. In the middle of the 19th cent., Adam Smith inaugurated the career of social ethics when he sought the source of moral sentiment in sympathy. The first to raise the question concerning the origin of moral sense, Smith had no hesitation in founding the ideas of propriety, merit, and duty upon the instinct of natural sympathy (Theory of Moral Sentiments, London, 1759). A century later Darwin connected the moral sense with biological, and thus made the moral sense dependent upon the predominance of the social tendency in man. To 'sociality' Darwin adds the principle of 'reflection,' without which the social could not have become possible. Kant himself was aware that to whom Darwin pays due tribute, have not been wholly lost to view (Descent of Man, London, 1871, ch. iii.). Equally significant with the departure from the rationalist is the change from the individualist to the social; for, where Butler identified conscience and reasonable self-love, Darwin united conscience with the non-egoistic in human nature.

Where the moral individualism of the 18th cent. has practically succumbed before the advance of social ethics, there has arisen an aesthetic individualism which, while not allying itself with the moral-sense theory, has not failed to make vigorous warfare upon the social conception of life. Beginning with the romanticism of Friedrich Schlegel and the realism of H. B. Stendhal, and advancing with the Decadence of C. P. Baudelaire, this anti-social view has come to a climax in Nietzsche, who stigmatizes the conjunctions of the social moral sense as so much 'bad conscience,' from whose terraces he would emancipate mankind (A Genealogy of Morals, tr. W. A. Hauser, London, 1885, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. vii.). In the same manner Ibsen speaks of the modern man as one who, suffering from 'sickly conscience,' stands in need of a 'philosophical conscience' (The Master Builder, tr. E. Gosse and W. Archer, London, 1893, act ii.), while H. Sade riding, with more direct reference to social ethics as such, speaks derisively of the 'conscience of larceny' and 'assassins in Theather' (Wharton, London, 1903, act iv.). Similar expressions of anti-social immoralism may be found in Anatole France, August Strindberg, and Bernard...
MORAVIANS.—1. History.—The Moravian Church, or the Units Fratrum, belongs to the historic Churches of Christendom. For more than four and a half centuries it has never wavered in its claim to be a part of the Catholic Church, possessing the historic episcopate and the three orders of the ministry, administrating the sacraments and holding to apostolic practice, laying special emphasis on the importance of Christian unity, the cultivation of personal religion, and the necessity of personal service.

Whatever obscurity surrounds certain points in its history, there is nothing doubtful as to its origin. It dates from the year 1457; Bohemia was the land of its birth; and its more spiritually-minded followers of John Hus were its first members. Hus, the gifted rector of the University of Prague, an earnest reformer and eloquent preacher, owed much of his religious enlightenment to the writings of Wyelit, introduced into Bohemia by the wife of Richard II., a princess of that country. After his martyrdom at Constance in 1415 the greater part of his followers took up the sword in defence of their religious liberties. Some were pacified by concessions, such as their partaking of the cup as well as of the bread of the Holy Supper; but others, whose convictions went deeper, the Puritans of their day, withdrew from political life, retired to a remote corner of the country, and settled down in the Barony of Lititz. Here they formed themselves into a religious community, known as the Lititz Brethren, in which matter and immoralities of the early Christian Church were revoked, under the leadership of duly elected elders. At the Synod of Liotta in 1467 they further proceeded to elect their own ministers, and for these they obtained ordination from the Waldenses (q.v.), whose bishop, Stephen, consecrated Michael Bradacius as the first bishop of the Units. The episcopate was given and received in the conviction of its apostolic origin, coming from the Eastern, not the Western, Church, transmitted possibly through the so-called sects, such as the Enchites, the Paulicians, the Cathari, etc. The validity of these orders was recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Units; and, as the step taken involved complete ecclesiastical separation from Rome, it resulted in fierce persecution, despite which, however, the membership increased, the congregations multiplied, and the Church’s influence spread far and wide, not merely in Bohemia, but beyond its borders also. The name adopted was Jednota Bratrská, the Latin rendering of which, ‘Unita Fratrum,’ is familiar to the world; hence the more popular name, ‘Teutonic Order.’

In the belief that the days of the Units were numbered Comenius drew up a remarkable document in which he says:

*As in such cases it is customary to make a Will, we hereby bequest to our enemies the things of which they can dispossess us; but to you, our friends (of the Church of England) we leave ouritself, the Church of the Brethren. It may be God’s will to revive her in our country for evermore. You ought to love her even in her death, because in her life she has given you an example of the Church of the first two centuries’ (Ratio Disciplinae, Amsterdam, 1600, Dedication).

He also secured the episcopal succession, apart from the Polish branch in which it still continued, by having his son-in-law, Peter Jablonsky, conse-
crated as bishop by Bishop Bythner at Milenezy in 1716.

With the death of Comenius in 1672 the first part of the history of the Unitas ends. The second part opens at Herrnhut, in Saxony, where in 1722 a company of fugitive Bohemian valleys, in which isolated families of the ancient Church had still preserved the faith of their fathers, found a refuge on the estate of a young nobleman, Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. The companionship of David Nitschman from Bohemia and in association with a number of German Pietists they formed themselves into a society similar to those which then existed within the Lutheran Church. But this did not satisfy the descendants of the Unitas; they insisted that they were not Lutherans, they belonged to a much older Church; and, being now in the possession of a certain amount of religious liberty, they desired its re-establishment. To this Zinzendorf was at first opposed, still from a chance copy of the writings of Comenius he learned what the history of the Unitas had been, how glorious its past, how it evangelized its doctrine, how strict its discipline, how firm its faith and steadfastness under suffering. Almost unconsciously he found himself being led on to devote his life, his means, and his talents to the cause of an organized Church, and its equipment for further service. But the Reunited Church was not of Zinzendorf's creation. Its points of contact with the Unitas lie in the person of the magnificent members, in the church regulations which were again introduced, and, above all, in the orders of the ministry, which in 1735 were restored, when David Nitschman was consecrated bishop by Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, whose father had received the succession from Bythner with the written commission of Comenius.

The little community at Herrnhut rapidly increased and developed in spite of the banishment of Zinzendorf by order of the Saxon Government, on the ground of his having introduced unauthorized religious novelties and of teaching false doctrine. Its fame spread far and wide, since in it a striking union of spiritual life with good works and industrial activity was to be seen. The danger of a narrow type of Pietism (p.e.) was averted by a wonderful experience of revival and a wave of evangelizing zeal, which visited the Church in 1727, under the impulse of which it embarked on that particular work in the doing of which lay the pledge of the existence of the Church. At the beginning of the 18th cent. foreign missions were almost entirely unknown among the Reformed Churches; it was left to the Moravians to inaugurate the modern missionary movement. This dates from the year 1728, when two of the Brethren set out to evangelize the enslaved Negroes in St. Thomas, willing to become slaves themselves if that should be the only way of winning them for Christ. In the same spirit other went to the Eskimos in Greenland; others settled in S. America, and carried the gospel for the first time to the natives in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. Work was begun among the N. American Indians, to whom David Zeisberger devoted sixty-three strenuous years of life. In S. Africa these early missionaries were to be found teaching the Hottentots and Khoikhois of its continued existence. At the beginning of the 18th cent. foreign missions were almost entirely unknown among the Reformed Churches; it was left to the Moravians to inaugurate the modern missionary movement. This dates from the year 1728, when two of the Brethren set out to evangelize the enslaved Negroes in St. Thomas, willing to become slaves themselves if that should be the only way of winning them for Christ. In the same spirit others went to the Eskimos in Greenland; others settled in S. America, and carried the gospel for the first time to the natives in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. Work was begun among the N. American Indians, to whom David Zeisberger devoted sixty-three strenuous years of life. In S. Africa these early missionaries were to be found teaching the Hottentots and Khoikhois.

The death of Zinzendorf in 1760 had important results. It involved a severe financial strain which at one time threatened the existence of the Church, but it also led to the framing of a distinctive system of church government, the settlement of its constitution, the definition of its doctrine, and the organization of its undertakings. The administration of the Church was divided between two centres, with a council of elders at the founding of that little Saxon village which its inhabitants numbered only some 600. They formed the first Protestant Church that recognized and attempted to fulfill the duty of world evangelization; and in this effort they stood alone for sixty years. A characteristic of the Renewed Church still remains its outstanding distinction; and that is why, alone among all others, it possesses no separate mission. The Moravian Church is the society, and within it the principle prevails that 'to be a Moravian and to further missions are identical.' From Herrnhut strong religious influences began to spread at home as well as abroad among the students in the German universities, the landowners in the Baltic provinces, the merchants of Amsterdam, and the army in Berlin. Zinzendorf and his Brethren were in every land, as a result of their evangelistic work, societies or congregations, known as 'settlements,' sprang up in Denmark, Holland, Russia, and Switzerland, and in several of the German principalities. Each became, like Herrnhut, an industrial as well as a religious centre, for the apostolic rule of being "diligent in business" as well as 'servent in spirit' was insisted on. It was largely by means of these industrial undertakings, supplemented by the unstinted generosity of Zinzendorf, that the cost of the mission work was met—not to mention the fact that most of the missionaries provided for their own maintenance. The first official visit was paid to England in 1731; and here it was that Peter Böhler three years later met with John Wesley and became the means of his spiritual enlightenment. Here also the name 'Moravian' came into use; given originally as a convenient nickname (like 'Methodist'), it has now gained a kind of permanence, though it cannot be regarded as satisfactory, since it emphasizes only one point, and that a comparatively unimportant one, in the long history of the Unitas.

The Moravian influence was unquestionably one of the chief factors in the Evangelical Revival; for a time it equaled that of the Methodists. Moravian evangelists preached throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, leaving their mark especially in Yorkshire and the Midlands; and, through the preaching of John Cennick, to a yet greater degree in Ireland and the west of England.

In America also the Church took root in the middle of the 18th cent. and set up two centres, Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and Salem in N. Carolina; and from each of these two places it spread rapidly. Thus the Church came to consist again of branches of existence. At the beginning of the different nationalities—German, English, and American. These form the home base, and, though widely separated, they are organically one. Each province is independent as regards the conduct of its own affairs, elects its own bishops, appoints its own administrative boards, and legislates for itself through its own synods. The main outward bond of union between the parts (and the seat of final authority) is the so-called General Synod, made up of delegates from all the provinces. This bond may seem a very slight one, yet through these many years the spirit of brotherhood in Christ has been strong enough to prevent any kind of schism in the body.
pions of orthodox Evangelicalism. Here also their influence was as far-reaching as in England, though in a different way. In this case it was due largely to the writings and the personality of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, originally a professor at Halle. It made itself felt in the universities; Schleiermacher learned his religion and gained his conception of the historic Christ at a Moravian college; and Kant, the philosopher of Königsberg, referred to it in his writing on religion, to the little Moravian church over the way; that', he said, 'is the place in which to find peace.'

2. Characteristics.—(a) Diaspora.—A unique feature of the Church's work on the Continent was, and still is, the so-called Diaspora, an extensive agency for promoting spiritual life and fellowship within the National (Protestant) Churches. It is carried on in many parts of Germany, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Russia; and, according to synodal resolution, no worker in it is allowed to seek converts for the Moravian Church from among the members of other communions. The effort is in the interests of the Kingdom of God as a whole, supplementary to the existing religious agencies, and is designed to strengthen and promote the unity of believers. This accounts to a large extent for the growth of the Moravians by those who know the disinterested nature of their labours, and the catholicity of their spirit. Had there been more denominationalism, not many would have built outside that would have resulted, but it would have meant the loss of that kindliness of mutual feeling which has marked the Church's relationship to other Christian communions.

(b) Education.—Another Moravian characteristic is the educational system, officially recognized and regarded as belonging to the Church's work and responsibility. Love of education, and enthusiasm for it, formed a part of the inheritance which had come down from the days of the Unitas. It was held that, just as the Church had its mission to the heathen, who had never heard the gospel, so had it also a mission to the young to ground and train them in its divine precepts. To carry this out was a priceless privilege ordained of God, to be undertaken with prayer, and to be done for Him. In this spirit numerous boarding-schools were opened in s Germany, Holland, England, Switzerland, and America; many of them have become famous, not only on account of the education given, but also by reason of the pupils who have gone forth from them to England, Germany, Switzerland, the U.S., and elsewhere, and have all been a blessing to themselves and the world.

(c) Missionary zeal.—The third, and the most characteristic, feature of Moravianism is its missionary zeal. Never since the beginning of the work in 1722 has this waned; the Church has sent forth its sons and daughters in an unbroken stream, in some cases through five generations of the same family. Most of its congregations have their representatives in the missions, and through these living channels they with the foreign field is maintained. The Church's energies flow largely along this channel, in support of what represents, and is felt to be, its God-appointed work in the present as much as in the past, a glory that has not faded. Hence the surprisingly large number of Moravian missionaries in proportion to the membership; and also the relatively high standard of pupils in the First and Foreign Protestant Churches at large the proportion of missionaries to members is about 1 to 5000, among the Moravians it is 1 to 60. These are the words of J. R. Mott on the subject:

*If members of the Churches in Great Britain and America gave in like proportion (as the Moravians), then the missionary contributions would aggregate over £1,000,000, or nearly £3,000,000 instead of some £3,500,000. And if they went out as Missionaries in corresponding numbers, we should have a force of nearly 60,000 foreign workers, while the present number of Missionaries estimated as necessary to achieve the evangelization of the World is only 1.4.*

The work abroad has to a great extent been among primitive races, some of them now approaching extinction, with others in countries which are peculiarly unassuming and uninviting, and that have been neglected by every one else. These have been taken up by the Moravians in accordance with Zinzendorf's early desire and determination, when, as a school-boy, he established among his companions the so-called 'Order of the Mustard Seed,' for the purpose of seeking the conversion of the heathen, having in mind 'especially such as others would not trouble themselves about.' Thus the Moravian Brethren were the pioneers in work among the lepers, first in the Cape Colony, where as early as 1818 a missionary and his wife cut themselves off from their fellow-Europeans, and settled down in a lonely valley among the poor outcasts, in order to care for their bodies as well as their souls. The result was remarkable, for within six years over two hundred were lepers received and baptized. Afterwards the work was continued on Robben Island, a sandy stretch lying off Cape Town; and still later a spacious hospital has been established near Robben Island. Its aim is to gather all the lepers of Palestine, and to alleviate the sufferings caused by this dread disease.

Continuous expansion has marked the missionary enterprise of the Church, till now it is to be found in every continent. The fields are as follows: Labrador, Alaska, California, the W. Indies (Jamaica, St. Thomas, St. John, St. Croix, Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, Tobago, Trinidad, San Domingo), the Mosquito Coast, Nicaragua, Demerara (British Guiana), Surinam (Dutch Guiana), S. Africa, East and West, Nyasa and Umyamwezi (in German E. Africa), W. Himalaya, and N. Queensland—14 different countries, 343 stations, with 1508 preaching places. The workers include 367 American and American missionaries, among them doctors, educators, deaconesses, etc., 48 ordained native ministers, 459 native evangelists, 1662 native helpers; with a total of 107,570 souls in their care. The annual expense amounts to £114,000, exclusive of the Leper Home, which costs an additional £1500 per annum. Mission stations, a dozen or more, are established in the W. Indies, and S. Africa; hospitals in Labrador, Jerusalem, Surinam, and Kashmir, where Zenana work is also carried on.

The above figures, if not large in themselves, are strikingly so when compared to the size of the home Church. This consists of the continental congregations, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Russia, Sweden, and Norway; the British provinces (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales); and the American provinces, North and South. The last-named have 134 congregations; in Great Britain there are 45, and on the Continent 30; in the United States 47; in the W. Indies, and S. Africa; hospitals in Labrador, Jerusalem, Surinam, and Kashmir, where Zenana work is also carried on.

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3. Worship.—The worship of the Church com-
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hies the liturgical element with a large measure of freedom in extemporaneous prayer—a blending of order and liberty. The British Book of Worship includes two liturgies for public service, an alternate form of prayer, a confession of faith, and的形式 for the baptism of infants and of adults, for confirmation, ordination, marriage, and burial—and combined with these is a newly-revised collection of hymns of all ages. It is the latest successor of the first publication by hymn-book ever issued. The Church's ritual is marked by simplicity and directness of purpose, due largely to a wise caution in the use of symbolism, and also to a dislike of whatever would serve to quench the spiritual impulse of the moment. A stately dignity marks the special services and the doxologies in use at the consecration of bishops and the ordination of ministers. The same applies in a measure to the confirmation service, which, as in the Greek Church, is not considered an exclusively episcopal function, but may be performed by a presbyter. At all these services the surplice is worn, as well as at the administration of the sacraments. The Apostles' Creed is in use as representing the oldest, simplest, and most generally accepted expression of the faith of Christendom; and in addition a special confession or profession, compiled by Luther and made up mainly of a connected sequence of Scripture passages, is recited on the great Church festivals, such as Easter, Whitsunday, etc. This latter Triennial Confession of Faith fulfil the Church faithful's marked emphasis—the Fatherhood of God, the Creator of all things and the Author of salvation; the redemptive and mediatorial work of Christ in His perfect humanity, the 'Lamb of God' once slain, the Judge, the justiciary of the things which are in heaven and earth. The power of the Holy Spirit, 'Who proceedeth from the Father, and Whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent forth after that He went away...that He should abide with us for ever.'

4. Doctrine.—The main points of doctrine are defined and taught in the Church Book under the following heads: the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature; the doctrine of the love of God the Father; the doctrine of the real Godhead and the real humanity of Jesus Christ; the doctrine of our reconciliation unto God by justification through the sacrifice of the Cross; the witness of Scripture and of the Church to the evidence of faith; the doctrine of the fellowship of believers; the doctrine of the Second Coming of the Lord; and the doctrine of the Headship of Christ in the Church. The doctrine of the connection in essence the theological position is that of the Nicene Creed, the XXXIX Articles, the Augsburg and the Westminster Confessions; but, since no one Creed can be said to be a complete statement of the whole range of Christian dogma, liberty is allowed for difference of view in non-essentials. The Holy Scriptures are regarded as the only rule of faith and conduct, the basis of all teaching, and the final court of appeal. More stress is laid on Christian life and character than on perfect agreement of opinion. Devotion to Christ, and personal union with Him, form the foundation of the Brotherhood. The Church has kept itself free from anything approaching sectarian peculiarities of doctrine, and this because it came out from Rome on the broad ground of gospel truth and liberty, and did not separate itself from any other Evangelical Church.

5. Constitution and government.—The constitution and government of the Church, which at one time was something of national peculiarities, is now essentially democratic, as may be seen from the fact that in the General Synod, which meets every six years and controls the funds and the work of the entire body, the elected members outnumber those who have a seat in virtue of their office. The same applies to the provincial synods, and also to the authorities of the individual congregations. The principle at work in Church affairs is that of 'the government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' under the sole headship of Christ. The bishops have no administrative powers on account of their position, though, as a matter of fact, a bishop is almost invariably the president of the board of Mission or Synod of a particular province. These boards are elected by synod, the members holding office only during the inter-synodal period; they are responsible to the synod for their administrative doing. The foreign missions, as the-collectors of funds, are directed by a man standing under the management of an international mission board, on which each of the home provinces, as well as the foreign field, is represented.

This has at present its seat in Herrnhut, though it might just as well be located anywhere else. In addition there is a general directing board of the Unity, which has to see to the carrying out of the principles laid down by the General Synod in regard to constitution, doctrine, worship, orders, congregation rules, and discipline. It exercises also the functions of a court of appeal; it summons the General Synod, or, in the case of a refractory representative of the Church in its entirety.

All appointments in the ministry are made by the directing boards of the respective provinces; each congregation is entitled to suggest names for the filling of vacancies, and enjoys the right to accept or decline a call sent to him. The different provinces make their own arrangements for the training of their students, whilst in all the various colleges, the presence of at least one, the normal course includes the work necessary for a University Degree in Arts, which each student is expected to gain; then follows a three years' study of theology, during which he is subject to a rule, some sort of or other, and takes courses in teaching in the boarding-schools. Later on comes ordination, in the first instance as a deacon when acting as assistant minister; and, on being appointed to a separate charge, second ordination admits to the presbyterate. Thus the Church possesses and combines within itself many of the features which in other cases separate some of the larger religious bodies. Its orders are strictly episcopal, for the theocratic governing body is presbyterian. Its teaching is distinctly evangelical, though no formal subscription to any specific Creed is demanded, or expected, from its ministers or members. Authority of the Church is bound by no formularies; the bond of union lies not so much in a common Confession as in the exercise of mutual love as the supreme mark of discipleship. Infant-baptism and confirmation are practised; at the Holy Supper the wafer is generally used; the Church seasons are observed with very special stress on the services of Holy Week and Easter. In some of these observances there is a marked element of ritual, ballowed by the usage and tradition of past centuries; but at the same time the Church is as free from the bondage of form and ceremony as it is from all sacramentarianism.

The whole body, scattered over the world's surface, on the Continent, in Great Britain, in America, and in the 14 mission-fields, is still an organic Unity, each portion maintaining its own national characteristics, the Germans attached to their German ways, the English and Americans equally loyal to their own country's interests and customs. The Church is also now essentially brotherhood, composed of men of many races and differing opinions, all banded together, not to propagate any special system of church government, or any kind of ritual, or any particular point of
doctrines, but to evidence and promote the oneness of the kingdom of Christ, and to prove the possibility of a union, organic as well as spiritual, which rises above all barriers of nationality and opinion. The Moravian Church does not work in opposition to any other, even if it seeks to increase its membership by any system of proselytizing. Its aim is to gather into the fold of Christ those who are still outside, and then to further that growth in grace and that fruitfulness of service of which the divine task is meant for the spread of the kingdom of God among the children of men. It is above all else a missionary and a union Church.


MORBIDNESS.—The term 'morbidity' as applied to moral and religious states of mind is popular rather than scientific. It designates particularly any unduly depressed state connected with one's moral or religious status. Little effort has been made thus far to discover a scientific difference for religious and moral disease or morbidity. One author,1 essaying a moral pathology, treats largely of ordinary moral faults and classes as pathological even such habits as result from mistaken conceptions of the moral life. Here 'pathological' loses all definite meaning; as well might we class as morbids the misspelling of a word. On the other hand, neurologists and medical writers tend, on the whole, to limit moral and religious morbidity to certain phenomena of the insanities, such as the delusion that one is God or Jesus Christ, or that one has committed the unutterable sin of commit an act which is impossible to differentiate between sanity and insanity. A vast field lurks in the moral sick basin of the insane is that they are incapable, for the time being at least, of fulfilling their social functions. Thus, all the insanities are cases of moral inability and, in this sense, of moral morbidity. There is, however, a broad expanse of moral morbidity that is neither insanity, on the one hand, nor, on the other, mere delusion from a moral ideal through erroneous thinking or through the common instinctive impulses. The best example is the moral distortions frequently found among adolescents. Under the stress of the new and intellectual re-organization that is going on at this period of life, the following types of morbidity are not uncommon.

(1) Excessive or minute introspection of one's desires and impulses, often with the application of excessively severe standards to one's self. In religious communions that emphasize such experiences as conversion, regeneration, and the work of the Spirit, this introspection often consists in a search for signs of the divine presence or of divine operations within one's soul.

(2) Hypersensitiveness to moral and religious situations, a proving at all is to be heinous; only perfection is really good—this is the attitude of mind. This is what is often called 'morbid conscience.' The victim of it is likely to put them to test, and to perform overnice duties. Habitual self-condemnation or sensiorniveness towards others may also appear.

(3) A passion or even a refusal to live by the ordinary, commonplace assumptions, probabilities, and of 'rule of thumb' devices of nature practicality. Sometimes a sense of uncertainty becomes almost an obsession. The victim feels uncertain, for instance, whether he has locked the door, although he knows, in the ordinary sense of 'knowledge,' that he has done so. So, also, he may feel that he ought or ought not to do a certain thing, although he understands, in a way, that his feeling is unreasonable.

(4) Feverish or self-annihilating devotion to a person, a cause, or an ideal. Here morbidity consists partly in emotional excess, partly in the egregious self-assertion upon which the supposed sublimity of self-abolition depends.

(5) In the four types thus far named we behold a sort of psychical congestion and soreness. A fifth type displays the opposite—insensibility and indifference to function in the presence of normal stimuli. Callosity towards the pains and pleasures of others and lack of a sense of obligation is its expression. In lesser extreme cases this appears only in spots, as towards some one person, human interest, or kind of duty.

These adolescent twists illuminate the whole subject of moral and religious morbidity. For, if the five types be broadly interpreted, they will be found to cover all cases of such morbidity at whatever stage of life. Here we have over- and under-sensitiveness, excess of action and defect of it, excess and defect of introspection, over- and under-caution, and disproportion in thinking. This is not normal or healthy, yet it includes no insane delusions and no such failure of practical adjustment as puts one outside the pale of social toleration.

The causation of morbidity in the sense that now grows towards definiteness includes two factors: neural depression (or at least lack of vitality), and some incidental experience that starts an unfortunate mental habit. The fundamental facts with which we have to deal are excess, defect, and disturbance. Not infrequently morbid persons cherish a conviction that their mental processes are rational rather than emotional even though observers easily discover the lack of emotional balance. Conduct, and what passes as reason, are alike determined by some congestion or soreness, or by abnormal callousness. These emotional tendencies are primary psychical signs of neural conditions. The depression may be a hereditary or temperamental trait, an incident of a disease, or the product of an internal irritant, of a drug, or of fatigue. The reason why morbidity occurs so frequently in adolescence is that the puberal change and the consequent reorganization of habits put extraordinary demands upon the nervous system. To this cause must be added the peculiar loads in school life, economic life, and social life that our occidental customs impose upon youth. Finally, many moral perversions and difficulties connected with the firm establishment of a healthy sexual life increase the tendencies to depression. In mature life the same general principles apply. Morbidity may safely be assumed, in practically all cases, to spring partly out of nerve depression, which, in turn, may have many causes.

The last of the five adolescent types enumerated does not readily reveal its neural basis. Moral insensibility, indeed, may not seem to require any special neural basis. May it not be a matter of

1 A. E. Giles, Moral Pathology, London, 1890.
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more habit? Habit might, perhaps, account for it in older persons, but, whenever a child or youth exhibits it, the presumption is that strength for a full social position is lacking; let it be remembered that socialized conduct is an achievement that implies power to feel in particular ways, and to resist and organize impulses. In the games of the olden youth 'foul play' is often simply the resort of individuals who have not sufficient muscular strength or mental power to hold their own while playing the game according to the rules. In adult life the same situations that present a full of normal strength a child of normal powers will react socially unless some positive counter training has preceded. Persistent unresponsiveness to social stimuli is strongly suggestive of constitutional weakness or of incidentally depressed vitality.

But the neural basis of moral and religious states is not nearly the whole explanation of them. Neural depression is generic rather than specific; it puts consciousness into a minor key, but it does not of itself construct the melody. The particular reaction depends upon particular stimuli and upon incidental as well as permanent subjective conditions. The same neural basis may be present in a person who worries about his soul's salvation and in one who worries about his health. Further, habit plays a leading role in the whole matter; even the original action, which is so strongly induced in a period of weakness, may become fixed as a habit, and so persist even after the original neural depression has been partly or wholly removed. The relation between moral and religious morbidity and neurasthenia is often close. In both we find a general background of neural depression and a foreground of habitual ideas and practices, often highly systematized and therefore regarded as rational.

A gloomy theology or moral theory rarely, if ever, producessettled moralities in the absence of predisposing nervous weakness or depression. Healthy and nervously strong persons, if they accept such doctrines at all, usually hold them in a theoretical way for the most part, or yield to their terror only now and then when attention is specially directed to them. There is truth in the popular observation that, if men really believed in the grim theology that some of them profess, they would 'go wild.' The fact that, even in circles in which such doctrines are accepted, men pursue and enjoy the common values of life, such as family, home, property, and social recognition, is direct evidence that any settled emotional realization which the prevailing belief depends upon something more than a set of ideas. If, however, any individual in such a circle has a tendency to nervous weakness, religious instruction may easily become the decisive factor in producing morbidity of a serious kind. In the aggregate the spiritual havoc thus wrought is undoubtedly large, although the cases of it are scattered. It is most unfortunate that among those who are susceptible to such injury are many persons whose sensitiveness and fineness of organization adapt them for high tasks. It is sometimes, no doubt, the possible prophet, poet, reformer, or thinker whose energies are fruitless by reason of the depression of function.

LITERATURE.—G. Vorсhod, "Zur Religionspsychologie, Priorippen und Pathologie," Theologische Studien, Jena, 1898, pp. 257-303; this is the clearest exposition of the view that the phenomenon such as a moral phenomenon. Josiah Moses, Pathological Aspects of Religion (New York, 1894), gives an extended analysis of religious extremes of various sorts. E. D. Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion, London, 1899, shows that conversion is, in general, a normal rather than abnormal phenomenon, chiefly of adolescence (ch. xlii), but he presents numerous cases of adolescent depression by a religious excitation (ch. xvi). G. A. Coe, The Spiritual Life, New York, 1900, also discusses adolescent difficulties, particularly doubts and moral conflict. It should be noted that he is not significant for our topic. A popular discussion of depressive states of the neurasthenic type will be found in E. W. Hulse, and others, Religion and Medicine (New York, 1906). See also J. B. Bretzel, Religionshygiene (pamphlet), Halle, 1907.

GEORGE A. COE.

MORDVINS.—I. Introduction and sources.—The Mordvins form a branch of the Finno-Ugric race (cf. vol. vi. p. 222), and consist of two tribes called respectively the Erza and the Moksha. Our knowledge of their ancient religion, coming, as it does, almost exclusively from a Russian source at least, they had been converted to Christianity by the Russians, and when they could practise the rites of their earlier faith only in secret, is very scanty and defective. After the Mordvin people, as a whole, in consequence of the victory by which the Russians finally overthrow the Tatar khaneate of Kazan (1552), had come under the sway of the conquerors, measures of a more or less violent nature were taken here and there to convert them, and were continued in the 17th century. It was not, however, till about 1740-50 that they came to submit on some of the rite of Christian baptism, and the following decades witnessed the disappearance of the last vestiges of their heathenism. Yet for a long time their conversion was, in the main, a merely nominal change, and, accordingly, even in quite recent times the exploration of remote districts has yielded much valuable material for the elucidation of their ancient religion.

Our earliest information on the subject comes from an Italian traveller. G. B. Bruni visited the district now called Eastern Russia in 1446, and who gives a short account of how the victim was dealt with in the horse-sacrifice of the Moksha tribe. The notes on the religious and sacrificial practices of the Mordvins made by N. Witsen, a Dutchman, at the close of the 17th cent. are altogether negligible; nor can we gather much of value from the accounts of P. J. Stahlberg, K. Miller, J. Lepelin, J. G. Georgii, and P. S. Fallas, in the 18th century. A more useful source (in spite of errors due to misapprehension) is the Russian MS written by a land-surveyor named Miljiković in 1753, and several times printed (most recently in Tambowskaja Eparchial'nyja Vědonosť, no. 18, Petrograd, 1905, p. 815 ff.). From the middle of the 19th cent. we find in Russian newspapers and periodicals some of the fairly abundant material (in the provin.) as, in other publications, sporadic notices and descriptions of local conditions. Accounts of a more general character have been given by Meljnikov, Mainov, and Smirnov (for literature at end). Meljnikov (writing c. 1850) draws his material mainly from MS sources; but, as regards the ideas of the gods, deals with his data too freely, and adds imaginative embellishments. The same may be said of Mainov, who, some thirty years later, devoted himself to the investigation of Mordvin ethnography, and even travelled over the Mordvin district; in many points he merely follows Meljnikov. A much more valuable production is that of Smirnov, who carefully utilizes the available literature as well as a number of MS sources, and also draws upon his own observations. The following account is based not only on published sources, but also on his own collections made by the present writer among the Mordvins themselves, and the fairly abundant MS material subsequently forwarded by native Mordvins to the Foreign Missionaries (in Helsingfors), and in part from a letter based on some (in part very valuable) MSS dating from the middle of the 19th cent. and now in the keeping of the Imperial Geographical Society, or else deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial University of Saint Petersburg. The latter group of MSS had been already used in part, though unscientifically, by Meljnikov and Mainov.
2. The dead.—Life after death was regarded as a direct continuation of earthly life, the departed in their graves live and occupy themselves in much the same way as they did upon earth—hence the articles required by them were placed beside their heads in the grave. Life kith and kin are still together, so that the graveyard is the counterpart of the village; there is no realm of the dead in a universal sense. From the graveyard the human-like shades come forth to visit the living. In the summer, probably the last remains of the dead, the foremost and mightiest of whom is the first who was buried in the particular graveyard, i.e., the progenitor of the family (together with his wife), who was often still spoken of by his own name and was honoured with the title of 'ruler of the graveyard' (kalmon' kirdi). The prevailing idea seems to be that this progenitor should not belong to too remote a past; thus among certain Erzhl Mordvin in the government of Saratov, who migrated thither some 200 or 250 years ago, the earliest ancestors to whom worship is accorded are positively stated to have been the first settlers—the memory, and thus also the worship, of the earlier generations having faded away. Festivals in honour of departed individuals are celebrated during the first year after death—one immediately after the death, that is, three, six, or twelve months, or the fortieth day, after death, from which time onwards the shade of the dead becomes more closely attached to the corpse in the grave, which is called the burial-ground (bonto kiran). The form, in the former home or, it may be, in places where the living person had been accustomed to visit. At this festival the previously deceased members of the family are believed to begin to appear as minstrels, and are implored to take the newly departed into their midst.

General festivals for all departed ancestors (pokiatat bolat, or at at bolat, 'grandfathers and grandmothers' [= ancestors]), again, are celebrated at least twice a year, in spring and autumn (latterly the dates of both the individual and the general festivals were for the most part brought into accordance with those of the commemorative celebrations appointed by the Russian Church). The ancestors are invited in due form to a feast in the village, the several houses of the family-group being taken to make a sort of banquet of the living with the dead. According to a tradition from the beginning of the 17th cent., joint festivals for the dead were in an earlier period held by larger family-groups or clans also at intervals of some fifty years. Formerly, animal-sacrifices were offered at the celebrations, and the ceremonies connected with them contain features that seem to point to a still earlier practice of human sacrifice. The living approach the ancestors with prayers and gifts in all circumstances in which, as they think, they require the help of these ancestors either for their own benefit (particularly in cases of illness, which may be sent by the ancestors themselves, if angered) or in order to injure others. Moreover, at the sacrificial feasts which are held by the community in honour of the (nature-) gods, the ancestors are in some districts conjoined with them as the gods of worship, being invoked in the prayers immediately after the deities, and besought for the same earthly blessings—success in tillage and cattle-rearing, good fortune, and health. The dead, when thus present by invitation, are welcome guests, from whose benignity all good things may be expected—though at the close of the festival, it is true, they are driven away, sometimes with threats, but when by their own initiative, they are greatly feared, especially as causing disease. Peculiar ceremonies are excited by the dead who perish by accident—e.g., by drown-
the Chuvash tongue of to-day, Kerâmât, originally an Arab. word). Among the Mordvins this deity bears the title sëgnq, which is obviously the same as the Arabic-Turkish sélân. What is told of him among the Mordvins is meagre and inconsistent. Among the Moksha, according to M. R. Aldé, a highly respectable authority, Këldor is the supreme god, and the mother of all creation, and is regarded by the Moksha as 'horn and bred with the earth'—a fact which shows that the people had no idea of his human origin—it would seem, nevertheless, that his worship contains certain elements of a former native hero-cult. In the legal proceedings of the community oaths are taken in the name of Kerâmât, and it is believed that those who are guilty of an

3. Nature.—(a) Air and sky. In the Erzä tribe the deity of the air is the god who is above. We also find mention of Ski-pas and Nisk-pas or Niske, the latter of whom, while now identified by some of the Erzä with Vere-pas, was originally in all likelihood a distinct god (probably of foreign origin). In a number of ancient MSS the name Niske occurs in the form Nebi-skâ, and another name is readily a synthesis of inê, 'great,' and the first element in the divine name Ski-pas just mentioned. Ski, again, is a participle of the obsolete verb ska-na, which, when past, it signifies literally 'the generative god,' 'procreator-god,' and Niske, 'the great, procreator.' The sky-god of the Moksha is called Skaj—a name corresponding exactly to the Erzá Ski—or, with the addition of the term for 'god,' which among the Moksha is still found in the more primitive syllabic form pawas, Skabas also (Skabas and Skajbas), which accordingly corresponds in form with the Erzá Ski-pas. In the prayers he receives the designation Vârdît, 'he who is above,' or Ot'su, 'the great one' (see above), the explanation of the Erzá name Niske. The Erzá Niske or Nisk-pas has a consort named Niskâ-bas,...
tillers of the field. She seems sometimes to have been the earth's mother, or corn-mother, 'spirit, earth-goddess,' although elsewhere Mastor-pas appears as a distinct (male) deity, whom people invoked in their imprecations to bring their enemies to destruction. The Moksha and the Kuj are both called 'mother earth,' but in their official worship her place is taken by Pak'ya-ava, 'mother field,' 'field-mistress,' or Paks'ya-avediya, 'field-mistress,' 'field-hostess,' or, again, Norov-pas, 'corn-god, corn-mother,' Also designated Norov-ava, 'mother corn, corn-mother,' also designated Norov-pas, 'the god (goddess) corn,' to whom, among the Moksha, corresponds Sor-ava (or sometimes Noru-ava), 'mother corn,' Sor-ava, however, is found mainly in the magic formulae and the songs. Each tilled field had its own particular spirits. For the meadow likewise there was a special presiding spirit, called Narazatara, 'mead-mistress,' or the like; but, as far as we know, she was not the object of a distinct cult, or, at most, she was presented before the hay harvest with a few pieces of bread, accompanied by a prayer for her protection.

(c) Forest and trees. — The forest-spirit (e.g., Yorax-) also has its own — is usually designated Vir-ava, 'mother forest,' 'forest-mother,' and is now generally an evil-disposed being, whose characteristics (with the exception of her sex and her large breasts) are (in due form) the same as those of the earth-mother. Among the Lipperians, and possibly among the Russian peoples, therefore, the forest-spirit, or, more generally, the spirit of the tilled field, here, along with mother earth, we find the place of that spirit usually taken by Norov-ava, 'mother corn, corn-mother,' also designated Norov-pas, 'the god (goddess) corn,' to whom, among the Moksha, corresponds Sor-ava (or sometimes Noru-ava), 'mother corn,' Sor-ava, however, is found mainly in the magic formulae and the songs. Each tilled field had its own particular spirits. For the meadow likewise there was a special presiding spirit, called Narazatara, 'mead-mistress,' or the like; but, as far as we know, she was not the object of a distinct cult, or, at most, she was presented before the hay harvest with a few pieces of bread, accompanied by a prayer for her protection.

(d) Water. — The water-deity common to all the Mordvinian peoples is called Veda-ava, 'water-mother,' 'water-mistress.' She holds an important position in the cultus, principally as the spirit who presides over the fecundity of the earth, of women, and of cattle — though, at least latterly, less as the sender of fish, probably on account of the small importance of fishing as an industry. Each distinct body of water — river, brook, lake, fountain, well — has its special presiding spirit, who may bear a more definite name, e.g., Rav-ava, 'mother Volga,' Volga-mother, Ais-ava, 'mother fountain,' etc. In the songs we find mention also of a sea-mother (Mor-ava), probably of Russian origin; with her also associated are 'sea-mistress' (ot's'a-red, 'great water,' also 'sea-mistress' (ot's'a-red, lit. 'great water,' also 'sea-mistress'), of an older Moksha account, although our informant interprets her name as Ot'nu vedae. ..."
lives beneath a stone situated in the court; and is generally addressed, or spoken to, as a female. Among some of the Moksha we hear of a court-spirit named Koram-ot'-sun'ã, the chief of the court, while others speak of a special spirit called Kaldas-ava, 'eattleyard-mother.' These, however, are especially in the sacrificial sacrifices are offered by the individual family at stated seasons, and also on special occasions—the birth of a child, the birth of a cow's first calf, etc. At the legal trial the deities, however, are called in all cases the titled household will, for his family, according to an early Moksha account, it was the practice to warehouse the house and the dwelling-place-spirits as well as by deceased ancestors. As protectors of the cattle we also find, sometimes even at the communal sacrifices, certain saints of the Russian Church—e.g., Froilavról (a distortion of two saints' names, Flor and Lavrov), surnamed Alasán'-pas, 'horse-god,' Nastasji (Russ. Anastasia), with the epithet Reven'-pas, 'sleep-god (desds);' Miljković mentions also a 'swine-god' (Tuon'-pas), etc. Moreover, the store-pit, the bathroom, the threshing-place, etc., had each its special presiding spirit, usually designated 'mother,' or (among the Moksha) 'mistress,' 'hostess,' as, e.g., Ban'-ava, 'bathroom-mother,' or Ban'-azërava, 'bathroom-mistress,' and on certain definite occasions offerings of milk and flour were made to these spirits. Likewise the bee-garden, sometimes forming part of the house-garden, sometimes situated in the forest, had its particular spirit: Niskep-ava (Moksha), 'bee-garden-mother,' or Niske-ava (Ert-pas), 'beehive-god,' etc. Mention is made even of an alley-or lane-god (Ulv's'-pas). The village, too, had its spirit, named Vel-ava, 'village-mother,' or Vel-azërava, 'village-mistress,' or Vel'en'-pas, 'god or goddess of the village'; this spirit was worshipped at the communal sacrifices.

5. Evil spirits.—To this class belong the spirits ever-present in the house and in the open air; they are legion in various forms, including that of a fish. In the Mordvin speech they are found also as servants of the wicked earth-god Mastor-ava (see above, p. 845). The Ert'zæ believe in a distinct spirit of curses, 'the ruler of the curse,' called Ert, 'curse,' Ert-pas, 'curse-god,' 'the god curse' (also Erza), besides a householdarily figured as having a wife and a large family. Another evil spirit is Aves', or Jâves' (Moksha), Eves', Evs' (Ertz'), called also Idem-eyes' (idem, 'fierce'), etc. According to a Moksha account, this spirit and his wife produce seventy-seven children every year; every year, however, the whole family is killed by thunder except two, who in the following year beget other seventy-seven, and so on. The Ertzæ seem to regard this spirit as a wicked sorcerer, who flies in the air as a meteor. Numerous diseases are personified, and addressed as 'mother'; some of these disease-spirits, too, are thought of as married people, while others take the form of children, etc.

6. General observations on Mordvin mythology.—Among the Mordvin the personification of the deities (nature-spirits) is of a very feeble character, especially to the influence of the linguistic usage, and more particularly by that of the sacrificial prayers. Thus the 'rising and setting sun-god (god sun)' and the moon-god (god moon) have a mixed character, and this is especially the case with the sun and the moon in their visible form, but regarded as animate; in the sacrificial prayers there is nothing that would point to their personification, and, while in the mythology the sun is depicted as a maiden and the moon a maiden, it is only the latter that is the object of foreign influence. Nor can the designation 'mother'

(ava), which—with the epithet kirdži, 'ruler' (fed.), or Mastor-pas, 'animate ruler of the earth'—is the general term of most frequent occurrence in the names of the deities, be regarded as implying the attribution of personality to any particular deity; these 'mothers,' in fact, are only the amorphous and indistinct 'souls' of natural objects, etc. Thus men 'dig' the earth-mother, and 'sow corn in her'; the field-mother—in place of whom tributary, is the 'titled household' or household which, in the Ertzæ, is generally the head of the household. Likewise the bee-garden-spirit is the 'beehive-god,' the house-garden-spirit is the 'house-garden-mother,' and the field-spirit is the 'field-mother.' Likewise, in the Ertzæ, 'the wild bee' is the spirit of weeds, and 'the bee' is the spirit of flowers. Thus, in sum and substance, we may speak of the common Ertzæ term 'God' as meaning 'a kind of soul.' The spiritual 'weeds' is 'the spirit of the field,' 'the bees' are 'the soul of the flowers.'

So, too, with the household-spirit, we can still to some extent distinctively pray the original idea that it is the animistic dwelling-house itself, or, in other words, the amorphous soul of the house. Thus we find it said in a Moksha magic prayer, 'Kud-azërava, 'house-mother,' above is the lime-bark (the roof is thatched with this), below is the petrified lime-bark (Ertzæ), 'beehive-god,' 'beehive of the house; this spirit was worshipped in the communal sacrifices. This spirit is the 'house-mother' and 'house-maiden,' and is addressed as 'the house-seat' and 'the house-mother;' in the Ertzæ it is the 'soul of the house.' It was the object of sojourn much in the warm house.'

In conjunction with the spirits designated 'mothers' (ava) and 'mistresses' (azërava) are found the correlatives ('male') old ones (av'at) and 'lords' or 'hosts' (azërč)—e.g., Ved-at'a, 'water old one,' Ved-azër, 'water-lord,' Nastasja, 'house old one,' Nastasja, 'house-lord.' They are for the most part absent from the sacrificial prayers, belonging rather to the sphere of the magic formulae and of folklore, where such married couples are even represented as having children. Here we have obviously a later development, perhaps not unconnected with ancestor-worship, in which male and female progenitors are generally named together as spiritual persons. It is only in the case of the god of the sky and the god of thunder that personification has reached a more advanced stage. These two deities are always represented as human-like figures, and it is mainly with them that the few myths current among the Mordvin have to do. Thus, the thunder-god appears in the songs as the son-in-law of the sky-god Niske, while the latter, again, finds a wife of his son (of whom otherwise nothing has come down to us) in a Mordvin maiden whom he bears up to the sky in a silver eradle upon a chain. This myth-making process, which perhaps was to some extent due to foreign influence, does not, however, appear in the worship—the sacrificial prayers—at all, while among the Moksha the name of the sky-god, the form of which certainly suggests personification (broforcara), is only a tradition attracted into the mythology, and is also used as the designation of the natural sky—e.g., in the phrase brojč wazanč, 'the sky redens.'

The older conception of nature as animate merely, but not personified in an specific ground, and to impede the process of personification.

Virtually no limits were set to the practice of ascertaining life to inanimate things. In the magic formulae we find that, e.g., plants, the clay of an oven, the rowan tree, the honey-baby due to the beetle (the last three are invoked by the magician for the purpose of personal protection. 1 The blood of sacrificial animals is allowed to run into the cavity under this stone. 2 Cf. the Mordvin name for the pupil of the eye: zel'mans. Lit. 'eye-mother.'
as his 'elder sisters'), are all endowed with life, and their aid is sought to expel disease.

It is manifest that, in the course of centuries, the religion and worship of the Mordvins have been influenced (directly or indirectly) by various (e.g., Persian, Lithuanian, Turkic) influence, as is shown, for one thing, by a number of mythological terms—e.g., *paxaa*, *pat*, 'god' (cf. O. Ind. *bhagaa*, O. Pers. *baha*), *pur*-*gine*, the thunder-god (cf. Lith. *perkūnas*), Keramit (cf. Kurgan), *tewazat*a, the evil spirit (cf. Tatar *Sazjan*, Chavash *Sazjan*); in later times they have also been greatly influenced by Russian popular beliefs, especially in ancestor-worship.

7. Worship.——Besides the obligations performed at home by the individual family, usually under the direction of the head of the household or his wife, and accorded mainly to the domestic spirits and to ancestors, every village community held its own sacrificial feasts, in which the participants frequently arranged themselves in groups corresponding to their families or clans. From certain reports and indications, however, it would seem that at an earlier time there were joint sacrificial festivals for larger districts. The places at which sacrifices were paid to Keramit appear to have been fixed in. On at least some of the sacrificial places Earth-windows, which, like the ordinary dwelling-houses, was called *kuda*, and was used for religious purposes. The deities were not represented in universal form, but spirits (or non-physical spirits) are driven out by threats and by magic practices, special magic formule serve to protect against the evil eye, and so on. Magic might, of course, be employed also to cause injury.

The magic formule and associated practices of the Mordvins show, on the whole, strong evidence of Russian influence, if, to speak more accurately, for the most part have been borrowed from the Russian people.


H. Paasonen.

MORMONISM.——See SAINTS, LATTER-DAY.

 MOSQUE.——See Architecture (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).

MOTHER.——See CHILDREN, FAMILY, MOTHER-RIGHT.

MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).——The Mother of the Gods was identified by Homer (II, xv. 187) and Hesiod (Theog., 634) with Rhea, the wife of Cronus. She was famous in legend for having prevented Cronos from swallowing Zeus by providing him instead with a large stone which he had wrapped in swaddling-clothes (Hes. Theog., 485 f.; Apollol. i. 5). The story was localized in Crete, the deity being connected in the closest way with agriculture, the principal employment of the people, and also with the related industry of cattle-rearing, and the deities were especially sought to grant success in these. In the cult of the nature-deities there is no trace whatever of an ethical element, prayers being addressed to them for earthly boon alone; but that element, as already indicated, does not seem to have been lacking in the cult of the dead, or from the worship of Keramit (and the obscure Azër-ava), and the spirits of the house and the homestead.

8. Magic.——From the sacrificial priest should be distinguished the magic and sorcerers, although there is certainly a suggestion that the priests were selected from the family or caste of the sorcerers. The latter are now usually designated by a term borrowed from the Russian, viz. voraijda, voroteja (Russ. voroleja), but we find also a genuine native term, *sodl't'a*, *sodaj*, 'he (she) who knows.' These sorcerers prophesy; they discover lost things; they find out the causes of disease and all misfortune with the aid of forty-one (or forty) beans or other objects like beans, or by gazing into water freshly drawn from a well in the early morning, or by looking into the face of the person afflicted; they cure diseases by magic spells and magic prayers conjured with the appropriate offerings, and among these prayers there is a specially large number in which a spirit (e.g., the earth-spirit), being invited to the sacrificial feast, will, from retrospective injury unwittingly done to him by a fall, a push, etc., and punished by a visitation of disease or other calamity. Other kinds of disease (disase-spirits) are driven out by threats and by magic practices, special magic formule serve to protect against the evil eye, and so on. Magic might, of course, be employed also to cause injury.

The magic formule and associated practices of the Mordvins show, on the whole, strong evidence of Russian influence, if, to speak more accurately, for the most part have been borrowed from the Russian people.
there was an altar of the Mother of the Gods in the agora at Athens (Kosfin. i. 69), and a sanctuary (petrot) on the Acropolis was used as a sort of office (Lycurg. 66). An ancient festival, known as Galaxis, on the occasion of which a barley cake was boiled in milk, was celebrated in her honor at Thebes (Herodot. ii. 181-21, p. 2:9. 5). The etiological legend which ascribes the foundation of the sanctuary to the expiration required for the murder of a Phrygian myrrheus (Patera), the goddess (Paus. III. 20: 1; Phot. Lex. p. 268, 7) shows clear traces of the later conviction that the worship of the Great Mother had been imported from Asia Minor. The same influence may be present when Pindar speaks of a sanctuary of the Mother close to his own gate, where she was worshipped in conjunction with Pan (Pithy. iii. 77 ff. [157 ff.]), and the scholiast, who does not hesitate to identify her with Rhea, relates that Pindar himself set up her statue near his house in consequence of a stone image of the Mother of the Gods having fallen from the sky at his feet. Pausanias (VIII. xxx. 4) records the existence of a ruined temple of the Mother of the Gods at Magnesia in Arcadia, and of another, which was roofless, close to the sources of the Euraotis and the Alpheus, and of two lions made of stone in its immediate vicinity. The oldest of these temples in the Peloponnesus, containing a stone image of the goddess herself, was at Acris in Laconia (ib. iii. xxt. 4). Yet another temple was at the Styx, on a stone throne, and a stone image of the goddess.

From the 5th cent. at least Rhea came to be identified with the Phrygian Great Mother (Eur. Bacch. 358, 1262), whose influence in Greek religion was henceforth increasingly important. Already in the Homeric prologue (Ilium xiv.) the Mother of the Gods is described as rejoicing in the clasp of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blare of pipes, and the roar of wolves and lions. In another passage (Soph. Phil. 391 ff.), where the name of Rhea is not mentioned, she is clearly referred to as the mother of Zeus, and is identified with the Phrygian Mountain-Mother, the mistress of the swift-slaughtering lions. She is there also addressed as 'all-fostering Earth,' and there are other passages in which the earth-goddess is described as the Mother of the Gods (Ilium. Hom. xxx. 17; Solon, frag. 36. 2; Soph. frag. 269)—a title which she might well have claimed as mother and wife of Uranus according to the Hesiodic tradition (Theog. 68). But it is impossible to explain the worship of the Mother of the Gods as merely a development from the vague conception of a motherly earth. The identification of the Mother of the Gods by certain 5th cent. poets (Eur. Hyl. 1301 ff.; Melanippides, frag. 10 [T. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, Leipzig, 1878-82, ii. 592]; Pind. Isthm. v. 4) with Demeter, who, according to the received genealogy, was a daughter of Rhea (Hes. Theog. 454), is a further cause of perplexity. The existence of a Metron at Agrigentum (Pheid. I. 359; J. G. Frazer, Pausanias, London, 1885, ii. 204), where the lesser mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter, seems to indicate that the Phrygian Mother was another form of the Demeater (Oe. Phre. and C. Robert, Griech. Mythologie, i., Berlin, 1887, p. 651). Lastly, we must take into account the similarity of the title of the Mountain-Mother in Crete, which has been abundantly established by the archæological discoveries of recent years. Most significant in this connexion is the inspection of a signet-ring found at Croesus, which represents the goddess seated on the back of a mountain and guarded on either side by a lion (see art. MOUNTAIN-MOTHER).

To disentangle the actual course of development from these interrelated facts is one of the most puzzling tasks within the sphere of Greek mythology. The leading consideration is that, though the name of Rhea was often associated with Cybele, the goddess (Lex. p. 186; Paus. xii. 18. 4), she was never so completely merged that the Rhea of the Greek theogonies did not remain distinct from the partner of Attis (Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie, p. 192). Some modern investigators hold the opinion that the fusion did not take place until the period subsequent to the Persian Wars (J. Beloch, Griech. Geschichte, Strassburg, 1890-1894, ii. 5g). Others, while maintaining that the cult of the Mother belonged to the oldest stratum of Greek religious thought, believe that her legend and ritual passed from Crete to the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, where she was completely assimilated to Cybele in the 7th cent. or earlier (Gruppe, p. 1596 f.). Beyond this lies the question whether the goddesses subsequently identified were in origin entirely distinct (Wilamowitz, in Hermes, xiv. 1878) 105 f.): Crete and Phrygia, and the Cretan Rhea both developed in their separate manifestations from an identical substratum of belief belonging to the pre-Hellenic and pre-Phrygian inhabitants of Crete and the Phrygians, and that the Cretan Mother of the Gods, whose relation to the Phrygian Mother is to be explained by the fact that she belonged to a period anterior to the separation of Greeks and Phrygians. It is argued, though the evidence of the cult of Rhea in antiquity, its existence as distinct from that of the Mother of the Gods is well attested in Arcadia (Paus. viii. xxxvi. 2), at Olympia (schol. Pind. OI. v. 10), and at Athens (Paus. i. xvi. 7). To this it has been replied (CGS ii. 298) that the double title justified the establishment of distinct sanctuaries, and that it was quite possible for Greek travelers who found in Crete the worship of a great maternal goddess of fertility, bearing the name of Rhea, to transfer her cult to the mainland, using sometimes her original name, and sometimes the title myrph Rhea, in reference to their own god Zeus, whom they affiliated to her. From this point of view it becomes significant that the cult of the Mother prevailed especially in districts which are known to have been affected by Cretan influence, and traces of such coincidence are the appearance of the Islean Dactyls at Olympia (Paus. v. vii. 6) and the legendary connexion of Athens with Crete. Moreover, the result of recent Cretan discoveries enables us to gauge better the extent of the influence which Cretan civilization must have exercised in prehistoric times. On the other hand, although Cybele did not appear in myth as the Mother of Gods, it is impossible to explain the worship of the great maternal goddess of fertility, bearing the name of Rhea, to the sacred stone of Cybele at Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 11): the noisy rites of the Cretan Curetes to those of the Phrygian Corybantes (Lucian, de Sult. 8); and the Islean Dactyls, the attendants of Rhea,
were located both in Phrygia and in Crete (Soph. frag. 337).

So far as it appears to be established that there was a primitive cult in Crete and Asia Minor, and to a lesser degree in Greece proper, devoted to the celebration of the Mother of the Gods, or Great Mother, but, on the other hand, the specifically Cybelean character of the cults, which were regarded as essentially foreign to Greek sentiment and were introduced to the mainland at a comparatively late period, it must be inferred that the character of the Orphic cults, which had been largely modified by the influence of our authorities (Clem. Alex. Protrept. i. ii. 13, p. 14 P.; schol. Plat. Gorg. 497 C), are undoubtedly derived from the Phrygian worship of the Great Mother: 'I have seen from the Thracian barbarians, when many have drunk from the cymbal, I have entered into the bridal chamber' (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903, p. 125). The last phrase relates to the mystical communion between the goddess and her lover, which was ritually enacted all over the East, whether in connexion with the names of Cybele and Attis, or of Aphrodite and Adonis, or of Isis and Osiris (GB ii. 159 ff.). It is common to both of these legends that the lover was put to death and afterwards restored to life, if not always in the same incarnation. The mythological material may have been in its origin a magical process intended to stimulate the reproductive forces of nature, while the subsequent death and resurrection of the priest-king, of which much has been written in the last two centuries, was the revival of vegetation. The self-mutilation of Attis, which, of course, the transference into myth of a primal custom of priestly emasculation, though at first sight not easy to reconcile with the other data, probably belonged to the same circle of ideas. Whether we should regard the act in its primary intention as the final obliteration of the body of which the votary seeks to assimilate himself to the priest-king,
the conception of the frenzied Galli who scourged themselves with whips (Plut. adv. Colot. 33, p. 1127 C), and lacerated their flesh with knives (Anth. Pal. vi. 94. 5), cannot be traced to an earlier source than the Alexandrian writers (Curt. op. cit., col. 675), and has become known to us chiefly through Latin literature (e.g., Sen. Agam. 728; Luct. ii. 614 ff.).

In the year 205 n. C. a Sibylline oracle was discovered by the Decennviri, directing them to, as a condition of success in the war, to introduce into Rome the parents of a certain slave and the sacred staffs of the same. (Livy, xxi. 10). Accordingly, the sacred stone, which was then in the custody of Attalus, king of Pergamus, having been removed by him from its original shrine at Pessinus (ib. in Pess. iii. 295 B), was brought to Italy in circumstances of great ceremony, and reached its destination in the year 204. Strange happenings marked its arrival. The ship conveying the sacred object grounded on a sandbank in the Tiber. Then Claudia Quinta, a noble matron whose freedom of speech had provoked censorious tongues to silence, prayed to the goddess that her character might be cleared by the ordeal, if she succeeded in drawing off the ship after strong arms had failed. The ship at once began to follow her direction, and Claudia's innocence was triumphantly proved. (Ov. Fast. iv. 263; Stat. Theb. ii. 249; Tac. Ann. iv. 64). On the 4th of April the goddess was received as a temporary guest, until a permanent home could be provided for her, in the Temple of Vesta. The arrangement was set apart for a festival to be known as the Megalesia, on which gifts were presented to the shrine, and a luctisternium and public games were held. (Livy, xlv. 14). Two years later scenic performances were for the first time exhibited at the Megalesia (ib. xxxiv. 54). Subsequently, thirteen years after the contract had been placed, a temple was erected on the Palatine, and an occupation was dedicated to the Magna Mater Ideia on the 10th of April 191, when the Ludi Megalesiani were included for the first time in the State calendar (ib. xxxvi. 90). Somewhat later, if not immediately, they were extended so as to occupy the entire interval between the 4th and 10th of April (CIL i. 314). On the first day of the festival the pretor urbanae made a solemn offering to the deity, and the games were held in the Circus. We know that four of the extant works of Terence were presented on this occasion. Races (circenses) were held on the last day (Marquardt, Rom. Staatsverwaltung, iii. 501), and in the age of Nero and Domitian these had become by far the most popular feature of the whole celebration (Juv. xi. 191). The recusance of the festival was marked by general merrymaking and licence; clubs were formed to promote social enjoyment (Cia. de Senect. 49); and so lavish was the expenditure of the upper classes on reciprocal hospitality that in 161 a sumptuary law was found necessary to restrain it (Aul. Gell. ii. 24).

In the last two centuries of the Republic the participation of the State in the cult was limited to the extent already described; but, dating from the time of Augustus, who restored the temple of the Magna Mater after it had been burned down in Augustus' time, there is evidence of a further ceremony of a primitive character which took place on the 27th of March. This was known as the taurobolium, when the symbolical stone and possibly also the blood of the taurobolium were conveyed, by the direction of the Quindecimviri, through the Porta Capena, and washed in the waters of the Almo, which debouches into the Tiber just outside the city (Ov. Fast. iv. 357; Luean, i. 599). In all other respects the administration of the cult was left in the hands of its foreign ministers, particularly the Galli with their Archigallus (CIL vi. 2183), and no Roman citizen was allowed to acquire any official status in relation to it. The Phrygian priests, however, were permitted on stated occasions to march in procession through the city in their sacerdotal dress, singing their wild songs to the accompaniment of flutes and tympany (Dion. Hal. loc. cit.), and collecting alms from the by-standers of PassiL Luean.

In the latter part of the 2nd cent. a complete re-organization of the cult seems to have taken place. Hereinafter, as the evidence of numerous inscriptions shows, Roman citizens were permitted to assume priestly offices subject to the approval of the Quindecimviri, but the privilege was exercised chiefly by the freedman class. To the ceremony of the taurobolium on March 27th there was now added a further festival of five days, the opening ceremony of which on March 15th was denoted Comus invat on the Calendar of Philochus (CIL ii. 264), while the remaining four days, the 22nd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of March, were designated respectively Arbor inavat, Bacchus, Hilaria, and Requieta. The ceremonial represented in detail the various incidents of the story of Attis with which we are already acquainted (Ov. Fast. ii. 223), and the procession of reed-bearers (Cannophori) which entered the city was intended to recall the fact that Attis as a child was exposed among the bulrushes of the Tiber (cf. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.). Similarly on March 22nd the Dendrophiroi carried to the temple on the Palatine a pine-tree, encred with fillets of wool and adorned with violets, as a representation of the tree under which Attis mutilated himself. The day of blood (24th) was given up to lamentation for the death of the god, and, whereas originally the act of self-mutilation was then performed by the priests and sacers, for it was sufficient for the Archigallus to make an incision in his arm and symbolically to sprinkle his blood (Tert. Apol. 25). The climax of the festival was reached in the rejoicings over the resurrection of the god which occupied the day of the Hilaria. It was recognized in antiquity that the renewal of the sun's power after the vernal equinox was hereby symbolised (Macrobr. Sat. i. 20. 10), and that the whole festival was a sort of panegyric (Dion. Hal. in Lit. 220 f.) on the decay and re-birth of vegetation (cf. Plut. de Is. et Osir. 69 [378 F]). Modern scholars have noticed the parallel presented by our Lenten and Easter services, which occupy a corresponding position in the calendar (CGS iii. 301).

It remains to mention the rite known as taurobolium, performed on 25th March, the existence of which is attested by a series of inscriptions extending from the 2nd to the end of the 4th century. Although during this period it was invariably linked to the service of the Great Mother, there is no doubt that it belonged originally to the cult of some other deity, and it has been conjectured that this was the Persian goddess Anahita, who had been identified with Ἀργεύς Ταυραβολον (F. Curt. rep. archzol. xii. [1888] 182 f.). There is also much obscurity in the details of the rite. In the earlier period the chief incident of the taurobolism and of the certainly similar erobolis was the sacrifice of a bull or a ram; but at a later date, according to both the inscriptions (CIL vii. 311) and the literary (Prudent. Peristeph. x. 1101 ff.) records, the recipient of the taurobolium stood in a cavity having a perforated roof through which the blood of the taurobolium was poured down that he might suffer a 're-birth.' The whole ceremony was under the control of the Quindecimviri.

In the Roman Imperial period the cult of the
Great Mother, by passing under State control, lost many of its original characteristics; but the power of the goddess passed to a male head, by the adoption of suitable accretions from outside, and by its association with the cults of Isis and Mithra, it exercised during the last days of paganism a wider and more potent influence than at any earlier time.


MOTHER-RIGHT.—I. Introduction.

Mother-right is a form of social organization in which the right of a person in relation to other members of his community and to the community as a whole are determined by relationship traced through the mother. In this condition the duties which a person owes to society, the privileges which he enjoys, and the restrictions to which he is subject, are determined, by the relations in which the person stands to his mother's relatives and his mother's social group.

Mother-right is a highly complex condition in which a large number of social processes are involved. The following are the chief elements that can be distinguished.

1. DESCENT.—This term should be limited to the process which regulates membership in the social group, such as clan, caste, family, etc. In mother-right descent is matrilineal; a person belongs to the social group of his mother. The use of the term is most appropriate when the community is divided into distinct social groups, and this distinctness is most pronounced in the clan-organization in which the practice of exogamy separates the social groups called clans from one another. The social organizations based on the family or kindred are made up of social groups less clearly distinguishable from one another, and, though we may speak of descent in the family whether in its narrow or extended sense, the term is here less appropriate.

2. KINSHIP.—In a community based purely on mother-right kinship would be traced solely through the mother and recognized only with the relatives of the father. Everywhere in the world, but especially among peoples who possess the clan-organization, kinship carries with it a large mass of social duties, privileges, and restrictions (E.R.E. vii. 705), and in a typical condition of mother-right these social functions would exist only in connexion with the mother's relatives. We have no evidence, however, of the existence of any society in which kinship is not recognized with the relatives of the father, although in many cases the functions are very restricted as compared with those of relationship traced through the mother. The case of a kinship was such that, by which marriage is allowed with any of the father's relatives, but is strictly forbidden with equally near relatives on the mother's side.

3. INHERITANCE.—In a condition of typical mother-right children would inherit nothing from the father; their rights to property would be determined solely by relationships through the mother. Where descent, instead of that right, in property should be vested either mainly or exclusively in women. On the contrary, in many cases in which children inherit nothing from the mother, women are debarred from holding property, though they form the channel by which it is transmitted from one member of the community to another. The usual rule of inheritance in mother-right is the property of a man passes to his brother or his sister's son. Often it passes from brother to brother, and, on the death of the last surviving brother, to a sister's son.

4. SUCCESSION.—This term is most conveniently used for the process whereby rank, office, or other special position is transmitted. In typical mother-right succession usually follows the same rules as inheritance, a chief, priest, or other holder of rank or office being succeeded either by his brother or by his sister's child.

5. AUTHORITY.—Mother-right has often been supposed to imply mother-rule, but in the great majority of the societies which furnish us with examples of mother-right authority is definitely vested in the male—in the father or oldest male as the head of the household, and in the chief as the head of the tribe or corresponding social group. In some societies, however, authority in the household is vested in the mother's brother, giving rise to a form of social organization which has been called the 'avunculacite,' and the authority of the mother's brother in one form or another is very commonly associated with a form of mother-right, but in societies in which descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal. Only very rarely is authority in the household vested in the mother or youngest female. The term 'matriarchate,' which is often used loosely as the equivalent of mother-right, should be limited in its scope to this condition of mother-rule. Many societies exist in which women are chiefs or monarchs, but, as a rule, this condition is not associated with mother-right. Among peoples over whom women rule the father is usually the head of the household.

6. MARRIAGE.—Mother-right in its typical form is associated with a mode of marriage, most suitably called 'matrilocal,' in which the husband lives with his wife's people. In its extreme form the husband may be only an occasional visitor to his wife's home, so that the children grow up with little or no social obligation towards their father, and live under the authority of the mother and the mother's brother.

In a state of typical mother-right a person would belong to his mother's social group. He would not recognize the existence of any kind of social duty except towards his mother's relatives, and would ignore the relatives of his father; property, rank, and office would pass solely through women. It is not a necessary feature of mother-right, however, that authority should be vested in the woman. It might be so vested, but, if the woman is not the ruler, it would be vested in her brother. In mother-right in its most typical form the father should have no authority in the household.

The condition thus described as typical mother-right occurs very rarely, being found most purely among such people as the Iroquois and Seri Indians of N. America and the Khasis of Assam. In many cases which have been regarded as examples of mother-right some of the social processes included under this head depend entirely on the mother, while others are determined by relationship traced through the father, producing social conditions of the most varied kinds. Thus, while descent is matrilineal, succession may be patrilineal. Kinship is everywhere, so far as we know, recognized through the father as well as through the mother, and authority in the household is often paternal. In many cases, however, both mother and father are matrilineal. Moreover, a mixture of social groupings may be present, one of which may be patrilineal while the other is matrilineal, this being
especially the case when local organizations accompany different forms of exogamous grouping.

In several cases matrilineal processes show themselves only in certain departments of social life. Thus, a people who possess patrilineal institutions in general may yet show the presence of matrilineal organization with slavery. The children of a free father and a slave mother may be slaves even if the father is of high rank, while the children of a free mother and a slave father may be free, and even noble, if the mother be of sufficiently high dignity. Another condition in accordance with mother-right is that in which marriage between half-brother and sister is allowed when they are the offspring of one father and of two different mothers, while it is forbidden when they are of the same mother by different fathers. The form of marriage which is forbidden would be impossible with mother-right, while that which is allowed would be natural, provided that the mothers belonged to different exogamous groups.

Another large group of matrilineal practices is characterized by the authority of the mother’s brother. Among a people who practice patrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession the mother’s brother has sometimes more authority than the father, and this authority may be accompanied by a more or less ceremonial function which shows that the tie with the mother’s brother is closer than with that with the father. Thus, mother’s brother and sister’s son may hold their property in common, or may take the leading part in such rites as circumcision and its variants, ear-boring, knocking out teeth, and other operations.

2. Distribution and varieties.—Owing to ignorance and prejudice, the exogamous only, and matrilocal, on the part of ethnographers, the available evidence often leaves us uncertain how far the social processes of a people correspond with those of mother-right.

(1) America.—Mother-right exists in America in an especially pure form. Not only are descent, inheritance, and succession purely matrilineal among many of its peoples, but the woman takes a position in life which would justify the use of the term ‘matrarchy.’ A striking example of this condition is found among the Iroquois and Hurons,2 where women are the heads of the households, elect the chiefs, and form the majority of the tribal council. Almost as striking an example occurs among the Pueblo Indians, where, with the exception of the Tewa,3 descent is matrilineal, the house is the property of the woman, marriage is matrilocal, and the children are regarded as belonging to the mother. Other purely or predominantly matrilineal stocks are the Caddoan (Pawnee, Arikara, the Mask hogan of the Creek, Choctaw, Seminole), the Yuchi, and the Timucuan.

In other cases matrilineal and patrilineal tribes are found among one stock. Thus, though the Siouan tribes are mainly patrilineal, the Siletz, Tolowa, Hidatsa, Oto, and Mandan are matrilineal; while among the Winnebago the sister’s son formerly succeeded, a woman could be chief, and the mother’s brother exercised much authority.4 Again, though the majority of Algonquians are patrilineal, the Mohegans are matrilineal, succession formerly passed to the sister’s son among the otjibwa (Ojiyot). There is evidence of matrilineal inheritance and of the authority of the mother’s brother among the Menomini.5 Another stock with both modes of descent is the Athapaskan. While the onlying Navaho and Apache in the south are matrilineal, the same body of the people in the north vary. The western tribes, such as the Loucheux, Takulli, Tahitan, and Knaikokotana, have matrilineal moieties or clans with inheritance and succession in the female line. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, are made up of bands within which social rights pass patrilineally.6 The tribes of California, broken up into a large number of linguistic stocks, are organized in villages. Marriage is often matrilocal, but inheritance and succession are patrilineal. A totemic clan-organization has been recorded among the Miwok, and the totemic organization of the Yokut is said to be associated with matrilineal descent.4 The Yuman stock practise patrilineal descent, but have also another form of social grouping which may stand in some relation to mother-right.5 The local form of organization seems to prevail in the Shoshonean stock, except among the Hopi, who are, however, Pueblo Indians in general culture though they speak a Shoshonean language. This mixture of organization extends as far as the Salish, beyond whom the Kwakiutl form an intermediate link with the matrilineal Haida, Tsimshian, and Tingit. The Tsimshian show traces of the same mixture with the Shoshonean, though a man belongs to his father’s clan, he takes the name of his father’s totemic crest as part of his personal name.6 This mixture is still more evident among the Kwakiutl, where a man belongs to his father’s clan, but takes the totemic crest of his wife’s father when he marries, and transmits it to his son, who bears it till his marriage, when, in his turn, he takes the crest of his father-in-law.7 It is very doubtful whether the Eskimos possess any form of clan-organization. The chief social unit seems to be the family, the social rights of which pass from a father to his children.

Southward of the United States, the Seri Indians possess mother-right in a most complete form.8 Women take the chief place in government, some times puritanically executing their functions themselves, while in other cases their brothers execute their wishes and are consulted by them in cases of difficulty. The husband only visits his wife and takes a very unimportant place in her household, though he may occupy a leading place in another household in his capacity of mother’s brother.

We have little knowledge of the social organization of the peoples of Central America, but the Aztecs appear to have been matrilineal, at any rate so far as succession was concerned, the ruler being followed by his brother or by his sister’s son.

Our knowledge of the social organization of S. America is more fragmentary than in any other part of the world, but there are definite records of the presence of mother-right in several regions and facts which suggest its presence elsewhere. One centre of the practice is the Santa Marta peninsula in Colombia,9 where the Guajiro are...

1 Morgan, Ancient Society, p. 105.
organized in totemic clans with matrilineal descent. Property passes to the sister's sons, and compensation for the wrong of injury is claimed by relatives on the mother's side. Among the Arnaes, who are said to have been the original inhabitants of the peninsula, we have no record of the nature of the social organization; but the people trace their descent to an ancestor and women take an important place in social life. Another centre of mother-right is in British Guiana, where the Arawks practise matrilineal descent and matrilocal marriage. The neighbourhood of these two examples of matrilocal transmission is in the determination that if a Makusi woman marries a man of another tribe, the children will belong to the Makusi; but, as it is said that these people may marry the daughter of the sister, it is improbable that they have a matrilineal clan-organization. Apparently this region is in an intermediate condition, and the presence of patrilineal succession among the Shus, a branch of the Arawaks, also points in this direction. The Arawaks who have wandered into Brazil are matrilineal, and there is another centre of mother-right in this country on the Kuiische branch of the Xingu River. The Bakairi of this region are matrilineal in that the children of the Bakairi woman who marries a man of another tribe belong to the Bakairi, and this is true of other tribes; but, as in British Guiana, we do not know whether they hold to their descent to an ancestor and women take an important place in social life.

(2) Oceania.—Since the great majority of Polynesians do not possess any form of clan-system, and we know little of their local organization, the nature of descent is doubtful; but where the clan-organization exists, as in Tikopia, it is definitely patrilineal. The communism of the people also makes the nature of inheritance doubtful, but there is certainly no evidence of any of the modes of transmission which accompany mother-right. Chiefs are usually succeeded by their children, and this mode of succession also holds of hereditary occupations. In Tonga, however, succession may pass to the son of the woman, and succession may be chief in several parts of Polynesia. As a rule, the father has authority in the household; in some islands, such as Tonga and Tikopia, the mother's brother has certain social functions, but not of a kind that shows any special exercise of authority. In New Zealand, and perhaps elsewhere, matrilineal marriage is frequent.

Micronesia, on the other hand, is the seat of definite mother-right. In the Marshall and Mortlock Islands and in the Carolines, with the exception of the island of Yap, the matrilineal mode of transmission is general. In Ponape there are

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1 W. Sievers, Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Leipzig, 1887, p. 91 f.
6 Borba (Barbo), Globus, l. (1886) 225; Ambroseit, ib. xxxiv. (1889) 245.

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organized in totemic clans with matrilineal descent, and property passes to the sister's sons. Only in Yap does the son follow his mother's clan. The children are said to be a stranger to his children. Marriage appears to be largely matrilocal. In the Marianne Islands all that we are told is that the woman commands absolutely by right. Among the Loyalty Islands there are exogamous totemic clans with matrilineal descent.

Melanesia has usually been regarded as one of the most definite examples of matrilineal descent; but, even where descent is matrilineal, its social organization departs so widely from the typical condition as to make it doubtful whether the term should properly be used. Descent is often matrilineal, but follows the father in New Caledonia, and in many islands of the New Hebrides as well as in one part of Santa Cruz. In other places, such as most parts of Fiji and one region of the Solomons, the absence of a clan-organization makes the nature of descent doubtful. Chiefship is always patrilineal where it is hereditary at all, and inheritance is in an intermediate condition. Property passes to the children in some places and to the sisters' children in others, where else different kinds of property follow different rules of inheritance. In Santo in the New Hebrides, people take the totem of the father as part of the personal name, but belong to the mother's clan, and in Vanuatu to Levu in Fiji, where there is matrilineal descent, a man pays special respect to the totem of his father, though he belongs to his mother's clan and inherits her sacred land. Matrilocal marriage is not frequent even where descent is matrilineal, and there are often definite social relations between a man and his mother's brother, though not always of a kind to show any special exercise of authority on the part of the uncle.

(3) Australia.—There are at least four forms of social grouping in this continent: the moiety, the matrimonial class, the local group, and the totemic group; since two or more of these may co-exist, there may be more than one rule of descent.

Wherever there is a simple dual organization, as among the Dieri and Ngarabiana (Uralumba) of Central Australia, descent is matrilineal so far as the moiety is concerned. The peculiarity of descent in the case of the matrimonial class is that it is neither patrilineal nor matrilineal, but that the child belongs to a class different from that of either father or mother. Where marriages follow the orthodox rule, it is not possible to tell definitely the nature either of descent of the class or of the moieties of which the classes may be regarded as subdivisions. Marriages do not always follow the ordinary rules, however, and A. R. Brown has used the exceptional marriages of certain eight-class tribes as the means of detecting the true nature of descent. By means of evidence provided by R. H. Mathews he shows that among the Arunta the children of the chief form of irregular marriage belong to the class to which they would have belonged if they had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent among this people is determined by the father. Among the Tjungu, on the other hand, the children of an irregular marriage belong to the group to which they would have belonged if they had been the offspring of the union of their mother with a husband married according to rule, showing that here descent is properly matrilineal so far as the class is concerned.

4 Rivers, ii. 90.
5 A. M. Hocart, Man, iv. (1914) 2.
6 Man, x. (1910) 55-57; (1912) 123.
The local group is probably always patrilineal, but this form of social grouping has been largely neglected by ethnographers, and we must await further information to show whether this mode of descent is universal.

The totemic grouping shows great variety of detail, sometimes the totemic group corresponds with the local group, and hence the totemic descent in certain cases is not necessarily patrilineal. In other cases, where the totemic groups form subdivisions of the matrilineal moiety, they are of equal numerical strength, and among the Dieri there are two forms of totemic organization: one kind of totem, called *pintara*, is transmitted from father to son together with special knowledge of legends, and the other, a mother kind of totem called *madu* (the *murru* of Howitt) from his mother. The intermediate condition of the people between matrilineal and patrilineal transmission of the totem is shown by the fact that the father often transmits his *madu* as well as his *pintara* to his son. Each man also obtains from his mother or her relatives special knowledge of legends, etc., relating to his maternal ancestors.

The communistic habits and the poor development of personal property in Australia make the subject of inheritance of little importance, but in so far as it exists it seems to follow the same line of descent as that of the brother of a totemic division among the Arunta, whose irregular marriages point to patrilineal descent, certain objects, and especially *churinga*, or ancestral bull-roarers, pass from mother to son if he has no brother, or to his brother and his brother's son. Among the Tjnggili and other tribes whose irregular marriages show them to have matrilineal descent, property passes into the possession of the mother's brother when he is one or the daughter's husbands, the inheritors being men of the moiety of the mother of the dead man. The latter mode of inheritance also occurs among some of the tribes of the western district.

Since the Australians have neither chiefs nor priests, the subject of succession is also quite unimportant. The special powers of a wizard or leech are acquired by special processes of initiation. Perhaps the topic which comes most definitely under this head is the knowledge of native legends and rites, the double character of which among the Dieri has already been considered. Elsewhere this character is more closely connected with totemism, and probably follows the laws of transmission of the totem.

(4) New Guinea.—The most definite example of mother-right in this region occurs among the Massim of the south-eastern islands. This people, who speak a Melanesian language, practise mother-right in a purer form than is found anywhere in Melanesia proper. Not only does a man belong to the totemic clan of his mother, but property passes to his sister's children in some localities, and everywhere a chief is succeeded by his brother or his sister's son. In parts of the Papan Gulf descent is probably matrilineal, but succession to the rank of chief is patrilineal. Another locality where mother-right apparently prevails is on the Manamberu River, in the Dutch portion of New Guinea, where a boy born to his mother's tribe, and wears its distinctive dress, even when he lives with his father's people.

Elsewhere in New Guinea patrilineal customs are found, though there is no indication of the indication of mother-right occurring. Thus in the Mekeo district, which has a form of the dual organization, descent sometimes passes in the female line, and among the neighbouring Pokao descent is sometimes matrilineal, and women are able to succeed to the property of their husbands and pass it on to their daughters.

In several parts of Sumatra mother-right is present in its most definite form. Among the Malays of Minangkabau, of Upper Padang, and certain other districts there are matrilineal clans and the extreme form of matrilineal marriage in which the husband continues to dwell in his mother's house and only visits his wife. The people live in long houses, which accommodate a family in the extended sense, consisting of persons descended from one woman, the head of the household being the son, or, if there is no son, to his brother and his brother's son. He takes the place of a father to his sister's children, who inherit his property after it has been enjoyed by his brothers and sisters. A form of organization similar to this condition of Minangkabau and father-right occurs in Tiga Loeng, where husband and wife live together, but the father has little power over his children. Authority being exercised by their mother's eldest brother. Property belonging to husband or wife at the time of marriage passes to their respective clans, but that acquired by them after marriage is divided between their children and their sisters' children.

(6) Asia.—There are no examples of mother-right in E. Asia, with the possible exception of the Ainu in the north and Cambodia in the south. Among the Ainu the relationship through the mother is said to be more important than that through the father, and the mother's brother is the most important member of the family group, but we have no definite statement concerning the condition of inheritance. The peoples of Siberia are usually organized in patrilineal clans, but matrilocal marriage is frequently present.

In India there are two centres of mother-right. One of these, represented by the Khasi and Synteng of Assam, affords a most definite example of the condition. Descent is matrilineal in the clan, which is traced back to an ancestress and embraces kindred groups consisting of the female descendants of a great-grandmother. The house and other property belong to the women, and the husband or father has no authority except in those cases in which, at some time after marriage, he removes his wife and children to another house. Property is inherited by daughters, the house and its contents going to the youngest daughter, and, in default of daughters, the inheritance passes to a daughter of a mother's sister. The *elcin*, or chief, is a man, except in Klyrir, but is succeeded by his brother or the son of his eldest sister. The neighbouring tribes have, in immediate

form in that both men and women inherit, but the youngest daughter obtains an additional share. The Gáros, who live to the west of the Khasis, and the Megans, or Lyngangs, who are a fusion of Khasi and Garo, practise a form of mother-right closely resembling that of the Khasis. Though a man cannot inherit property and can possess only that acquired by his own exertions, he nevertheless enjoys some control over the property of his wife, and can even appoint a member of his clan, usually his sister's son, to exercise this control in the event of his death.1 Among the Kochs of N. Bengal, and the Garos, marriage is matrilocal, and a man is said to obey his wife and her mother.2

The other Indian centre of mother-right is on the Malabar coast, where matrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession are practised by the Nayars, northern Tyrans, and other peoples, including even the Muhammadan Mappilas, or Moplahs, of N. Malabar. This system of law, known as marranakallilam, is closely connected with the so-called polyandry of this part of India. In the unions of Nayar women with Nambutiri (Nam-бури) men, which are habitual in this region, the father-in-law has no link with his children that he cannot touch them without pollution. Elsewhere in S. India where descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal, matrilineal marriage is only known as illatam. This custom is especially followed in families where there is no son, male heirs being obtained by the daughter staying at her own home after marriage. Matrilineal marriage also occurs in Ceylon.

Several peoples of the Caucasus show traces of mother-right. Thus, in marriages between slaves and free persons the child follows the station of the mother, and a woman may habitually go to her husband’s house for the birth of her children.3 The maternal uncle has much authority, and in Georgia the child takes the leading part in all that concerns her welfare.

The earliest record of mother-right comes from Lycia, where, according to Herodotus, the people took the mother’s name, and the status of children in marriage between free and slave was determined by the condition of the mother. Among the Arabs of Yemen succession passes to the sister’s son, and many records of the Semites of Arabia and Palestine have been regarded as evidence of the practice of mother-right.4 The marriage between half-brother and sister, of which the story of Abraham affords an example, accompanies mother-right elsewhere, and several passages in the OT, such as Gn 31:9 and Jg 8:16, suggest this form of social organization.

At the present time the mother’s brother has some degree of authority in Palestine, and a formula used in the Bedoin (Redaw) marriage ceremony shows that great importance is attached to motherhood.5

(7) Africa. The Semites of N. Africa are definitely patrilineal, but in some Arab tribes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the wife returns to her own home for the birth of every child—a custom probably connected with matrilineal marriage. Though the Hamitic Beja are now patrilineal, there are records which show that five centuries ago they counted genealogies in the female line and practised succession to the sons of sister and daughter.1 Among the Bogo, Bara, and other allied Hamitic or partially Hamitic peoples the mother’s brother takes an important place in social life, though the patrilineal character of their institutions is otherwise very definite.2

The Nubians of S. Kordofan form a striking exception to the matrilineal institutions of most of the mixed Hamitic and Negro Nilotic peoples, such as the Shilluks and Dinkas; as boys grow up, they spend more and more time with their mothers’ brothers, who are held to be more closely related to them than their fathers. Property is transmitted to the sister’s sons, and a man lives for some time with his wife’s people.3 The Masai, Nandi, Suk, and other partially Hamitic peoples of the northern part of tropical S. Africa are purely patrilineal.

The Bantu peoples show much variety in the mode of transmission of social rights. About Lake Nyasa and the Rovuma River there are a number of definitely matrilineal tribes, such as the Wa-Yao, Achewa, Wa-Makonde, and Wamakna. The children take the totem of the mother, a child is regarded by his sister’s son, and the mother’s brother is regarded as the nearest relative and the natural guardian of his sister’s children. The Anyanja practise both modes of descent, but the two portions are said to have derived this form of transmission from the Angoni, a branch of the Ama-Zulu. This people, together with the Ama-Xosa,4 Ba-Suto,5 Ba-Tsonga, and other Bantu peoples of S. E. Africa, are definitely patrilineal, though the mother’s brother exercises much authority.

Passing northwards from Lake Nyassa, we find a more or less gradual change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. The Wa-Sagana and Wa-Digo are definitely matrilineal, while among the tribes about Lindi inheritance and succession pass to the sister’s children. In other tribes, such as the W. Namwesi and Wa-Jagga, the mode of descent varies according as the bride-price has or has not been paid, the children belonging to the mother’s people in the latter case and to that of the father in the former. In general in this region the social institutions tend to become purely patrilineal on passing from the coast to the interior.

The Ba-Guma, Ba-Hima, Ba-Ngongo, and other Bantu peoples of Uganda definitely follow the latter.6 The only exceptional feature is that, while the mode of succession is purely patrilineal, the king of Uganda belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, though he also takes certain other totems connected with royalty.

The Bantu of the northern part of the Belgian Congo are patrilineal.7 Among the Ba-Ngala children inherit, but the mode of descent is determined by a family council, which usually ordains that a child shall take the totem of its

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1 See Seligmman, JRAS 5th s. 649.
2 W. Munkinger, Ost-afrlänische Studien, Schaffhausen, 1894, pp. 307, 177 E. 177, Eiser die Situation und das Recht der Bogas, Winterthur, 1899, p. 75.
3 The writer is indebted to Professor and Mrs. Seligmman for this information.
5 G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas, Breslau, 1873, P. 117.
7 H. A. Judd, Life of a South African Tribe, Newchapel, 1912, S. 221.
father. Here the same rule holds as in E. Africa; social institutions become more matrilineal on passing from the inferior towards the coast. Mother-right also occurs in Loango and Angola.

Among a group of Bantu peoples in the S.W. Free Congo, property and rank are transmitted to the brother or the sister’s son, and among one of these peoples, the Ba-Mula, kinship is said to be transmitted in this form. In the traditional line, not only is succession matrilineal, but the mother of the chief enjoys great esteem, if not authority. We are not told of any definite social groups with either line of descent, but respect is shown to animals by not eating their flesh, and this ikina bari is transmitted from father to son. This institution is almost certainly a kind of totemic grouping, so that these people show a condition almost exactly the reverse of that found in Melanesia, descent being matrilineal, while inheritance and succession are mainly matrilineal. If, as seems almost certain, the ikina bari is a form of totem, we have here an example of the connexion of totemism with patrilineal descent, and this association comes out still more strongly among the Ova-Herero of S.W. Africa. This people classifies socially groups as one matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and the most recent and trustworthy account shows that, while there is no definite association of animals with the women’s or the men’s clan, eanda, the patrilineal oruza is definitely totemic.

In Nigeria and the countries west of it, we find an interesting series of transitions between mother- and father-right. The westernmost people of whom we have knowledge are the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast. They have totemic groups with matrilineal descent, property passes to the eldest brother born of the same mother, and, in default of brothers, to the eldest sister’s son. Only if there are no nephews does the son inherit; and, if there is no son, the chief slave inherits. Succession passes to the brother and the sister’s son. In addition to the totemic clans, called aburua, there are also groups, called ntoro, which appear to have a totemic character. In these groups descent is in the male line, or, as the people themselves put it, ‘a person takes the father of his father and the family of his mother,’ the condition thus having a remarkable resemblance to the two totemic groupings of the Dieri of Australia. Among the neighbouring Fanti-speaking peoples the son inherits as the only property of the mother, a slave inheriting the property of a man if he has no sister’s son. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of Dahomey kinship is counted through females in the lower, and through males in the upper, classes. Among the former property passes to the brother and to the sister’s son, while a chief is succeeded by his son. The Ewe of Togoland are said to count relationship through the father rather than through the mother, but the mother’s brother is the proper heir. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of the art of circumcision is transmitted from father to son. Among the Yoruba, who, unlike the Dahomeys, are much more to the eastwards, and the Edo, the Yoruba, we do not know of any definite rule of descent, but the people are said to trace kinship in both lines, and a chief is succeeded by his son.

That kinship through the mother is regarded as of great importance is shown by the fact that children of one father by different mothers are scarcely considered as blood-relatives. The property of a man passes to his sons, and that of a woman to her daughters. Next to the Yoruba come the Edo, who practise two forms of marriage. In one, the amboga marriage, apparently the more recent, the eldest son of the father, while in the other, called izomi, they belong to the mother’s clan, unless they are bought by the father, or unless in later life they elect to stay in their father’s country. In the Solo country, whence the Edo are said to have come, there is matrilocally marriage. The Ibo, further eastward, practise male descent, and property passes to the sons, except in the ukwu form of marriage, corresponding with the izomi marriage of the Edo, in which the children belong to their mother’s clan and are the heirs of their mother’s father. As a rule, a man allows his daughter to contract this form of marriage only when he has no son, the custom thus resembling the itilattam of S. India.

(5) Europe.—There is hardly a European people of antiquity to whom some form of mother-right has not been ascribed. Perhaps the clearest evidence comes from the Basques, among many of whom the father has little authority, whereas the women hold the title of property, and sons, that of their children, even when they cannot exercise them themselves. According to Strabo, women were the heads of families in Spain, and the Picts are said to have been matrilineal, the chief line of evidence being that where the fathers of kings are mentioned they are neither kings nor Picts, but belong to neighbouring tribes. Among the Celts the king and magician are said to have been succeeded by the sister’s son. In Ireland the sister’s son was important, and the frequent mention of this relative in English ballads has led F. B. Gummere to infer the close relation between a man and his mother’s brother which is one of the features of mother-right. The account by Tacitus of the authority of the mother’s brother affords the chief evidence in favour of mother-right among the Teutons, but the position of a woman at the head of the genealogical tree of the Lombards and passages in the Nibelungenlied and Edda point in the same direction. The inscriptions of the Etruscans and other facts point to the prevalence of some form of mother-right among the Etruscans, and this form of organization has also been claimed for the early inhabitants of Lattum. The evidence for matrilineal institutions among different elements of the people of Greece has also been much discussed. Perhaps the

1 Offner Grandpré, L’Odyssée à la côte occidentale d’Afrique, Paris, 1851, i. 109.
11 An English translation presented to Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901, p. 133.
14 An English translation presented to Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901, p. 133.
15 Girard, Ann, xii. 22.
19 See, among many other works, McLennan, Studies in Ancient History, p. 268; H. J. Rose, F.L. Llull (1911) 177 ff.
strongest evidence is that in Athens half-brother and sister were allowed to marry when by the same father. Lastly, though, rather than of, Europe, may be mentioned the Gypsies of Transylvania,1 another example of a father's children, who remain with their mother's people if their mother dies and their father, as usual, marries a woman of another 'clan.'

3. Mixture-forms.—The following survey has shown not only that descent may follow one mode of transmission, while other social processes, such as inheritance and succession, may follow another, but that there may also be two kinds of descent. This is especially frequent where a local grouping is combined with exogamous clans or moieties, the usual rule being that the local grouping is patrilineal, while the grouping in clan or moiety is matrilineal. Another kind of mixture is that found among the Dieri of Australia and the Tshi of W. Africa, in which there are two forms of totemism with different modes of descent. The condition of the Ova-Herero of S. Africa, where a patrilineal totemic grouping is combined with matrilineal clans which are probably non-totemic, affords another example of the combination of two modes of descent. The reason is that in which combined with one or other definite mode of descent, there are customs which bring a person into definite social relations with relatives on the side from which descent is not counted. An interesting example is among the widely separated Tsimshian of N. America and the people of Santo in the New Hebrides. In both of these localities a person belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, but takes the totem of his father as part of his personal name. Another form of totemism which shows mixture of the two modes of transmission is found among the Massin of New Guinea, in Fiji, where persons belonging to the social group of the mother pay special respect to the totem of the father. A still more eccentric example is that of the Kwakintl of the N. W. Pacific coast, who belong to the clan of the father, but are indirectly brought into relation with the clan of the mother by receiving from the father the totemic crest which he had adopted from the father of his wife when he married.

4. Associated conditions.—It is not at present possible to connect mother-right with race. It occurs side by side with father-right and with interdeterminate survivals including the Australian, Melanesian, Indonesian, Bantu, W. African Negro, and N. American Indian. At the present time it is absent among Caucasian and Mongolian peoples, but it is doubtful if this has always been so. There is more reason to connect mother-right with scale of culture. Most of the peoples who practise it rank low in the scale, but there are definite exceptions to this generalization in the Khasis of Assam, the people of the west coast of India, the Minangkalan Malays of Sumatra, and many tribes of N. America.

As already pointed out, mother-right in its purest form can occur only in conjunction with the clan-organization, but it is not connected with any special form of this organization. The dual system, in which the whole community forms two exogamous groups, is more or less matrilineal in Melanesia and, where not complicated with a class-system, in Australia, but the dual systems of N. America are sometimes patrilineal.

Totemism is still less habitually associated with either form of descent. As was said above, one person may even possess two forms of totemism, one associated with matrilineal and the other with patrilineal descent. The special regard for the father's totem which accompanies some cases of matrilineal transmission suggests a peculiar connexion of totemism with father-right, and other considerations also imply that the transmission tends to be patrilineal.1 Social organization founded on a local basis, especially those with local exogamy, are usually patrilineal, and in the case of the clan-organization, in which kinship is equally important as on the side of the mother, it is exceptional for inheritance and succession to be matrilineal.

If mother-right is especially connected with the clan-organization, we should expect to find it associated with the classificatory, or 'clan,' system of relationship, and so it is. We do not know of any people with definite mother-right who do not use the classificatory system. The correlation is especially striking in Africa, in more than one part of which classificatory and kindred systems exist side by side. Thus, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the only people who use the classificatory system are the Nubas, and they are also the only people to practice mother-right. Again, in the series of peoples of W. Africa who show so definite a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions (see above, p. 505) it is the Tshi, with their classificatory system, whose social institutions are most clearly matrilineal.

There is some reason to suppose that mother-right is interestingly associated with agriculture. In N. America typical clan-systems are found especially in the maize country;1 and in Africa mother-right seems to be present especially among peoples who live chiefly by agriculture, while father-right is associated with pastoral life. The association is, however, by no means universal.

5. Survivals of mother-right.—By this expression is meant social customs found in societies organized on a patrilineal basis which are the natural concomitants of mother-right and are, therefore, assumed to be vestiges of the earlier presence of this form of society. The most prominent of the customs which have been so regarded is the relation between a man and his mother's brother. Many peoples among whom descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal show the existence of just such relations between a man and his sister's child as are prominent among the social practices of mother-right. That they are such survivals is especially probable when they show the authority of the mother's brother, while the power of the nephew to take any of the property of his uncle is also a natural survival of a social condition in which the sister's son is heir to his uncle's goods. Advocates of the view that these relations between a man and his mother's brother are survivals of mother-right regard it as psychologically natural that such rights to authority or property would not easily be relinquished, but would persist in one form or another long after the formal laws of the community had ordained a different disposition of authority or property.

The marriage of half-brother and sister when of the same father but different mothers has also been regarded as a survival of mother-right. In a society which attached any great importance to kinship through the father such a marriage would be impossible, while it is natural among people who pay special regard to kinship through the mother. When, therefore, this form of marriage is found among a patrilineal people, it has been held to point to an antecedent condition of mother-right.

Other survivals of mother-right have been seen

2. For Melanesia see Rivers, II. 327.
in tradition and myth. It is frequently the case among matrilineal peoples that the descent of the clan-trait is ascribed to a female ancestor, and the belief in a female ancestor among patrilineal peoples has been regarded as a survival of mother-right. A similar supposed survival is the widespread belief among many peoples that the female is the controlling force in the family, and that girls are taught the arts of life. This absence of knowledge of the father would be natural in the more pronounced forms of matrilineal marriage, and, in consequence, the occurrence of the myth that the people has been regarded as evidence that the people were once in a stage of mother-right. Amazon-legends have also been interpreted as relics of mother-right.

Less direct is the relation of certain social customs, such as the cowrie and the cross-cousin marriage. According to one theory, the cowrie is associated with the desire on the part of the father to assert rights over his child, and those who adopt this explanation of the custom will regard it as a survival of mother-right when it is found in a patrilineal society. Again, there is reason to believe that in some parts of the world the cross-cousin marriage (see above, p. 229) has come into existence through the desire of a father that his son shall acquire his property by marrying a woman who would be one of his heirs under a condition of mother-right. Another custom which may be a survival of mother-right is the rule found in several parts of Africa that the daughter or sister of a king shall not bear children. Such a prohibition would put an end to succession by the sister's son.

Etymology has also been called upon for evidence of former mother-right. Thus, the fact that the Chinese word for clan-name means 'born of a woman' has been held to point to matrilineal descent in China, and the derivation of the Arabic word for 'clan' has been adduced to support a similar conclusion in the case of early Semitic society.

6. History.—In several parts of the world we have definite evidence that a condition of mother-right has changed either into one of father-right or into a form of social organization in which social rights are recognized with the relatives of both father and mother. Thus there is evidence that some form of mother-right once existed in Europe, while in the Sudán there is historical proof that a thousand years ago the Beja, who are now definitely patrilineal, kept their genealogies in the female line and transmitted property to the sons of sister or daughter. In Melanesia, again, and in some parts of America, there is positive evidence of a change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions, the transition being still in progress in some parts of Melanesia. On the other hand, there is no unequivocal evidence from any part of the world of a change having taken place in the opposite direction. Consequently, it has been held by many students that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions has been a universal feature of the history of human society, and this proposition has become a dogma among many anthropologists.

This dogma has recently been attacked from two sides. The first is the theory of mother-right is supported in many parts of the world by the low state of culture of the peoples who possess this form of social organization, and, as already pointed out, it is not universally true, and students of the ethnology of N. America have been led to question the dogma, largely because the matrilineal Iroquois and Pueblo Indians are among the most advanced peoples of the continent. The second is the frequent change of one mode of descent into another. Personal names are often definitely connected with a moiety or clan, each social group having names especially recognized by the matrilineal. Among some matrilineal people of N. America, such as the Shawnees, a father gives his own clan-name to his child, thus taking a definite step towards the transference of the child to his own social group. This or some similar mechanism might come into play to assist a change in the opposite direction.

One of the cases most often put forward by the evidence of former mother-right, that is, matrilineal organization, has been the fact that in many parts of the world the right of inheritance has passed from mother to daughter.
American ethnologists as an example of change from father- to mother-right is that of the Kwa-
kus. 

The Athapascan tribe bordering on the Chilkat are a large body of people which has been ascribed to the influence of those matrilineal neighbours, the Tsimshian. Other ethnologists are the Athapascan tribe bordering on the Tingit, who are said to have adopted the matrilineal dual organization of the people, and the Babine band of the Tahltan, another Athapascan tribe who are said to have had their matrilineal four-clan system from the Taschishan.

In other parts of the world there is definite evidence that the change has been from the matrilineal to the patrilineal mode. There is a large body of evidence pointing to the change having been in this direction in Melanesia 2 but even here it is possible that certain conditions, such as the highly developed mother-right of the Massim of New Guinea, may have been assisted by some later matrilineal influence. In Africa, again, there is much reason to believe that the change has been in the same direction. The transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions which occurs among the peoples of W. Africa from the Tshi to the Ibo points to the gradual infiltration of immigrants coming from the north-east, who became the chiefs of those among whom they settled. While introducing their patrilineal institutions completely in the east, they did not succeed in altering descent among the general body of the people as they proceeded westwards.

The transition from matrilineal to patrilineal and from the Bantu and the association of patrilineal transmission with high development of culture among such people as the Ba-Ganda and Amazulu would seem to be the result of the settlement of many patrilineal pastoral people among a matrilineal population who, till then, had thriven upon agriculture.

7. Origin.—Until we know the history of this form of social organization, it is hardly profitable to discuss its origin at length, but some of the leading views which have been put forward may be mentioned.

In the first place, mother-right has been widely held to be the natural consequence of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage. The less important is fatherhood in a society, the more will that society be driven to base its social rights upon the mother. Another view is that matrilineal descent is a secondary consequence of matrilineal marriage. Where a husband merely visits his wife and is only an outsider in her household, descent and other social processes must be expected to rest on the relation between mother and child. A third view regards mother-right as a social state which has resulted from the dominance of woman, and especially from her importance in agriculture. As already seen, there is reason to connect mother-right with a high development of the art of agriculture, especially in N. America, and it is noteworthy that it is in this continent that we have our clearest evidence of the dominance of the woman.


MOTIVE. I. Different senses.—The term 'motive' is used in philosophy and psychology in four different senses.

(1) In the first and most general sense it means any force, of an internal or mental character, which impels to action or prevents the performance of action, be the force conscious or unconscious, and the action voluntary or non-voluntary. Thus Bentham defines motive as 'anything that can contribute to give birth to, or to prevent, any kind of action' (Principles of Morals and Legislation, p. 46). In this sense motive includes what Reid calls mechanical principles of action, such as instinct and habit, and also what Bentham calls 'speculative' motives, which influence acts that rest purely in the understanding.

(2) In a second sense 'motive' is taken with a more restricted signification, as limited to some end which we present to ourselves and of which we are conscious. Bentham has this meaning in view when he defines motive as 'anything which, by influencing the will of a sensitive being, is supposed to call into action as a means to an end for him to act, or voluntarily to forbear to act, upon any occasion'. Such motives are termed by Bentham 'practical', and are, he holds, ultimately reducible to pleasure and pain, and whether it be the expectation of the pain or the reward that accompanies that expectation that is the motive he leaves undetermined (p. 47, note). This contains the germ of an important distinction. In motives in this sense we may distinguish two things: a subjective and affective element, sometimes called affect, a spring of action, Trieblefeld; and an objective, presentational, or intellectual element to which this subjective element is reducible to pleasure or pain, or includes more, and in what relation it stands to the objective, intellectual element and to the expressive factor in mind, are among the most difficult questions in the psychology of the feelings. Here it is taken as standing in relation to certain volitions as a spring of action (see Morell, Outlines of Mental Philosophy, pt. vii. chs. i and ii; Baldwin, Handbook of Psychology, ii, 312-316, 321 f., 354; Stott, Manual of Psycholoty, bk. i. ch. i.; Mellone and Drummond, Elements of Psychology, Edinburgh and London, 1907, ch. iv.). Cf. Bentham's figurative and unfigurative motives (infra).

(3) A third sense of the word 'motive' occurs in the writings of Green and his followers. According to the teaching of Green, something more is required to constitute a motive than the conscious presentation of an end. In the analysis of one of Green's followers, the voluntary satisfaction of a want involves five things:

(1) The want. (2) The feeling of the want. (3) An idea of the object by which the want can be satisfied. (4) An idea of the satisfaction actually taking place, the work of the imagination. (5) The presentation of this satisfaction as, under the circumstances, the greatest good. The self-identifying itself with the attainment of the object; finding in the realization of the idea, not the satisfaction of a want merely, but the satisfaction of self (D'Arcy, Short Studies of Ethics, p. 83). It is only to this stage (5) that Green and D'Arcy apply the term 'motive'. Hence the doctrines that a conflict of motives is impossible and a stronger motive an absurdity (Green, Pragymenon to Ethics, bk. ii. ch. 1).

(4) A fourth sense of the word 'motive' belongs to Kant. Kant reserves the term Beugungszuruf for the objective ground of the volition, which he opposes to the subjective ground of the motive or spring of the action (Trieblefeld). The objective ground of the self-determination of the will is the end which is assigned by reason alone, and is free from all
mixture of passion and sensuous affection (Werke, ed. Rosenkranz and Schubert, viii. 55; Abbott, Kant's Theory of Ethics, London, 1906, p. 45). Such objective motives are not necessarily accompanied with all rational beings, and are to be distinguished from subjective ends, to which we are impelled by natural disposition. Unlike all inclination and fear, respect or reverence for the moral law is an effect, not of cause (Kant, Werke, viii. 21, note). Regarded as a spring, this feeling acts negatively only.

In these four senses of the word 'motive' we see a difference among the motives of things which gives satisfaction; finally ending in Kant in the conception of motive as an object which is free from, and even opposed to, all subjective ground of desire. Green's view, though later in point of time, seems not so developed as that of Kant, since in Green the object is still made to be a motive by relation to a want or internal principle of desire, though such want or desire is again conceived as dependent on the object with which the self identifies itself. Kant's distinction of motive and spring and relegation of these terms to different classes of action get rid of the wavering between contrary causes of points of view implicit in Green's doctrine.

Whether we shall give to the term 'motive' the extensive signification contained under (1) may appear a mere question of the use of language; but in practice both important issues lie concealed beneath the purely verbal discussion. This extensive use of the word early aroused dissent. Reid in 1798, criticizing Crombie's 'Essay on Philosophical Necessity,' said:

'1 understood a motive, when applied to a human being, to be that for the sake of which he acts, and, therefore, that what he never was conscious of, can no more be a motive to determine his will, than it can be an argument to convince his judgment.'

Now, I learn that any circumstance arising from habit, or some mechanical instinctive cause, may be a motive, though it never entered into the thought of the agent.

From this reinforcement of motives, of which we are unconscious, every volition may be supplied with a motive, and even a predominant one, 'when it is wanted' (Reid, Works, ed. Hamilton, p. 87).

Reid then acutely remarks that 'this addition to his [Crombie's] defensive force takes just as much from his freedom of action as it gains for the necessary action of motives known or felt. In other words, necessitation by efficient is fatal to necessitation by final causes. At this stage the distinction seems to turn upon the presence or absence of consciousness. But, even if we regard consciousness as the condition of the existence of motive in sense (2), this does not prevent the motivation or impulsing force being essentially mechanical as when non-voluntary in sense (1). Green's doctrine tries to evade this by assigning to self-consciousness the power of determining the predominance of the motive which actually does succeed, while still admitting that the end to which we thus determine ourselves is assigned by the pathological or affective element. Kant, on the other hand, assigns to reason a power of determining action to an end, which is quite independent of, and even opposed to, the pathological feeling.

'Motive' in this sense has passed over entirely from the meaning of an impelling force to that of an object determined and desired by reason.

These distinctions are closely bound up with the inquiry regarding the freedom of the will. If our will is possessed of an original power by which it determines the objects of which it is the subject, we must distinguish between the causal action of motives must be distinct from mechanical impulsion; they may induce, or incline, but do not determine, according to inevitable law. If, on the other hand, our will has no such power, what we call inducing and inclining cannot merely the subjective side of the collision of predestined forces, of which we are the theatre or rather the play itself. If this be the case, the appearance of a causation, which may yield to considerations of motive an effect, not of cause, must be an illusion. The illusion demands explanation.

This Münsterberg undertook to furnish in his Willenshandlung (1879). In Man's Place in the Animal Kingdom (1879) Pringle-Pattison gives an acute analysis of Münsterberg's views. According to Münsterberg, the will is only a complex of sensations. Our activity, whether the inner activity of attention or the outer activity of muscular contraction, appears to be free, just because the result of the activity is already present in idea, and is, in all cases, accompanied by the sensations flowing from previous motor involvements. The feeling of innervation itself is 'just the memory-idea of the movement, anticipating the movement itself.' In the Grundzüge der Psychologie (1890) Münsterberg's position is modified by a Eicheng Point of view. The 'action theory of mind' here put forward makes the consciousness of sensation dependent on motor discharge. It, therefore, precludes any theory of action other than that of mechanical necessity. Nor is this conclusion altered by the theory of taking an attitude (Stellungnahme) towards the world, which Münsterberg puts forward. Such activity as lying outside consciousness could not even give rise to such an attitude.

It was maintained by Hartley (Observations on Man, London, 1810, p. 322) that 'to prove that a man has free will in the sense opposite to mechanism, he ought to feel that he can do different things while the motives remain precisely the same,' and that 'the internal feelings are entirely against free will where the motives are of a sufficient magnitude to be evident,' while he appears to a power of resisting motives. Such a power, on Hartley's view, can come only from some other and stronger motive; that is, there is no intrinsic power of resisting motives.

An intrinsic power of strengthening indefinitely certain desires, which then become motives (in Green's sense), seems the essence of the third theory of motives. There is an illusion at the core of determinism about this. The motives are to be determined by motives. That desire only which is successful. There is no conflict of motives, nor any strongest motive. But then the strongest desire is made to be the strongest, i.e. to be a motive by the action of the eternal consciousness which is perpetually reproducing itself in us, and which helps to constitute, in cognition and action, all the objects of knowing and will. Is now this action of the eternal consciousness something from all eternity, unalterably the same? The result is practically identical with Hartley's—the only freedom is in it is that the ego, since it determines the motive, is consequently, in being determined by the motive, determined by itself. This is only Spinozistic necessity. But, if the action of the eternal ego on the finite ego is not so predetermined, is something which, at the moment of decision, may fall out differently on different occasions, notwithstanding identity of desire and circumstamces, then such action is not different from free will in the ordinary sense and implies an surplus of undetermined or self-determined free activity of the ego, as in the Kautian doctrine.

Green's theory of motives must be carefully distinguished from the epistemological or empirical in which he utters himself and to which he says (Proleg. to Ethics, p. 93)
an appetite or want 'only becomes a motive, so far as upon the want there is the presentation of the want by a self-conscious subject to himself and with it the idea of a self-satisfaction to be attained in the filling of the want.' Stout, too, says (Manual of Psychology, p. 707): 'There are no more impulses than are before consciousness as reasons why I should act in this or that way. They are not independent forces fighting out a battle amongst themselves, while the ego remains a more spectator. On the contrary, the motives are motives only as far as they arise from the peculiar nature of the perception of the self as a determining factor. From this it follows that the recognized reasons for a decision can never constitute the real cause of decision. Behind them there always lies the self as a whole, and what this involves can never be completely analyzed or stated in the form of definite reasons or special motives.

The great verbal similarity of this to what Green says is evident. But to Green the self-conscious subject, through determination by which a want becomes a motive, is 'a principle of other than natural origin,' is, in fact, an entity of a sort. To Stout the self as a whole, even if what it involves can never be completely analyzed or stated, is not an entitative principle eternal or otherwise, but rather, the 'thought of the self.' In deliberation, he says, 'the concept of the Self as a whole will not directly tend to reinforce or suppress a desire' (p. 707).

A certain line of action being suggested as possible, I contemplate myself as I shall be if I put it in execution, so as to make up my actual life-history, and on the other hand I contemplate myself as I shall be if I leave it undone. I follow out this representation of a hypothetical Self in more or less detailed fashion, and the product of such analysis which is called Voluntary Decision emerges' (ib. p. 709).

This theory, that motives arise and are considered by reference to the conception of self, whether it be in Green's metaphorical or in Stout's psychological form, as a general theory of motives, seems not to be true. That very many motives are determined by conscious relating of the desires to this or that self, is not necessarily or universally. The higher moral ends are disinterested. The disinterested character of aesthetic emotion has been emphasized by Burke and Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer, Molinos, Fichte, and Madame Guyon have maintained, the possibility of a disinterested love of God. It must, therefore, be admitted that, while the analysis of the term 'motive' given under (2) and (3) is in many cases a correct and complete analysis, there is in other cases only the stipulation of tendencies towards the end by some subjective affective element, the self-conscious satisfaction of this impulse need form no part of the objective end in view nor even of the subjective impelling force.

It is when we come to the fourth sense of the term 'motive'—the strict sense given to it by Kant—that we find the most striking detachment of the term from all association with the subjective self. It may still bear relation to something universal, common to the individual selves, but the ends are then ends in which the individual self loses its individuality. They are objective. This is the essential difference between the senses of which Kant speaks from the ethics of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was compelled to characterize the good as the 'perfection of human character' or 'self-devotion to the perfecting of man.' D'Arcy (Short Study of Ethics, p. 277) has seen this defect in the ethics of Green. 'It is, however, a necessary outcome of Green's initial position. To Kant, on the other hand, reason, not the mere self, is able to give itself an end, which, though realized in the matter of desire, is independent of the relation of that matter to the particular self. Kant is often cited for the choice he made of the imperative set up ends, detached from all the material of desire and inclination, as if purely formal ends existed by themselves. It is the impenetrability of particular desires and inclinations by the categorical law of duty that gives to the individual the absolute value expressed in that form of the categorical imperative which is expressed: 'so treat humanity whether in thine own person or that of another always as an end and never as a means.'

We have, therefore, in our highest ends, moral, aesthetic, and religious, the singular paradox that in them is an element, which comes into existence only through particular feelings and inclinations, becomes, as regards its essential character, independent of these and a motive of selfless and disinterested action.

In the above discussion we have considered the several distinct senses in which the term 'motive' may be used. There are, however, some analogies connected with its use which, while not really adding to the multiplicity of senses, might nevertheless appear to do so. Bentham says: 'Owing to the poverty and unsettled state of language, the word motive is employed indiscriminately two hundred or more times of in all, but which, for the better understanding of the subject, it is necessary should be distinguished. In one sense it is employed to denote any of those really existing incidences from whence the act in question is supposed to take its rise. The sense it bears on the other hand may be styled its literal or figurative sense. On other occasions it is employed to denote certain fictitious origins, a passion, an interest, an inclination, or an ideal being, which upon the happening of any such incident is considered as operating upon the mind, and prompting it to take that course, towards which it is impelled by the influence of such incident. Motives of this class are Avarice, Idolatry, Benevolence, and爱美 may be styled the figurative sense of the term motive' (p. 461).

The real incidents—motives in the figurative sense—are:

1. The internal perception of any individual lot of pleasure or pain, the expectation of which is looked upon as calculated to determine you to act such or such a manner; 2. any external event, the happening whereof is regarded as having a tendency to bring about the perception of such pleasure or such pain.' Each of these is further distinguished according as it is in prospect or in case, meaning by the former the possible object which is looked forward to as the consequence of his action (or inaction), by the latter, the present existing object or event which takes place upon a man's looking forward to the other.

These distinctions partly depend on Bentham's doctrine that the only motives are pleasure and pain, which have been adapted to the internal objects, the interests in the objects, the state of mind resulting from one being addressed to the other. The internal perception principle may be dismissed as, at any rate for the purposes of this article, a fictitious entity. The distinction, however, between the external object and the resulting state or affection of mind has an important bearing on the foregoing discussion. It might seem plausible to say, as Fleming says, that 'speaking strictly it [the term 'motive'] should be applied to the terminating state or affection of mind which arises from a principle of human nature having been addressed by an object adapted to it; because it is this state or affection of mind which prompts to action.' This is true in all cases where an affection is the spring of an action. But there are cases in which the affection does not exist before, or the affection is contrary to, its prompting. In the 'beautiful soul' in Schiller's Anmut und Würde, affection produces moral results, but, to Kant, true moral action is independent of such affection. In art, however
much feeling may guide, it cannot be considered as the motive. In true art it cannot even be said that there is a conscious image or ideal which impels the artist to produce. In art, as Schelling says, the ego is unconscious in regard to its product (System der transzendentalen Idealismus, § 146). Tübingen 1800 (Sammel. Werke, Stuttgart, 1856-61, iii.)

An important distinction is that between motive and intention. The nature of intentionality is that of C. Brentano:

1. Let us observe the condition there is between intentionality and consciousness. When the act itself is intentional, and with respect to the existence of all the circumstances adjoined, as also with respect to the matterlihood of those circumstances, in relation to a given consequence, and there is no mis-supposed with regard to any preventive circumstance, that consequence must also be intentional. In other words, asidesness, with respect to the circumstances, if clear from the mis-supposed of any preventive circumstance, extends the intentionality from the act to the consequences (p. 44).

The distinction itself is most clearly expressed by Martineau (Types of Ethical Theory, ii. 272):

'The intention comprises the whole contemplated operations of the act, both those for the sake of which, and those in spite of which, we do it. The motive comprises only the former.'

Dividing the intention as Martineau does into persuasive, disusive, and neutral consequences, it is only the first that fall under the heading of 'motive' (c.f. Utilitarianism, London, 1867, ch. ii. p. 27; Muirhead, Elements of Ethics, p. 61; Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics, p. 61 ff.)

This excludes from intention all motives in sense (ii), that is unconscious or involuntary. It includes motives in sense (2) and (3). It is not difficult to say whether it includes motives in sense (4). The particular object or end is certainly included in the intention, but the law which the will is directed to, while a true reason and determining the intention, seems not necessarily to form part of it. The act, even done for the sake of the law, has not the law in its universality as its end. To Martineau's statement true we must understand 'persuasive' in an affective sense.

2. Classification of motives.—The various classifications reflect the difficulties which have attended the foregoing discussion. Our impulses or active principles are classified by Reid into mechanical, animal, and rational; but only to the last two does he apply the term 'motives.' Stewart has criticized this classification on the grounds that 'mechanical' cannot be applied to instincts and habits (which is done by Reid), nor to any of our active principles. It is capricious to call our appetites animal principles, because common to man and beast; naming them our active or passionate is as much mechanical, in regard to which our nature bears so strong an analogy to the lower animals. Mechanical principles of action produce their effect without any will or intention on our part. Animal principles of action require intention and will, but not judgment. Rational principles of action require not only intention or will, but judgment or reason. Stewart censures Reid for inclining under animal principles of action the desire of knowledge, of esteem, pity, patriotism, etc.

Stewart's own classification falls under five heads: (1) appetites; (2) desires; (3) affections; (4) self-love; (5) moral faculty. This classification has been ably criticized by Martineau (ii. 134).

McCosh gives the following classification of the active or motive powers, or, as he prefers to say, of the motives and moral powers:

1. The native appetities of the mind leading to emotions. These include: (1) the inclination to exercise every native voluntary or involuntary; (2) the desire to receive pleasures and avoid pain; (3) the apprehension of moral duties (morals and religion, esteem, society, power, property); (4) an inward principle that impels to seek for the beautiful; (5) the moral power as a source of acting; (6) moral appetites prompting to action in relation to other beings, e.g. sympathy.

2. The will not as furnishing inclinations, predispositions, or motives, as stated above, but as sanctioning, restraining, and deciding among them.

3. The conscience—a cognitive power involving certain beliefs and judgments (Intuitionalism, p. 122).

More important than any of those classifications is that of Martineau (ii. 129-175). He begins by distinguishing between two sets of impelling principles in man: (1) those which urge him in the way of unreflecting instinct, to appropriate objects or natural expression, and (2) those which supervene upon self-knowledge and experience, and in which the unconsciously is present of a sort of some recognized feeling' (p. 135). The former he calls primary springs of action, the latter secondary.

Under the primary come (1) propensions, including organic appetites and animal spontaneity; (2) passions: antipathy, fear, anger; these do not arise as forces from the needs of our own nature, but are rather what we suffer at the hands of objects; (3) affections: parental, social, communitive; these operate as attractions towards other persons; (4) sentiments: wonder, admiration, reverence; these direct themselves upon ideal relations, objects of apprehension or thought that are above us, yet potentially obtainable.

Under the secondary principles which are characterized by their interested nature or imitable aim to produce certain states of ourselves come—(1) secondary passions: love, hatred, remembrance, as well as affection, passion, religion, and the like; (2) secondary propensions: mechanical, vindictive, or sentimental; (3) secondary affections: self-love, piety, patriotism.

The secondary series is the self-conscious counterpart of the primary series. These principles give rise to ulterior combinations, such as love of praise, emulation, etc. The addition of these to the above which are prudence and conscience, but neither is, according to Martineau, a positive principle, so as to range in the series of impulses. Each exercises a judicial function—prudence among the secondary principles, conscience over the whole.

If we examine these various classifications, we shall find much to confirm the wide view of motives which we have taken. Martineau's distinction of primary and secondary springs of action immediately contradicts the narrow view of motives taken by Green, which would limit motives to those associated with the notion of self. Such association gives rise to the secondary springs, precisely where, in some of these classifications rightly regard conscience and the moral faculty as motive powers, prompting to action and yet per se incapable of being identified with an affective element. In Martineau's theory the moral element consists in relative position in a scale of excellence intuitively discerned. Other moralists might seek to analyze further in what this excellence consists, and this analysis might be dangerous to the intuitive scale, might show that the position of a spring varies with circumstances; but the insight that the moral element is not an affective spring of action, in either the primary or secondary form, remains; and with it remains the necessity of recognizing a fourth form of motive, the motivity of which, whether proceeding from an antonymy of the will itself or from a combination of an intrinsic authority in certain imperatives of action, or from a recognition of superiority or authority in inward springs or outward courses of conduct, demands a unique position for it in the complex of those forces which impel the human will to action.

MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS.—There are few peoples who have not looked upon mountains with awe and reverence, or who have not paid worship to them or to gods or spirits associated with them in various forms. Their height, their vastness, the mystery of their recesses, the veil of mist or cloud now shrouding them, now dispersed from them, the strange noises which the wind makes in their gorges, the crash of a fall of rock, or the effect of the echo, their suggestion of power, their appearance of watching the intruder upon their solitude—all give to them an air of personality, and easily inspire an attitude of reverence, and of a power of standing behind key perennial forms, and, finally, to their personification in a greater or less degree. The next stage was that the mountain-god—the personified mountain which received worship—became a god of the mountain, separate from it but connected with it. It is difficult in particular cases to say which of these stages is intended, or to disentangle them, since the human mind so easily adopts either attitude; and, even where a god of the mountain is worshipped, the mountain itself still looms vast and, as it were, personal. In this section we shall examine instances where the mountain seems to be worshipped for itself alone or to be regarded as sacred and to some extent personal.

The Choles of Ton regarded one particular hill as god of all the mountains, and on it burned a perpetual fire. 1 To the Huichol Indians every hill and rock of peculiar shape is a deity, 2 and hills as well as lakes, rain, etc., are tribal gods of the Thompson Indians. 3 The mountain hills of mountain (§ 4), but they regarded all mountains as divines and personified them, as did the Vaga of the Philippines. Molina describes the hill Huasacori as the chief god of the Incas. 4 In Korea mountains are personified, and the idea of guardian-ship, e.g., of towns, is associated with them (§ 4). There are also spirits of mountains. 5 In Japan the term Inari, applied to deities, is likewise applied to mountains, which are supposed to possess great power. 6 Similarly in China, where 

1 N.E. Ill. 152. 
2 Fl. ill. (1903) 109. 
3 Fl. xii. (1903) 238. 

1. The personification of mountains.—The various impressions which mountains made upon men's minds led to their being regarded as alive, or personified, or in form of gods or of ghosts. Sporadically we find no cult of mountains or mountain-spirits, but that is generally where no cult of nature exists, or, as sometimes occurs where they are feared, it is generally as much because of the demons supposed to infest them as because of their own suggestion of terror. The horror of mountains found in writers from Waller to the time of Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth was perhaps a literary affectation as much as genuine lack of appreciation. Wordsworth's 'voice of the mountains has generally made a strong appeal to men and has given a great impulse to the idea.

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MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS

Mountains worship a god of hills, and among the Kols the god of the great deity is, 2 "Great Zeus," which, as in the case of many other deities, Marsus Buru being a conspicuous peak in Choga Nagrur which is either the tomb of that god or one of the mountain-tops, and as the time of the rain sacrifice, ceremonies take place on the mountain for rain and a fruitful season. 3 Mt. Shasta is thought the American Indian tribes of Wintu to be the home of the Great Spirit, 4 from the sky. The volcanic rocks and snow-covered peaks which others might visit him in his visits to earth. Among the Thompson Indians the "Old Man" is a being living on high mountains, and there making rain or snow by scratching his face. 5 Other deities are said to dwell in the Rocky Mountains. The Mexicans thought that Tlaloc, 6 ruler of the earth, dwelt on the highest mountain-tops where the clouds gather. Other gods, his lieutenants, bearing his name, dwell in the mountains, and are worshipped as gods of waters and of mountains. The cult of Tlaloc was of great importance, and was connected with the tending of the domestic fowl. In Central India the god is supposed to dwell on hills, and isolated rounded hills are hence called "sun-rays." Several outstanding peaks in the region where the cult took place gave a title to the god, e.g., Zeus Olympos (here, the cult no longer observed), Zeus Laphystos (Bocotia); on Mt. Pelion he was worshipped as "hiouios" or "unapproachable." In the Parthenon on peaks where Zeus as rain-god was worshipped was a sign of wealth. 7 Hermes had a temple on the summit of Mt. Cyzicus and Apollo on the hill of Philicaea. Artemis was also worshipped on high places in Arcadia. The Cretan Mother-goddess, like the Phegynian Cybele, was also represented as a mountain-goddess, (Mariana montana). Cybele was the Mountain-mother (μητέρα βουνον), and she loved the mountains and the mountain-tops, called by the name Κοφίλα. 8 Another divinity associated with mountains was Pan, who was born on Mt. Lykaion and had one of his sacred groves on Mt. Parnassus. 9 It is related that Pan and the Muses—were sacred to him. There he loved to hunt, and under the trees the children of the Muses were also of the mountains, and were worshipped there. They had caves on Mt. Chitonion, and gave oracles from them. Certain nymphs, called ὄρειοι νόμος, dwelt in the mountains, and were companions of Artemis. 10 Mt. Olympus was supposed to be the seat of the gods, with the palace of Zeus on its summit. In Cappadocia, according to Strabo, 11 a mountain was called after a god Onanios. Some Babylonian gods were called "ruler of the mountains," and Enlil is described as "the great Earth-Mountains"—a reference to Babylonian cosmogony. There he was believed to know all the forces of life. For his worship, and later that of all the gods, an artificial mountain was raised in the plain. 12 The world-mountain was the seat of the gods. Among the Celts gods were associated with hills, where some cult was offered to them, or with mountains. Where these they believed he had retired on the coming of Christianity, and there they live as fairies.

RUBACKE, Berichte II. 589.

3. Ghosts dwelling on mountains. — To some extent the belief that ghosts haunt mountains or that the Other-world of the dead is situated on a mountain-top may have arisen from the custom of burying the dead on hills, but the belief often exists where this custom is not found. It was connected with the fact that mountains are lofty and touch the clouds or are swollen at times in mists. They are near the sky-land which is so often associated with the dead. They are lofty and mysterious, and, as they symbolize the dwelling-place of gods and spirits other than human, it was natural enough to regard them as the habitation of ghosts.

Ghosts on hills. — One of many methods of disposing of the dead, and is by no means universal. It is found among the Comanches, Apache, and other tribes of the Great Plains, and among the Parsi where no akhram exists (the body is surrounded by stones, not by bones). Other tribes also honored the

In Mexican belief the soul of one dying a peaceful death had to pass between two mountains which threatened to meet and crush it, which it escaped with difficulty. 1 In China mountains are sacred to the gods, and in the sacred mountains are buried the remains of the dead, and even venerated-like in the Hebrew temple,-by living men, in the Sha-hi mountains, their power being proportionate to the size of these. Only on certain days shall mountains be crossed, and then only after fasting and after reciting solemn prayers. 2 Sometimes the mountains are believed to send out frightful exhalations, and they are more friendly and have a regular cult (§ 2). 3 In Indo-China the Tai believe in the phu phone cluster of spirits dwelling on or near the hills, from which man’s life issues. 4 This is the reason for the Deliverer, some rez gunatant, rez futurists, like Arthur, who is one day to return as the saviour of his people. 5 In some of these he is in fairyland or heaven, but in others he is a natural being, archetype of that happiness which sleeps within the hills. 6 Sometimes he is seen there by one who has been able to penetrate into the hill. Such tales are told of Arthur, Merlin, Fionn, Brus, and many another hero, and there are many versions of similar tales. 7 The story is also found in Korea. 8 Hartland suggests that these heroes are gods of the earlier faiths, venerated by Christianity but no longer by Buddhism. 9 So in Irish myth the Tuatha Dé Danann had retired within the hills. 10 But, while this is not impossible, the idea seems to be linked more directly with that of the dead being alive in great caverns or for in hills (as in Scandinavian belief), whence they might come in the hour of people’s need.

4. Mountains as the abode of spirits.—Besides being the seat of gods, mountains are also peopled, like other parts of nature, by spirits, or are haunted by fierce demons.

In Australia Tawunjiril is the mountain-spirit of the S. Arunta, and in the Lake Maragle district, Yabo lived on the tops of high mountains and was hostile to the blacks. The Arunta also fear spirits called orrean, dwelling on a hill. 11 In British New Guinea the Koia dreads a spirit living in a hill which will not approach, but a spear made from a tree growing on the peak will enter it. 12 In Polynesia spirits are credited with making mountains, and the people the mountains and are generally dangerous. 13 The yakek of the Vedda people live in rocks and hill tops, among other places, and are named from them. They send disease, and are much feared. Some of these yakeks are spirits of the dead—orheadmen or their spirits. They also have a dangerous aspect—sending sickness or stealing children—and are placated by offerings. 14 The Kayans and other tribes of Borneo believe in spirits manifesting themselves in parts of nature—e.g., mountains. Spirits of this kind are called tok, and are malevolent; hence people are careful not to offend them. Their most dangerous dwelling places are on the most rugged summits, which the natives will hardly approach. 15 Among the Lushai Kuki clans lastly are the dwellers in precipices and controlling animals, but demons people hills, streams, etc., and cause much trouble. 16 In Chirilah, said by them to be the seat of a giant, demons are credited with making mountains. 17 Among the Orongs every rock and natural feature is haunted by spirits. 18 In the Himalaya is the dwelling of immortals beings, its recesses the haunt of demons, its caves of witches and fairies. Other hills are credited with coffins of dead people and with being haunted by demons. 19 Early in Vedic times such beliefs are found, and in the Mahabharata with its many gods and demons, wherever the spirits of mountains are duly worshipped by sacrifices, and on every pass in a shrine where prayer is made to them or an offering laid. They control tigers and give the hunter power to catch them. In China mountains are sacred to the gods, and in the sacred mountains are buried the remains of the dead, and even venerated-like in the Hebrew temple,-by living men, in the Sha-hi mountains, their power being proportionate to the size of these. Only on certain days shall mountains be crossed, and then only after fasting and after reciting solemn prayers. 20 Sometimes the mountains are believed to send out frightful exhalations, and they are more friendly and have a regular cult (§ 2). 21 In Indo-China the Tai believe in the phu phone cluster of spirits dwelling on or near the hills, from which man’s life issues. 22 This is the reason for the Deliverer, some rez gunatant, rez futurists, like Arthur, who is one day to return as the saviour of his people. 23 In some of these he is in fairyland or heaven, but in others he is a natural being, archetype of that happiness which sleeps within the hills. 24 Sometimes he is seen there by one who has been able to penetrate into the hill. Such tales are told of Arthur, Merlin, Fionn, Brus, and many another hero, and there are many versions of similar tales. 25 The story is also found in Korea. 26 Hartland suggests that these heroes are gods of the earlier faiths, venerated by Christianity but no longer by Buddhism. 27 So in Irish myth the Tuatha Dé Danann had retired within the hills. 28 But, while this is not impossible, the idea seems to be linked more directly with that of the dead being alive in great caverns or for in hills (as in Scandinavian belief), whence they might come in the hour of people’s need.
Mountains, Mountain-Gods

6. Fabulous Mountains. — As the preceding section has shown, actual mountains are often regarded in a mythical light — e.g., Alhár in Zoroastrian belief, Himavat in Hindu, Kwan-lun in Taoist. Some mythologies, however, have invented mountain-gods, mainly in connection with cosmogony.

Among such is the fab. 'mountain of the world' (1 § 90). In Hindu and, more particularly, Buddhist mythology, the abode of the gods, especially of the Supreme, is the mountain-god. This is the primal and the chief of mountains, the 'golden mountain.' Himavat is said to have been the abode of the gods before the coming of Buddha. It is at 8,000 miles high, and is surrounded by the heavenly mountain-spirits, of vast mountains that rise above it, with intervening seas. Between these and an eighth octastome ring are the four continents. Round Mera the sun, moon, and planets revolve; and the earth is offered to the Buddhist deities in the universe to use, etc. Mera is represented by a pole of rice in the middle. It is, however, hot here that the mountains of Qitä are believed to encompass the earth and its surrounding ocean like a ring, as Alhär was held to do in the chief abode of the sin. Its earth is one of seven successive mountains, or divinities connected with them cannot be sharply divided into the mountain-gods and the mountain-spirits. Their sphere is that to such gods or to others. In some cases, no doubt, mountain-tops were selected for altars, shrines, or temples because of their supposed nearness to heaven, as, e.g., the sacred mountain Maha-purna, a mountain, etc., borrowing from Hindu belief.

7. Cult of Mountains. — A cult offered to mountains or to divinities connected with them cannot be sharply divided into the mountain-gods and the mountain-spirits. Their sphere is that to such gods or to others. In some cases, no doubt, mountain-tops were selected for altars, shrines, or temples because of their supposed nearness to heaven, as, e.g., the sacred mountain Maha-purna, a mountain, etc., borrowing from Hindu belief.
In India from early times a cult has been paid to or on mountains. The *Institutio Venerandi saeclorum* says that four convenient places for performing *srealism,* and the *Gyapunis* speak of an idol of the *Srealism* made on a mountain to the north or north-east of Srinagar. The cult of sacred mountains, on which shrines or temples are constructed, is widespread in many parts of the world. Among the *Sumerians* the mountain-gods are of great importance. On *Mount* orn the *high *Mountains of *Semitic* tribes, on *Mount* the *Herod* speaks of the *Mount* of the *Jewish* people, and *Mount* the *Aborigines* of Australia. In *Mount* Sumeru of the *Aborigines* and in *Mount* the *Taoists* and *Buddhist* sects.
Mt. Athos was formerly known as 'the Pillar of Heaven.' In Hebrew cosmology the sky rested on the 'mountains of the world.' Is the world itself conceived as a hemispherical mountain with gently sloping sides? In Hindu and Buddhist cosmology the various heavens are arranged on and above the mythical Mt. Meru in an ascending series (see Commonore [Hindia, 1918]). Fragments of the myth suggest that with the Celts also a mountain supported the sky—e.g., a mountain near the sources of the Ebro was called 'the column of the sun,' perhaps bearing up the sky while the sun revolved round it. We may note the Greek myth of the Titans piliming Mt. Ossa on Olympus, and Pelico on Ossa, in order to scale heaven.

(01) The Hebrew story the ark rested on Mt. Ararat after the Flood (Gen. 8). So in Bah. myth the 'mountain of the land of Ninita' held the ship fast and did not let it slip, and on its top Utnapishtim offered sacrifices and incense to the gods. 5 The Hindu flood-myth tells how the fish bade the seven sonsbind their neck to the highest peak of himavan, Manu descended from it on himavan; hence the northern mountain is called 'Manna's descent' (cf. Delhorico).


MOUNTAIN-MOTHER.—The Mountain-Mother is the only Greek divinity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin. In the accompanying figure we have a real-impression of late Minoin style (cf. 156, n.c) found at Knossos. 6 It is of cardinal importance and embodies, indeed, nearly all that we certainly know of the Mother. She wears the typical flounced Minoin skirt, and, always the Mother is dominant. This dominance of the Mother divinity is of prime importance, and is in marked contrast to the Olympian system of Homer, where Zeus the Father reigns supreme. The Mother- and the Father-cults are, in fact, characteristic of the two strata that go to the making of Greater religion—the southern (Egean or Attic-Alcian) stratum has the dominant Mother-god, the northern (Indo-European) the dominant Father-god, the head of a patriarchal family, who, in the main, held the life and death of a subordinate wife. The northern religion obviously reflects patriarchal, the southern matri-linear, social conditions. A further distinction is of importance—the Homeric patriarchal Olympus is the outcome of a 'heroic' communal type of society; it emphasizes the individual; it is the result of warlike and migratory conditions; the worship of the Mother focuses on the facts of fertility, and emphasizes the life and its continuance rather than the individual and his prowess. Mother-worship is of the group rather than of the single worshipper. We find the Mother and her subordinate son or lover attended always by groups of demonic personages—Kouretes, Korybantes, Telchines, Dactyls, Satyrs, and the like.

A further characteristic of this southern matri-linear group-worship is the mystical and orgiastic. The mysteries all centre not on Zeus the Father, but on the Mother and the subordinate son—Demeter in Greece, whose daughter, Kore, is but her young prãnes, and the Dionysos of the mysteries is son of the Earth-Mother. The reason is simple: mysteries are now known to be simply magical ceremonies, dramatic representations of birth, marriage, and death, enacted with a view to promoting fertility. Mysteries, in fact, spell magic, and the mysteries of the Mother stand again in marked contrast to the rational worship of the Olympian system; the Olympian system the worshipper approaches his god as he would his fellow-man, with prayer, praise, and presents; his action is rational and anthropomorphic, not magical, not mysterious, not lascivious.

The mysteries of the Mother are based, like all other mysteries, on initiation ceremonies, which have for their object to prepare the boy for adult life and especially for marriage (see initiation [Greek] and Kouretes and Korybantes). Each young man, each member of the band of Kouretes, or grown youths, became by initiation not only the son but the prince-consort of the Mother; he went through a mystical and magical ἵππος γαμας. 1 This explains at once the expression used by Euripides (Bacchant, 120), ἐπίθεται Κορωπίων. It also elucidates the confusion made by the Orphic initiate, ἔστειλας ἡ τις ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτῆς, ἀθηναῖας ἀδολεστας. 2 Marriage is the mystery περ excellence. In the matri-linear worship of the Mother the series of consorts was perennial. In Crete the fructifying of the Mother was mimetic and dramatic; in some Asia Minor cults it was attended by the horrors of castration. 3 In the Cretans of Euripides (frag. 472, Nauck) the mystic held aloft the torch, 4 ἵππος ἀνήθους ἔρως ἄνθρωπος, the blazing torch being a familiar fertilizer and purifier of fields and crops.

To the Olympians of Homer—a product of the Achæan heroic age—the Mother was never admitted; even Demeter had there only a precarious footing. But in post-Homeric days, when north and south were fused, a place was found for her in a more elastic pantheon as Mother of the Gods.

2 J. K. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 652.
3 For an examination of the practice see J. G. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, London, 1907, p. 224.

Impression of signet-ring showing Mountain-Mother and pillar-skirt.
She lent many of her sacred animals, attributes, and traits to the women-goddesses of Greece—to Hera her leps γυναῖκες, and sometimes her lion, to Aphrodite her dove, to Athene and the Erinys her snakes, to Demeter her mysteries. How far these several goddesses were indigenous forms of the Mother, how far they were directly immigrated from Crete, cannot certainly be stated, but undeniably the dominant Mother with the male attendant—e.g., Attis and Adonis—half son, half lover, is echoed in Helenic mythology in the figures of the great patroness-goddesses with the heroes whom they protect, in Hera and Jason, in Athene and Persons. The Mother has many names—theen, Cyche, Dindymene, Ma—but her functions remain the same; her characteristic attributes and sacred animals—lion, bull, and goat—vary with the culture and local surroundings of her worshippers.

MOUTH.—See Animals.

MOUTH.—In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is used by which the speaker to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect. The MOUTH. In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is used by which the speaker to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect. The MOUTH. In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is used by which the speaker to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect. The MOUTH. In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is used by which the speaker to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect. The MOUTH. In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is used by which the speaker to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect. The
throws new light on the subject, and points to a possible origin for the same practice elsewhere, though it came to be regarded otherwise.

To the same origin may be ascribed the practice of cutting the jaw-bones and head of the dead and leaving them before the burial. This, often regarded as a sacrificial feeding of the dead, may have been intended as a means of recalling the soul, though each instance must be judged by its own circumstances. It must be admitted that quite different reasons are often given by those who practise this rite. Yet, if the dead used earthly food, this would keep them from eating the food of the Other-world, which binds the eater to that world. Thus they might be able to return.1

It is found among the Thb of Tongking (EBW iv. 4189), some Papuans, and the Bedayus (see Crow, i. 357). In the PaOxh leaves of the talas plant and Oates water are placed in the mouth as offerings to Fama, that he may be merciful to the dead (PEF ii. 290). In S.E. India. Kumi fill the corpse's mouth with rice and rice-beer (T. H. Lewis, Wild Races, S.S. India, London, 1870, p. 290). At the ancient Perseus dropped honey juice, which produces immor-
tality, or some poison remains in the mouth of the dead (EBW iv. 4029). With this may be compared the practice of placing the mouth of the dead over a pipe (ib. i. 1823), which was evi-
denced at the 3rd Council of Carthage and at other councils and synods (J. Bingham, Origins Ecclesiastics, London, 1829, p. 339).

Of course, if the dead are to be fed at all, it is most natural to place food in the mouth, and in some instances a table connected with the mouth is made to procline from the grave so that nourishment may be poured down through it.2 Where head-hunting is practised, the heads or, rather, the spirits connected with them are often fed by head hunters after the meal. The Egyptian ceremony of opening the mouth and eyes was performed that the deceased might see and eat the food offerings and utter the right words in the right manner.

As a preparatory rite the mouth and eyes of the mummy or statue representing the deceased were rubbed with part of the mouth to excite the spirits. Then the soul priests addressed the deceased: 'I have set in order for thee thy mouth and thy teeth. I open for thee thy mouth, I open for thee thy two eyes. I have opened thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis, the iron instrument with which the mouths of the gods were opened.' Mouth and eyes were touched with this instrument, and Horus was asked to open the mouth of the deceased as he had opened that of Osiris. With another instrument the lips were touched, then right and left. This was repeated. Then the mouth was touched with other articles to give life and colour to the spirit, and opened again so that he might speak. The mouth was established; and, finally, food was then placed in the mouth.4

The establishing of the jaw-bones probably refers to an old custom of dismemberment. Various texts speak of restoring the jaw-bones and the mouth in the reconstituted body. The lists of the members of Osiris include lips, mouth, and jaw-bones, and there may have been an ancient rite of cutting out the jaw-bone and preserving it separately. This is done by some African and Malayan tribes.

In Uganda the king's jaw-bone is cut out and preserved in a special house, where it is concealed as an oracle, as the spirit is supposed to attach itself to it.5 Widows among the tribes of the Hood Peninsula carry the husband's jaw-bone.6 The Tanacs of German New Guinea exhume the corpse after some months and with great ceremony recover and preserve the lower jaw. Similar customs are observed by other tribes of this region.7 Again, the Sat (Solomon Islands) preserve it with the skull in a box covered with a papoo leaves and a common house.8 In New Britain the jaw-bone is worn by a relative as a means of obtaining its help.9

These customs are perhaps akin to that of making trophies of the jaw-bone or lips of enemies, as in Assam, Dahomey, Togol, etc. (see Histoire, etc. cit.). The purpose is to secure power over the ghost of the dead man.

The Egyptian custom should be compared with the 'way of opening the three mouths'—body, mouth, and heart—as practised on the deceased by the Shigam sect in Japan.10 Among the Basoga the lips of the dead are smeared with oil.11

2. Hostile spirits and the mouth. — The mouth as a spirit-opening is naturally one which is exposed to the entry of hostile spirits which take possession of a man. In India bhutas are thought to enter by the mouth, and in Egypt in common opinion all kinds of evil spirits try to do the same. Various customs are more or less clearly connected with this belief, and have for their object the warding off of such noxious influences. Feeding in a spirit state is one of these; uttering a charm or per-
forming some ritual act after yawning is another; scouring teeth, cleaning, as with the Hindus, is a third; veiling the face is a fourth. Probably the most widespread of them is the act of filling the teeth, usually at puberty, is also connected with these dangers at initiation to man's food.5 Though, from the savage point of view, tainting the lips or mouth of a person with a certain medicine or with a wooden or metal plug, which is often increased to large dimensions, is regarded as ornamental, the origin of the practice is perhaps magical. The lip-ornaments are protective for the body. The act of entering by the mouth door, or perhaps also against the escape of the soul. This custom is found among the Eskimos, Haidas, and other N. American tribes, and very commonly in S. America (the most extravagant use of it being among the Botocudos), as well as among many African tribes.4

3. The mouth and the breath. — As the soul or life is so often connected with the breath, whether breath in general, or, as has been suggested, the last breath—which may be expelled by a sneeze or yawn, and which leaves the body finally at death,12 is the origin of the custom.13 In recent studies of witchcraft among animals at a birth lest they swallow the infant's soul, and the mother and others in the house must keep the mouth shut.13 The breath, again, may have life-giving properties. Hence the Eskimo angebok will breathe on a sick man to cure him or give him a new soul;14 or, among the Bribri Indians, the medicine-man purifies a woman after
during the journey of the Osiris Spirit.
child-birth by breathing on her.1 Healing by breathing or blowing upon a patient is also found among American Indian medicine-men and in Ceylon. On the other hand, the breath as connected with the life may contaminate sacred objects. Hence these must not be breathed upon, or the mouth must be covered when one is near them.  

In Thule the common people, in addressing the Lapps, place the hand before the mouth, lest they profane them by their breath.2

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localized as Al-Thāghmūt (‘of the Thāghmūt’) (Mutanabbī, ed. F. Dieterici, Berlin, 1861, p. 331), known by his followers as ‘the Apostle or the Prophet of Allah,’ and also by numerous other names, variously estimated at 20, 300, or even 1000 (see the collection in Qastallān’s Masālikh Ladhuniyāh, Cairo, 1278, iii. 133–179), was the founder of the religious and political system called in Arabic Islam and in English the ‘Shi‘a’ or Neo-Hasidic. The event in his life which furnishes his followers with an era, viz., his migration (hijrā) from Mecca to Medina, is fixed by synchronism with the Fish Day of Atonement for 20 September, A.D. 622. That era was introduced several years after his death, and, indeed, for the purpose of arranging the events in his career, by his second successor Omar i. (Mubarrad [253 A.H.; Kāmil, Cairo, 1908, i. 327]), whereas the calendar on which it is based uses a lunar year of 354 days, introduced by the Prophet near the end of his life. Since both the calendars and the eras previously employed in Central Arabia are only vaguely known, and the story of Omar implies that he had not before heard of an era (which perhaps is confirmed by the fact that the word used for ‘era’ signifies ‘month’ and ‘year’), it is evident that events of the Prophet’s life is impossible. There is, however, an allusion in the Qur‘ān (xxx. 1) to the victory of Chosroes in the Nearer East, which has been taken by some modern writers to indicate that the tradition which Muhammad preached for some ten years in Mecca before his migration. Probably the earliest written account of him is that in the Armenian Chronicle of Sebosa (Armen. text, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, in Armenian, fol. 233r; tr. by K. R. Patkanian, do. 1862, pp. 116–118), of the 7th cent.; it is very scanty, giving little more than the statement that he was an Isma‘īlī who taught his brethren to return to the religion of Abraham and claim the promises made to the descendants of Isma‘īl. His career may, therefore, be said to be known entirely from Islamic sources, which contain no biography that is quite contemporary. The earliest work that was intended to be a chronicle of his life is that by Muhammad b. Ishaq (c. 150 A.H.), who composed his Biography (‘Biographia’) for the ‘Abdād Khalīfa Mansūr (136–158 A.H. = A.D. 754–776) at least a century and a quarter after the death of his subject. This work does not appear to exist in its entirety, though probably the bulk is preserved in the first part of Ibn Hisnāt’s History († 294 A.H.) and also the Chronicle of Tabari († 310 A.H.). Its author was in communication with eminent members of the Prophet’s family, but is said to have been a man of indifferent morals, besides being a Shi‘a and a Qadari (believer in the freedom of the will); he employed versifiers to compose poems to be put into the mouths of the personages who figure in his narrative; and his credibility was otherwise impaired.1 Contemporary with Ibn Ishaq was Muḥād b. ‘Uqba († 141), whose collection of Campaigns was studied in Cairo as late as the 15th cent., but of which hitherto only some fragments have been discovered (ed. E. Saadah, CEBAW, 1904), and those of little value. Shāhīn († 204) quotes this author once for what is clearly an edifying fable (‘Umm, Cairo, 1321, i. 100). Later by some fifty years is the work of Ibn Khushk († 230), which to some extent embodies the same materials as the work of Ibn Ishaq; and somewhat later still the encyclopaedic work of Ibn Sīrād († 230), secretary of ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb, the Prophet, his family and his followers. The memoirs or table-talk of the Prophet’s associates were collected and tabulated (with infinite repetitions) by the jurist

Abūn b. Ḥanbal († 241), and the recollections of these persons, after being critically sifted, were arranged in the order of subjects for the use of lawyers by numerous authors shortly after this date, and by some considerably earlier. Very little of this material has historical value. In the main, then, our knowledge of the Prophet’s career comes from the work of Ibn Ishaq.

familiar with the foibles of the Arabs, and utilized them to the utmost advantage. The stories of his successes as told by Ibn Isäq indicate a complete absence of moral scruple; but they also show a combination of patience, courage, and caution. For example, they detail his loyalty when not backed by interest, which fully explain the certainty with which results were won. If his age is correctly recorded, and no events of great importance in his early life concealed, his military career began when he was over fifty; this seems astonishingly late, yet analogies, if not parallels, can be found. Surprise is also excited by the ease with which the Arabs abandoned their gods and goddesses, readily accepting the logic of the stricken field; for, though new prophets arose after Muhammad’s death, there appears to have been no re-

 cerebration of paganism. Yet to this, too, some analogies can be discovered. The fact of primary importance in the rise of Islam is that the move-

ment became considerable only when its originator was able to draw the sword and handle it successfully. That he was summoned to Yathrib was doubtless due in part to the presence of a Jewish element in that community, intellectually further advanced than the Arab tribes, which at first he was able to present as the incipient religion of monotheism. That he was able to make the fullest use of that opportunity was due to his own ability. The only difficulties which are to be found in his career are, therefore, those of the periodic and recurring difficulty. It is impossible to say why one man should be more gifted than his fellows, or why opportunities should occur for the development of special talents.

According to the Qur’an (xliii, 30), he was not a ‘great man’ in his city, and, if the words of xcii. are to be taken literally, he lost his parents at an early age, and at some period was poor and burdened with a family. The question whether he could read and write has been much discussed, and it is unfortunate that we do not know certainly whether those accomplishments formed the basis of education in Mecca when he was a lad; there is, however, some slight reason for supposing that they did. The evidence indicates that he could do both of them, but not well. Thus, when he records the charge made against him of copying the ancient history which he reproduced in the Qur’an from dictation (xxv. 51), it is by the assertion that he could not write. The tradition makes him a tradesman, and can even name his partner and the goods in which he dealt. Some have tried to find evidence in the language of the Qur’an, which undoubtedly takes metaphors from sale and barter, profit and loss; but whether it does so to a greater extent than other books may be doubted. Some stories are that he was employed by his first wife Khadijah in the conduct of a caravan; and others tell of him following this occupation early in life. It is, on the whole, probable that he travelled in his youth for, though the geography of the Qur’an is vague, the descriptions of travel which it contains seem to be based on personal experiences. Moreover, the charge of ignorance which is repeatedly made against the Prophet of Islam is, as we have been brought to one who had some acquaintance with a higher civilization.

3. Origins and development of system.—The tradition does, indeed, name previously Muhammad at Mecca, among them a relative of his wife who had either copied or translated a portion of a gospel. Since Christianity had made progress in both N. and S. Arabia, it is not unlikely either that missionaries had found their way to Central Arabia, or that travellers thence had had their curiosity aroused and made inquiries into the system. The phenomena of the Qur’an on the
whole render it improbable that any part of it is based on book-learning; for, though in one place the Psalms are quoted with fair accuracy (xxvi. 149 = Ps. 37:3), the nature of the references is ordinarily explicable only as the reproduction of hearsay. Thus it cites (iii. 37 f., lxxxvii. 19) 'the Scrolls of Moses and Abraham' for those passages that are analogous to those occurring in the Prophets or the NT, though not quite identical with them; and the mode of quotation implies that the writer had a vague notion of the existence of such a class of books and the kind of story of which those to his hand might be a reproduction, which he would correct. Further, the form assumed by the proper names and the religious technicalities indicates a great variety of linguistic sources; for in these Ethic, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and perhaps other languages are represented. Some of the proper names are not at present traceable to any version of the Scriptures—e.g., .IsMatch for Saul, 1Isa for Jesus. Moreover, from the manner in which the Biblical narratives are told it is difficult to imagine that the writer was acquainted with the continuous history of the Bible; he knows only stories out of it. All this points to the probability that Muhammad heard the stories from narrators of different nationalities, who translated them orally into Arabic, leaving on their hearer a decided impression, in spite of the fact that the one who repeated them was not himself a practicing teacher. Besides the canonical books, various uncannonicl works contribute to the matter of the Qur'an, which, in addition, refers to prophets not mentioned in the earlier books. The Prophet was charged with employing as mentor a resident in Mecca, and after the migration to Medina, where there were Jews, he may have been able to utilize the Biblical learning of one or other among his converts. But it seems unlikely that the early period of the Meccan period had been heard from the travelling companions or from Jews and Christians whom he had met in foreign parts.

Prior to his call Muhammad is said to have practiced ascetic retirement on Mt. Hira, and for this an old technical term, *tablunnik*, is preserved, which is said to mean 'to acquire merit,' and certainly has nothing to do with the Heb. *tablannik*, 'supplications.' The call itself evidently took the form of a command to read, which the Prophet reluctantly obeyed. The communications of the Qur'an were, according to the tradition, made to the Prophet and uttered by him in trance; he would wrap himself in a blanket and perspire copiously at the time. A certain number of these stories may be inference from *surahs* xliii. and lxxiv., where the Prophet is addressed as 'Thou that art wrapped up,' combined with *surah* xvii. (supposed to be the first revelation), where he is bid to 'read.' The form of the utterances at times approaches verse, i.e., a series of sentences in which the same quantity and quality of syllables are reproduced, the termination of each unit being marked by rhymes, whereas more usually rhyme only, and this of a somewhat loose character, is observed. The relation of this Qur'anic style to the verse and rhymed prose of classical Arabic is an enigma which cannot be solved. It is true that the form of verse based on the recurrence of letters is obviously literary; i.e., it depends for its existence on the practice of writing, since only those who are accustomed to read and write think of their words as agglomerations of letters; to attempt to translate the word, if not the sentence, is the unit. Indeed, in what is supposed to be the earliest revelation the deity is said to have taught with the *kolomos*, or recel-pen. The existence of pre-Qur'anic poets before the Qur'an is attested, and the practice of those cases in which the poet also claimed to be the head of the community, its priest and its king. Attempts have been made by Spranger and others to specify the epicletic fits which in Muhammad's case ostensibly accompanied the revelations; but it is doubtful how far these are to be regarded as real occurrences. It is clear that he was a man of great physical and mental endowments, and that the central fragment of Medina was spent in constant military expeditions, added to the cares of a rapidly increasing community, of which he was at once priest, legisl-
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later, ruler, and judge. Yet we never hear of his health breaking down under the strain. The 'Alis seem to have been experienced only when they were required for the delivery of the revelations, and in no case to have interfered with his activities. Abraham, and also to his 'ministers,' as forms, and, when Muhammad became head of a State, his Qur'an served as government organ, containing rescripts and something like an official chronicle of important events, with references upon them. But before the master was not so easily supplied. To a certain extent it reproduces narratives from the Christian Bible, which ex hypothesis could not have been known to Muhammad from books, and therefore must have been communicated to him by direct inspiration, and so are a proof of the miraculous character of the whole work. The chief purpose of these and of the other messages is to insist on the importance of obeying God's messengers implicitly.

It is not easy to say whether Muhammad had any desire to inculcate any particular doctrine, for there appears to be none which he was not prepared to abandon under political pressure, and the tradition represents his followers as far more attached than himself to the dogmas. The main doctrines of which he was accused by his opponent Arabs, such as future life, the unity of God, and the folly of idolatry. Since he ultimately retained in his system the kissing of the Black Stone (cf. ERE VII. 743), it is difficult to treat the campaign against idolatry as quite serious, however. The edicts were preached in the early days as a warning of the approaching end of the world and the Day of Judgment; yet he had afterwards to use the same formula in his cause enter paradise at once, and his enemies enter hell immediately after death—a belief not easily reconciled with the former. According to Tabari, during the Meccan period he set a date certain for the advent of the eschatological event, which is unlikely to have been fixed before the raising of an army was contemplated.

The other canons or main institutions of Islam—the pilgrimage, the fasting month, and the tax called 'alm (sudr or jizya)—belong to the Medina period, though they cannot be precisely dated. The establishment of the first indicates the Prophet's resolve to consolidate so far as possible the pagans of Mecca, and to abandon Judaism, which on his arrival was a clear sign of compromise: 'In the name of Allah the Rahman the Merciful.' Since the last adjective is an Arabic rendering of the second, which is Aramaic, used as a divine name by Jews and pagans, and in Arabic not an epithet, but a name, some mystery must lie behind the employment of this name with a translation following it. The tradition suggests that the name 'Alam was familiar to the Meccans, but not the name 'Rahman,' which, indeed, had been adopted by one or more false Messiahs. In certain parts of the Qur'an, however, it may be said to be dominant. This formula, then, was doubly accommodated to Meccan prejudices.

The tradition does not conceal the fact that the 'canons of Islam' were slow growth; it is probable that the part of the programme which never varied was the revelation of the religion of Abraham. One of Muhammad's predecessors, Zaid b. 'Amr, is represented as travelling with the view of discovering the religion of this patriarch, from whom, it is said, the Jews and Christians are descended. It is not probable that his name was known in Mecca before Muhammad introduced it; but in doing so he was treading on safe ground, since the people of learning, i.e. Jews and Christians, were well acquainted with it. If the tradition is to be trusted, the new institution was called by the Meccans 'Sribism,' a name connected historically with Harran, where a cult of Abraham is likely to have existed; the Harranians appear to have been called Harran 'heathens,' by their Christian neighbours, and possibly this is the solution of the puzzling name 'Hanif' applied in the Qur'an to the religion of Abraham, and also to Muhammad. The former, according to the same book (vi. 163), was a title invented by the patriarch. The Qur'anic tales about Abraham are traceable to the Jewish Midrash; what is chiefly known about his religion is that he was an iconoclast, and was not one of the mushrikun, i.e. polytheists. When the Prophet decided to make the Meccan pilgrimage part of his system, he ascribed the building of the Ka'ba to Abraham and Ishmael (ix. 128), and brought the prayer-ceremonial into connexion with the former. It is probable, though not certain, that both that ceremonial and the fasting month are Harranian.

There is reason for thinking that, besides the prohibition of idolatry, the earliest form of Islam enjoined certain daily ceremonies which were afterwards developed and regulated until they became stereotyped as the five salat; and it is not easy to dissociate from these the theory of legal purity, which, however, seems to have existed in parts of the text of the teachings found in Salamai inscriptions. Of the actual growth of the ritual or liturgy nothing certain is known; the prayer which corresponds with the Faturan, and is called the Fatihah ('Opener') because it is the first prayer taught, contains a number of formulaic references to Jews and Christians ('those who have incurred anger and those who go astray'), which point to a late period in the Prophet's career; for his hostilities with the Jews did not commence until after the migration, and those with Christians were some years later. Moreover, the prayer-ceremonies were connected with military drill, which is unlikely to have been practiced before the raising of an army was contemplated.

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food-taban which occupies so prominent a place in the Mosaic code, he adopted the minimum retained by the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in Ac I, with the tabn on swine's flesh which some think was originally to be found in those regulations (ii. 168, v. 4, xvi. 116). He held that each of the communities (Jewish and Muslim) might eat the food of the other, and, indeed, went out of his way to record in the Qur'an what he supposed to be the Jewish rules on the subject (vi. 147).

Muhammad's sincerity in his claim to be the spokesman of God is often discussed, and many of his followers have been held on the subject (vi. 207). Sprenger finds no contradiction between his supposed elaborate preparation of revelations and his assertion of them to direct communication from the deity.2 The former, as has already been seen, is scarcely tenable; nor does the latter correspond with the facts, for the revelations furnish little indication of elaborate preparation, and, when once delivered, they appear to have been neglected; there are, indeed, traditions of collections of revelations having been made by some of his followers, but it seems certain that Muhammad himself kept no such collection. Saeedani's theory, however, is probably sound to this extent, that in Muhammad's case, as in those of many other men of vast energy and ability, there was a belief or consciousness of being directed by the deity, which, however, by no means led to his trusting anything to chance; and, while the angels whom he declared to have won his battles were partly pious, partly poetical personifications of the heroism of his followers, he was fully conscious of the value of attributing his victories to his God, and felt that he had been defeated by angelic cavalry with no discredit to any foe. He was also quite conscious of the value attaching to the right to dictate the moral law.

6. Moral reforms. —As a moral reformer Muhammad has to his credit the abolition of infanticide, which, if we may trust the Qur'an (xvi. 61f., lxxxii. 8f.), was commonly practised in Arabia in the case of illegitimate infants. On the other hand, serious evil was caused by his institution (v. 91) of compensation for oaths, i.e. the principle that an oath might be violated at the pleasure of the person who had sworn it, if, when performed, some sort of penance. While the Qur'an carefully formulates any general principles of morals, it on the whole insists on moderation, and probably aimed at no considerable degree of control from outside. Hence it tolerates polygamy and unlimited concubinage, and assumes the institution of slavery. In the matter of the blood-feud Muhammad did not contemplate complete abolition, but he endeavoured to mitigate its effects, and favoured mild reprimands (ii. 173-175). With the institution of private property and the acquisition of wealth found no fault, and he deprecated extravagance in almsgiving as in other matters. The quality of personal courage he rated very high, and, though he often inspired it by the promise of paradise, it is clear that his followers were largely persons who required no such stimulus to make them brave. The ascetic morality afterwards taught by Sufi preachers and, if the tradition is to be believed, approved by some of Muhammad's early adherents finds little support in any interpretation of the Qur'an that is reasonably literal, and clearly receives no countenance from the Prophet's own career, if any credibility attaches to his biography. Like other sovereigns, he claimed a large share of the wealth which was in his possession, and appropriated territory as his domain.

It is not clear, then, that Muhammad can be credited with any considerable reform except in the matter of infanticide, whereas in the subordination of the family tie to the religious brotherhood he appears to have weakened one social sanction without producing any considerable change by way of compensation. The history of this sub-

1. H. 371.

2. Anwati dell'Islam, Milan, 1905 ff., i. 194 ff.
jibril will basis but avoid anything forget, on narrated There crude conceal the 26, identified a Legislation. as in European codes it was possible to get rid of the doctrine that all law was to be got from the Qur'an or the Prophet's equally inspired conduct, and so lacked the power to legislate on a sound basis.

9. Philosophy.—Though it is not probable that Muhammad had any liking for metaphysical speculation, the rôle which he had assumed rendered it necessary for him to formulate views on various matters which any sort of religious creed brings to the front. The reduction of these questions and their answers to precise and philosophical form probably belongs to a later age, and, indeed, in the tradition Muhammad names sects which came into existence a century or more after his death; but in a vaguer form the Qur'an deals with them, and so furnishes a basis for theology, though one of doubtful fitness. His treatment of the subject, as is, on the whole, naively anthropomorphie; the Allâh of the Qur'an has been compared to a magnified Oriental despot. A royal court is formed by the Qur'an and the angels; Ïibôt conveys messages to the Prophet (ii. 91), whereas they are sent, mounted on horses, to fight the Prophet's battles (iii. 125, viii. 9, ix. 26, 40). Other intelligent beings are the jin, or šari'ûni, whose prince is Ïibûs; the second word is taken from the Ethiopic, the third from the Syriac transliteration of the Greek; the δ of diâboûs was mistaken for the Syriac sign of the genitive, somewhat as Ïbôreia gets transformed into Liber exccstion. To these the Prophet preaches (perhaps through a vague reminiscence of 1 P 3:18), and some are converted (xxvi. 28-30, lxiii. 1 ff.). Satan himself is the power that makes for evil, and even he, in the triumphs and oracles of prophets. He has the divine permission to mislead mankind for a season (xxv. 37-39). The Qur'an, on the whole, seems to favour the theory of predestination, but there are passages which contradict it, and there is a great diversity of a system of what is which is more political than religious. The ultimate system adopted was to permit the existence of communities which professed to follow a revealed rule of conduct. Of these communities three are mentioned in the passages, and the Muslims in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory (xxxii. 17). At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islam or pay tribute, which they are to bring in humiliation. Friendship with members of other communities is excluded. The most ancient of these communities—believers, Jews, Sabians, and Christians—on condition of their believing in Allâh and the last day, and doing good works; in another the last three communities are mentioned with the pagans, and the Muslims in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory. At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islam or pay tribute, which they are to bring in humiliation. Friendship with members of other communities is excluded. The most ancient of these communities—believers, Jews, Sabians, and Christians—on condition of their believing in Allâh and the last day, and doing good works; in another the last three communities are mentioned with the pagans, and the Muslims in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory (xxxii. 17). At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islam or pay tribute, which they are to bring in humiliation. Friendship with members of other communities is excluded. The most ancient of these communities—believers, Jews, Sabians, and Christians—on condition of their believing in Allâh and the last day, and doing good works; in another the last three communities are mentioned with the pagans, and the Muslims in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory (xxxii. 17). At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islam or pay tribute, which they are to bring in humiliation. Friendship with members of other communities is excluded. 

8. Legislation. —As a legislator Muhammad probably perpetuated current practice rather than invented a fresh system, and the Qur'an is characterized by many grounds ill-suited for a basis of jurisprudence. It is imperfect, self-contradictory, and defective of order. So far as any principle can be traced in its arrangement, the collecter seems to have been anxious to avoid any semblance of chronological order, whence, in the case of conflicting enactments, it has to be supplemented by tradition. Where, however, there is a systematic treatment of any topic—e.g., the laws of inheritance in surah iv.—the signs of improvisation are very apparent; and even a little consideration should have shown the barbarity and folly of the punishment of hand-cutting for theft (v. 42). There is a curious tradition that on his death-bed Muhammad desired to frame a code for the guidance of the community; but to those who supposed that they had in the Qur'an the actual word of God this was not unnatural. But utterance not unmurdered is the law, and the State, however, suffered very seriously for the want of guidance in the matter of appointing successors to the sovereign; and until the introduction of European codes it was impossible to get rid of the doctrine that all law was to be got from the Qur'an or the Prophet's equally inspired conduct, and so lacked the power to legislate on a sound basis.

10. The Prophet's apologists. —The distinction drawn in the case of the founder of Christianity by D. F. Strauss between the historical and the mythical can be accommodated to that of the founder of Islam, though as regards Muhammad we have not so much to sift canonical documents as to contrast the impressions left by the biography of Ibn Isâq with the work of the Prophet as it appears at later periods of Islam. That biography, as will be seen, left room for some important supplements and called for modification in certain respects. The character attributed to Muhammad in the biography of Ibn Isâq is, as has been seen, exceedingly unfavourable. In order to gain his ends he resorted from no expedient, and he approves of similar unscrupulosity in the matter of his adherents, when exercised in his interest. He profits from the
to the utmost from the chivalry of the Meccans, but rarely requires it with the like. He organizes admirable and wholesome resources. His career as tyrant of Medina is that of a robber-chief, whose political economy consists in securing and dividing plunder, the distribution of the latter being at times carried out in a manner which fails to satisfy his followers' ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does, it is to advance the great ends of which he is chief.

The Angels, however, to whom He declared the same doctrine, were dissatisfied with the unity of God and his claim to the title Prophet. This is a disagreeable picture for the founder of a religion, and it cannot be pleaded that it is a picture drawn by an enemy; and, though Ibn Ishaq's name was for some reason held in low esteem by the classical traditionalists of the 3rd Islamic cent., they make no attempt to discredit those portions of the biography which bear hardest on the character of their Prophet. The theory that this person's conduct was a model for his followers has in consequence done serious mischief, which apologies for Muhammad were started in the 18th cent. by H. de Bougainvilliers, who was favoured by Gibbon because this apology provided some instruments against Christianity. More important still, it is claimed to have been the line from which the Prophet, just as God was made the type of a heroic divinity, the author's knowledge of the two personalities being about equal. Another apologist who acquired some popularity was Boulainvilliers, who, by the help of superficial and second-hand information, and committed the error of basing his estimate of Muhammad's character and aims on the ill-recorded Meccan period instead of on the far more accurately chronicled period of Medina. No European apologists for Muhammad seems to have possessed any proper acquaintance with the Arabic sources. Only after the definite assertion of European secession by the fourth cent. of Islam, which may be dated from the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, and the acquisition of European nationality or its equivalent by large numbers of Muslims, has the necessity for apologists become felt in Muslim communities. The most prominent writer on this side is Syed Ameer Ali, but there are many others. These apologists endeavour to discredit the biography of Ibn Ishaq where it shocks the European reader; and, where this cannot easily be done, they suggest honourable motives or suppose the course followed by the Prophet to have been the least objectionable of those which were open to him at the time. Thus his toleration of polygamy is declared to have been a limitation with the view of ultimate suppression, and his attitude towards slavery is regarded as similarly intended to lead to its abolition. The Prophet did doubtless express the sentiments of most of his contemporaries and successors in Arabia; but this is no great that the result is unconvincing.

But, while Muslim dogma, by assuming that whatever the Prophet did was necessarily right, renders apology unnecessary, from the earliest times there has been much edifying fiction in which the Prophet is shown to have practised all the virtues which mankind agree in admiring. The lines on which this has been distorted and a mythical character substituted have in the past been three.

(1) In the Qur'an Muhammad on the whole disclaims the character of thauatyrge, arguing that his predecessors were ordinary men, though he accepts the most important of the miracles ascribed to Moses, Jesus, and the prophets by which the natural access or as being of unattainable eloquence (cf. xiv. 1 ff., liii. 1 ff.). To these it is possible that one case of foretelling the future, viz. the recovery of the Rome of which he treated at the battle of Uhud, was, according to the tradition, revealed to him in a dream, though the official account of that affair in surah lii. 133 ff. makes no allusion to the warning. Of marvellous experiences which has attracted most attention is his supposed "ascent into heaven," which grew out round a text of the Qur'an (xvii. 1), which merely says that God took His servant by night from the sacred place of prostitution to the furthest place of mankind as a temptation to the people, i.e. a stumbling-block to those whose faith was weak. Nothing more is known of this 'dream,' of which we should gather that the Qur'an had contained an account which was afterwards expanded; but in the tradition it has been so expanded as to form the analogue on the one hand of the Christian Transfiguration, on the other of the exoegy of Moses on Sinai. There is even a tendency to ascribe to this ascent into heaven such non-Qur'anic legislation as is generally adopted by Islam, in the same way as analogous Jewish legislation is called 'rules' given to Moses on Sinai, because it is set on an example of monogamy, but the genuineness required for this is so great that the result is unconvincing.

(2) The Prophet's sayings and doings were made into a source of law, corresponding with the Oral Law of the Jews, like the latter, not at first written down. The great collections of these precedents or rulings date from the second half of the 3rd Islamic cent., but their accumulation goes back to the 1st cent. of the migration, when the
system of jurisprudence began to be established by the labours of jurists of Medina. The impartial criticism of these traditions seems to lead to a purely negative result; the practice of inventing scenes in which the Prophet delivered some judgment or of fathoming sayings upon him was so common from the very beginning of the Islamic empire that any genuine sayings of his are inex- traicularly mixed up with such as apocryphal. The question is, therefore, for this sort of ascertainment if possible the credibility of the per- sons who had handed it down. This was by no means easy, and various motives prevented those who endeavoured to criticize it from exercising their judgment freely; hence the chains which are technically regarded as strong appear to the non- Muslim critic fatally weak. The Prophet's merits as a legislator must, therefore, be judged ex- clusively by the Qur'an; for, though the rest of the 'sacred code' is ascribed to him, there is little reason for thinking it to be his.

(3) The Prophet is supposed to have expressed opinions upon all sorts of subjects—e.g., medicine—and writers of essays usually start by quoting these dicta. Those which have to do with the commendation of various virtues or the condem- nation of vices, are usually noted. An important scale by Ghazzal († 505 A.H.) in his Revival of the Religious Sciences (Cairo, 1292 A.H.), the standard text-book of orthodox Islamic theology; he was, however, a critic of the Companions of the Qur'an as one of the most splendid and sonorous dicta, many of which could be traced to the fabricators.

11. The Prophet's Companions.—No account of Muhammad, however brief, could omit all notice of his Companions, the persons by whose instrumentality he accomplished so much. Many of these became historical figures, as sovereigns, governors, or generals; it is remarkable that none of them undertook the office of biographer or even collector of memoirs. The tradition implies that certain institutions were suggested to the Prophet by one or other of these adherents; but there is no evidence that he was seriously influenced by any one of them, and we should gather that their attitude towards him was that of worshippers. Although the later parts of the Qur'an approach the character of official documents, and we actually have a State paper inserted in surah ix., it is not clear that these associates had any share in their composition. Indeed, such participation would have been at variance with the theory that the Holy Book was inspired from the inner- most deity. The tradition represents Abū Bakr and 'Omar, both of whom gave their daughters to the Prophet, as the innermost cabinet; the former is said to have been regularly in favour of mild, the latter of severe, measures. Of emissaries sent to reach us very little; an agent was sent to Medina to prepare for the arrival of the Prophet, but the duties of this person were probably political, at least as much as religious; and, when the policy of winning the Arab tribes had commenced, missionaries were sent to teach neophytes those portions of the Qur'an which were to be employed in their local dialects. The other Companions, however, were to have had in part military character. When the time had come to extend the mission outside Arabia, envoys were sent bearing copies of the Prophet's letter to all monarchical kings; but, as these contained a command to adopt Islam on pain of being attacked, there was no occasion for the messengers to endeavour to per- suade.

The theory that Islam is primarily a political adventure is borne out by the subsequent careers of its most distinguished adherents. They accumulated fortunes, and otherwise obtained conspicuous worldly success; 'Omar is credited by some historians with consummate statesmanship, and several others displayed talents as commanders of armies; but there was much rivalry for the first place, and a great part of a commander of the Prophet's death different groups of Companions led armies against each other. The later legend transforms all of them into saints and preachers, and sometimes into ascetics. This is done in particular in order to be accommodated in the history of the cult, especially in Persia; history, however, presents him as an ambitious libertin, endowed with personal courage, but little else that merits admiration.

12. His domestic affairs.—The women of the Prophet's family enter into the story of his career somewhat as they enter into the subsequent his- tory; the tradition makes the first wife, Khadijah, a woman of wealth, whose acceptance of her hus- band's claim to a supersaturated mission was an important element in determining its success. Her death is said to have occurred shortly before the migration. Since his followers at Mecca were at least to some extent persons who required temporal support, it is likely that her wealth (whatever that term may have meant) was devoted to this purpose and used to prop up the Prophet. After her death the Prophet began to course of poly- gamy and concubinage which has given offence to European students of his career, but does not so appear to have scandalized his Arabian contem- poraries, except, indeed, in the case of his marriage with the wife of his adopted son, which is defended in a Qur'anic revelation (xxxiii. 4). On two other occasions the pages of the sacred book are devoted to the Prophet's domestic troubles—once when his girl-wife A'ishah had incurred the suspicion of unfaithfulness, and was defended by a special oracle (xxiv. 11 ff.); and another time, when, owing to the introduction of a Coptic concubine to the karim, the remaining members of it were so embittered that the Prophet threatened to divorce them all, and the revelation which he produced assured him that he would be able to find adequate substitutes (lxvi. 1 ff.). Since matters no less private and delicate find a place in the prophetic books of the OT ( Hosea and Isaiah), perhaps their presence in the Qur'an ought not to shock us; nevertheless the tradition states that, according to A'ishah, the Qur'an would have profited by the omission of the affair of the adopted son, and this criticism might be extended to the others. In several of the prophetic changes it is easy to see that political considerations were dominant. Mu- hammad, like other leaders, wished to unite his chief helpers to himself by as many bonds as possible, and to get a hold on dangerous opponents. Had he had sons, he would probably have utilized them in the pursuit of this policy. Of these women A'ishah, the daughter of his most faithful follower, Abū Bakr, played a historical part of great con- sequence, and in the first civil war herself took the field. The descendants of the Prophet, disting- uished since the year 773 A.H. by green turbans, all trace their pedigree to Fāṭimah, his daughter by Khadijah; but other Companions, however, died without issue. Fātimah herself, the wife of 'Ali, seems to have been cruelly treated by the first successor, and died six months after her father, being called to play a political part for which she was unfitness in supporting her husband's claim to the succession. It is curious that the exact number of his sons is unknown, though it is certain that all died in infancy. Of the number in his life in a Coptic concubine, sent as a present by the Byzantine governor of Egypt, the death synchronized with an eclipse of the sun, supposed to be that of 27th Jan. 622.
MUHAMMADANISM (in Great Britain).—MUHAMMADANISM (in N. Africa).

Literature.—This, in both the Islamic and the Christian languages, is enormous, and even a list of important works would be lengthy. Besides the sources enumerated above, the Islamic writers give a great deal of space to the Prophet’s biography,—e.g., Isma‘il Abü’l-Fidā‘ (1722) A.D., whose account, ed. with Lat. tr. by J. G. Seeley, Oxford, 1875, was for more than a century the best of European researches. Many Arabic monographs in prose and verse are enumerated in W. M. Flügel, ed., Geschichte der Prophetenleiers (1858–1868, 4 vols. 640–690). To these should be added the work called Tanwîr al-Durr of Burhan abu al-Dawûd (1314 A.D.), ed. and annotated by the modern European student of the subject was started by G. Weil, Muhammad des Propheten (Stuttgart, 1845; it was popularized in English by W. V. Miller, Lives of the Prophet (1848)). The work of A. Spranger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed, Berlin, 1859, claimed to be based mainly on new material, much of which was simultaneously employed by W. Muir, Life of Mahomet and Hist. of Islam, London, 1860–61, reprinted in an abridged form, 1877, and ed. T. H. Weir, 1912. More recent biographies are those by H. Grimm, Mohammed, Munich, 1894, and D. S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, London, 1906.

Besides biographies, there is a vast deal of space devoted to the Prophet’s character or certain aspects of his work. One of the earliest and most valuable is the对待 al-Mustakhf of the qadi ‘Iyâd (1514 A.D.), on which there is a vast literature described by Bâkî Khalîfah, ii. 56–61; the ed. of C. P. Hartmann, Das Waslah, Leipzig, 1839; O. S. D. L. Jones, Al-Mustahf of the qadi ‘Iyâd (1514 A.D.), published with the commentary of Zarrûq, 8 vols., Cairo, 1875. Of European mention may be made of C. P. Hartmann, Mohammeds Lebens aus der Orientliteratur, Leipzig, 1839; O. S. D. L. Jones, Mohammed, fut il-mustukhîf I, Paris, 1894. The ninth volume of V. Chavannes Biblicalische des oummares erat, etc., Liege, 1908, contains a list of all European works on the subject from 1610 to 1885.

D. S. Margoliouth.

MUHAMMADANISM.


Asia (D. S. Margoliouth), p. 882.

Central Asia (A. Vamerey), p. 882.

China (M. Hartmann), p. 888.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Africa).—Muhammadanism is said to have reached Central Africa from three sources—Egypt by the Nile and its affluents, Tripoli via Ghadames to Timbuctu, and Algeria via the Western Sahara. Certain details of the dates of its introduction into various communities were collected by the traveller, H. Barth; about A.D. 1000 it found its way into Songhi, near the end of the 11th. century, into Kanem, about 1500. into Bagirmi, and not much later into Islamic Nigeria. Islam was introduced into Logon about the beginning of the 19th. century. In 1897 it was computed that the number of indigenous Muslims in British Central Africa was 50,000 as compared with 500,000 fetishists. Its introduction in certain places is connected with the names of historical personages; the chief missionary for Central Negroidal was one Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim b. Maghilli, a native of Buda in Tawat, who flourished about 1500.

The Islam of Central Africa seems to be every-where of the Mulkite school; and, if it has pro-duced a literature, few monuments of it have as yet come to light. In Revue du monde musulman, xii. (1910) 197, Isma‘il Hamet gives a summary of the Kitâb al-Tarîkh by Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar of Kamerun. The account of the death of the invader, published in the Revue de monde musulman, xiv. (1911), Hamet gives extracts from the works of a somewhat earlier writer Sidi Muhammad al-Yaddali (1725), a poem by whom in praise of the Prophet was published by L. Massignon (ib. viii. [1909] 199). Some contemporary poems (satires) by one Bakai were published by Barth. There appears to be nothing in these specifications of the magazine (viii. 499) Massignon published the catalogue of a library belonging to a Central African chieftain Shaiib Sida; the editor notices the absence of books bearing on philosophy, science, and music; but cannot determine whether this is due to the political character of other Islamic libraries, and the want of representation of these subjects may be due to accident.


D. S. Margoliouth.

MUHAMMADANISM (in N. Africa).—l. History. —The introduction of Islam into N. Africa commenced shortly after the conquest of Egypt by Amr b. al-As, who in A.D. 641 penetrated as far as Barca, and in the following year took Tripoli by storm. It was not till the autumn of 647, however, that Islam was organized for the subjugation of Africa; whereas the Patridus Gregory had declared himself independent of the Byzantine emperor, and made Sbeitla (in Tunisia) his seat of government. The Arab invaders, Akuba, Akhlagh, was re-taken by the interior, defeated the forces collected by Gregory in the battle of Akuba, where Gregory himself perished, took and pillaged Sbeitla, and proceeded to devastate the country southwards as far as Gasa and Jerid and northwards as far as Marmajanna. Permanent occupation was yet contemplated, and the conquerors were satisfied with a heavy money payment, on the receipt of which they withdrew; certain conversions, however, were made. The civil war which followed the death of Uthman delayed the activities of the Muslims in this region for a time, but in 665 the first Umayyad Khalifah, Mu‘awiya, dispatched an expedition thither, which overcame the troops sent by the Byzantine emperor, and in 669 established a province Ifriqiyyah, with ‘Uqbah b. Nafi’ for its first governor. In the following year the Emperor employed Berber convicts as soldiers, and founded the city of Kairawan. Since the Islamic kingdom was carried out by this governor, who threatened the pagans with extermination, the religion began to spread fast among the Berber tribes. In 675 ‘Uqbah was replaced by a less vigorous governor; but he was sent back to his province by Yazid I. shortly after his accession, and proceeded to organize an expedition which finally reached Ceuta in the extreme west of Africa, whence he turned south and saw the Atlantic before starting homewards. That morning the army was attacked by superior forces and annihilated at Tehuda, N.E. of Biscar. His defeat and death (683) were followed by a general revolt of the Africans from Arab rule, and an independent Berber state, with Kairawan for capital, was able to maintain itself for five years. In 690 this city was re-taken by the Arabs, who, however, vacated the province, which lapsed into anarchy. An end was put to this by Musa b. Nusayr, sent in 705 to Kairawan as governor of Ifriqiyyah, who traversed as far as Ceuta the country previously invaded by ‘Uqubah, penetrated as far south as the Oasis of Sijilmasa, took Tangiers, and installed
a Berber convert there as governor. He returned to Kairawan in 708, having definitely won N. Africa to Islam, and put an end to Christian domination, where it still existed. The pious Umayyad Omar it is said to have manifested zeal in the propagation of Islam among the inhabitants of these territories.

The Kharijites, who were giving much trouble in the eastern dominions of the Khalifas, also sent missionaries to the west; but the fierce and impetuous zeal of the Kharijites was not equal to that of the Fatimid missionaries, who were also active in the west; and the Kharijites were gradually driven out. The carrying of the faith to the West by the Fatimid missionaries is recorded by Ibn Jarir Al-Tabari.

The Tafiri doctrine spread among the western tribes, the Badi' in Ifriqiyyah proper. In 740 a revolt broke out in the extreme west against the Umayyad ruler in favour of the Kharjite doctrine, and, as it met with some initial success, it spread over Muslim Africa; a Syrian force sent by the Khalif Hisham to quell the rebellion was defeated on the Sen. Another force headed by the governor of Egypt in 742 was more fortunate; but, though Kairawan was rendered secure, the Kharjites maintained themselves at Tlemcen and in the neighboring parts of the modern Morocco, and various independent Kharjite communities established themselves to the west of the continent.

At the beginning of the 9th cent., while the dynasty of the Khalifahs was establishing itself at Kairawan, under the nominal suzerainty of the Khalifahs of Baghdad, but virtually independent, an 'Alid dynasty called the Idrisid became dominant in the city of Fez. Other petty dynasties were also established in various places. The great event in the history of Muslim Africa during this century was the arrival of the Fatimid missionaries Abu Abdallah, who won adherents among the Keta, and by skilful organization and strategy was able to overthrow the Aghlabites, and install at Kairawan a Shi'ite dynasty, which presently substituted for Kairawan a new city, Mahdiyah, as metropolis. The petty principalities to the west of Kairawan alternated in their allegiance between the Unayyids of Spain and the Fatimids of Mahdiyah; but the latter remained the dominant power in N. Africa until they, having conquered Egypt, transferred their capital to Cairo, leaving in possession of Mahdiyah a dependent dynasty called the Zirids, who, in the middle of the 9th cent., thrust off Fatimid suzerainty. As the 11th cent. neared its end, the Almoravid dynasty, founded by an adventurer named Yusuf b. Tashfin, with its capital at Morocco, obtained the hegemony; and thus in the 11th cent. the capital of the Almorahids was displaced by that of the Almohads founded by Ibn Tumart, which under its first actual sovereign, Abu al-Mu'min, obtained possession of all N. Africa as well as Spain. This dynasty lasted one century only, and was succeeded by three—the Merinids with their capital at Fez, the Ziyanids with theirs at Tlemcen, and the Hafsids, with theirs at Tunis—which constant disputes kept N. Africa in a state of turbulence for some two centuries. In the 16th cent. various points on the north and west coasts were seized by Portuguese and Spanish forces, and later by Turks; the three national dynasties were displaced by a fourth, that of the Ottoman, whereafter that of Tunis gave way to Ottoman domination, which had Algiers for its centre, in the west a new empire, that of the Sharifs, arose. The capital of the Sharifs was at different times Morocco and Fez, and sometimes Meknes; their first dynasty, that of the Sa'dians, lasted from 1520 until 1654, when it was ousted by that of the Hassians, who obtained the throne of the Sharifs in 1662. The Ottoman power, which prevailed during the 18th and 19th cents., was, however, constantly undermined by the power of the Zirids, who in the 19th cent. succeeded in uprooting the Christian invaders from the places which they had occupied, but in 1830 Algiers was occupied by the French, whose empire has ever since been extending in N. Africa. The connexion of the Turkish settlements in N. Africa with the government of Constantinople grew constantly looser from the time of their establishment, and the pasha of Algiers had difficulty in maintaining his authority over the territories which lay to the west of that place.

The population forming the Islamic communities has remained Berber in the main, but, besides the influx of Arabs at the time of the original invasion, and the introduction of Carthaginian tribes, some African stock, the Sultain in the 11th cent. has been of great importance for the political development of the country. These tribes, which had been located in Egypt, were, it is said, sent westwards by the Fatimid Khalif Mustansir, by way of avenging himself on the Zirid Mu'izz, who in 1048 had accepted the suzerainty of the 'Abbasid Khalifah, destroyed the Ismaili college at Kairawan, where the Sh'ite doctrine was taught, and burned in public all that was indicative of Sh'ism. The Arabs advanced victoriously, and compelled the Berber sovereigns to make terms with them; under the Almohads some of these tribes were introduced into the western provinces and employed by the government as a military force.

'Far from attaching themselves to the cause of the Almohads had hoped, these tribes continued to live in the nomad state and to annoy the government by their turbulence' (E. Sicheux-Feller, 'Les Tribus berbères de la vallee du Lekhme', in Archivc.s moraves, iv. [1905] 59).

Indeed, their rising form many a chapter in the history of N. Africa. In the beginning of the 17th cent. the Hassanid Sharif Isma'il purchased or procured a great number of Negroes, of whom he formed agricultural colonies, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Morocco, enjoying various privileges, but bound to place all male children from the age of ten at the disposal of the sovereign, to be trained for his guard, while various employments were also found for the females. By the end of his reign as many as 120,000 of these black soldiers were registered in his lists; they were placed under the patronage of Bukhâri, the author of the chief collection of traditions, whose sanctity in certain parts of the Islamic world approaches or even exceeds that of the Prophet. The purpose of this scheme was to provide the Sultan with a guard unconnected with the native population, on whose fidelity he could rely. A Turkish and a Levantine element, neither very considerable in magnitude, were introduced into the eastern provinces by the Ottoman conquests.

sects and orders.—It will have been seen from the sketch just given that during the first four centuries of Islam both Kharijite and Shi'ite opinions held sway in different parts of N. Africa. The former are still represented by certain isolated communities (see art. Kharijites); while the Zirids asserted their independence of the Fatimids, Shi'ite opinions were condemned, and a general persecution of those who held them took place (1014); some years later (1045), on the occasion of a further dispute between the Zirid and the Fatimid monarchs, the former asserted the legitimacy of the 'Abbasid Khalifah and proclaimed the orthodoxy of the Malikite school, upon which the Almoravids also insisted. The commander of the Almoravid army was a follower of the Ash'arite theology, and himself propagated it in Africa, displacing that of the Zahhâris (Qalqashandî, Sahib al-Âshâ', Cairo, 1915, v. 191). The further changes of dynasty appear to have produced no alteration in the dominance of these systems. The historians of the earlier period call attention to two purely religious communities, the Shi'ite and the Kharijite. The first of these was that founded by Sâlih b. Târîf, prophet of the Bargwata in Temesna, who about A.D. 750 promulgated a Qur'an containing sûras named after 'the Cock,' 'the Elephant,'
the Asses,' 'Adam,' etc., and was recognized by his tribe. After a reign of forty-seven years he departed to the East, promising to return under the seventh sovereign of his dynasty and leaving his son Elias to continue his work. This successor reigned, as we are told, fifty years, professing Is'a, but we are not informed of his beliefs or of the power and influence which he exercised over the tribe. In 1464, al-Tayyib apparently wrote to the Massa of the Sultan of Morocco, then at the zenith of his power, to proclaim his Son of Mary, and that the assurance of it to Ibn Tumart was a fable. Numerous claims to the title have risen since that time (see art. MAHDI). Of an obscure sect called the Badawis, located on the right bank of the Sebu, an account is given by G. Salmon in Archives marocaines, ii. (1905) 358–363. A branch of these called 'the sect of Yusu' is mentioned as having arisen in the 13th century (cf. Les Croisades, iii. 857). It was a missionary sect and the base of their system on the Qur'an, but not from other Muslims in points of ritual.

The general dominance of the Malikite code, of which the most noted were the Mahdies, or the founder of the dynasty was that of Sidi Khallil (Abu Diya), was not affected by the dynastic changes, except that in the provinces governed by Turks the official system of the Ottomans, that of Aba Janiha, was introduced without displacing the other; in these regions there were two gâdis. In the cities of N. Africa there were theological schools which produced orthodox writers and teachers of eminence, and such works were to be found as far south as Timbuktu, which was made subject to Morocco in 1590; one of the prisoners then taken, Ahmad Bâhi, who belonged to a family of theologians, complained in his apologia that the conquerors had pillaged his library, which, though containing 1000 volumes, was smaller than others which belonged to his relatives.

The Islam of N. Africa was greatly influenced by the introduction of the form of the Qur'an they used was that of Abd al-Qadir al-Jilâni (q.v.), 561 A.H.), to whom the establishment of orders is traced. In one of the earliest European accounts of the orders (E. de Neven, Les Croisades, i. 857), the Redemptorists, which contains the lives of ascetics of Morocco; A. Graule, who is the trans-
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_*The people are fanatics rather than believers, haters of the non-Muslim rather than religious*; the member of an order shares the superstitions of the ignorant, but is more bigoted and, having acquired his own salvation, looks down on others who are less fortunate. *Convinced of his immense superiority, he believes himself the equal of kings and illustrates the anarchy and pecuniary observation of the rites which take up his time and save him the trouble of reflecting* (p. 4).

It is asserted that religion occupies a much larger share of Berber thought in Arab life, and the names of the dynasties, Almoravids, Almohads, bear this out. In the 16th century the devotess (called marabout, or marabout) begin to play a positive part in the occupation; but the marabout (zawiya, or hermitage) at times like towns in magnitude, are regularly employed as refuges; they themselves in times of peace (so far as there were any) enjoyed divers privileges—e.g. under Turkish rule the marabouts of the Almoravids in the neighbourhood of Jijel had the right to direct the provision of timber for shipbuilding, and others had a share in the proceeds of the piracy; they were employed as envoys, as mediators, and, at times, as regents. Most frequently we hear of them as heading insurrections. The dynasty of the Sa'diian Sharifs is said to have commenced with the seventh generation of ancestors and at the time of the Portuguese settlements betaking themselves to a marabout named Ibn Mubarak, whom they implored to place himself at their head and march against the infidels. He referred them to the Sharif Abu 'Abdallah al-Qain, then residing at Tagmadet, whose sons undertook the duty. In 1012 the Sa'diian Sharif al-Mu'min, who, in order to regain his throne, had handed over Al-Arish to the Spaniards, was assassinated by the muqaddam (about) Muhammad b. Abd-Latif, at the instance, it is said, of the marabout Abul-Mahalli, who belonged to the Khamam order, and even proclaimed himself Mahdi. This personage was able to take Morocco, where he established himself as sovereign untill defeated by another marabout Yahya, who espoused the cause of the Sa'diian Za'idah, and was then, without difficulty, persuaded to return to his monastery. In 1619 the province of al-Habt was headed by a marabout al-'Hassan b. Raisun, also in favour of a Sa'diian, who undertook to restore orthodox practice; and early in the 17th cent. the marabouts of Dela, Sale, and Sijilmassa headed political parties in different parts of the Sa'diian empire. In 1639 a Turkish force dispatched from Algiers which had occupied Tripoli and Constantine was repulsed by the intervention of a marabout, who obtained reasonable terms from the natives for it. In 1641 the Algerian pasha Ysuf, starting an expedition for the suppression of anarchy in the province of Constantine, obtained the good offices of the marabout Ibn Sasi of Bone. In 1641 one named Sidi Hamud obtained a passage for the Algerian troops marching to the relief of Jijel, which had been occupied by the French. In 1668 the marabouts of Della were at war with the Hassanian Sharif Rashid, who defeated them and stormed their Zawiya, which had grown into a populous and sumptuous town. His brother and successor, Isma'il, had to face an insurrection headed by one of the survivors from this monastery, named Ahmad b. 'Abdallah, who was defeated in the neighbourhood of Tidza. Their activity was no less marked in the 18th century. In 1727 a marabout raised the standard of revolt against the Hassanian Sharif Muhammad b. 'Abdallah in the country of the Ghumarah. In 1777 an insurrection was started at Fez; the Sa'diian Sharif in the Derkaou order, named Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, whose followers were ultimately bought off. In 1787 Salah Bey of Constantine conducted a series of campaigns, not all of them successful, against the heads of Zawiya in this province. In 1803 another Derkaou, Ibn al-Ahras, said to be favoured by the British Government, established himself at Jijel, and organized the natives against the bey of Constantine, after which he died, and in 1805 the Derkaou revolted in the province of Oran and besieged Oran itself. In 1818 the marabouts of this province gave further trouble, having undergone many more recent instances of their activity are recorded.

In general the ostensible aim of these devotees has been to free the soil of Africa from Christian occupation; but as they have not been able to do this completely, as there are instances of the marabout in compromising with the Christians or even invoking their assistance against rivals (Archives marocaines, ii. 40).

3. Cult of saints.—Close连接ed with the orders is the cult of saints, which is wide-spread in N. Africa. The tomb of Idris, founder of the Idrisi dynasty, is a common place of pilgrimage, and both it and other tombs figure in the history as places of refuge. The tomb of Ibn Maslakh (see above, p. 852) is visited in the month Shaban, and comprehends a series of visits to those of his predecessors and contemporaries (see above, p. 24). A list of the tombs visited in the Ghurb is given in Archives marocaines, xx. [1913] 246—275; of the saints thus venerated the most popular is Sid Qasim b. 'Abi Hamida († A.D. 823), whose tomb is stated to be so fortunate that he has two sanctuaries, one on the left and one on the right bank of the Sebu' (p. 261), and that he has several festivals in the year, one of which lasts three days. A list for the province of al-Habt is given in Archives marocaines, xvii. (1911) 451 ff. These saints have functions corresponding closely with those of the patron saints of Christianity.

*The Zawiya Sharqiya of Bu'Ja'd is not only a religious centre, but likewise a centre of preparation for the sacred war, and the greater number of the horsemens and shooters of the Ghurb are placed under the patronage of Sidi Bu'Abid al-Sharqawi. In this region one frequently finds the name Bu'Abid, which is considered to be of good omen for horsemens. Parents often give their children the name of a marabout under whose patronage some military exercise is placed* (ib. xx. 39).

An account is given (ib. p. 270 ff.) of various Maraboutic 'tribes', i.e. groups of villages attached to some saintly cult, and not, like the Zawiya, isolated villages.


D. S. MARLIOULOUTH.

MUHAMMADISM (in Arabia).—One of the results of the taking of Mecca by Muhammad was a determination on his part no longer to tolerate paganism in Arabia, and the destruction of the ancient cults took place throughout the peninsula with extraordinary rapidity; the ease with which the fetishes were discarded by their worshippers has elicited expressions of wonder from some who have chronicled the period. It is indeed suggested at times that there are still unexplored regions in Arabia whither Islam has not penetrated, but of these rumours there appears to be no confirmation. So far as the authorities before us warrant, every tradition of the existence of paganism has perished; statements about them which meet us in Arabic literature are ordinarily fictitious based on Qur'anic texts, and the so-called 'pre-Islamic poetry' must, if genuine, have undergone wholesale expurgation. Even the revolts in Arabia which followed the Prophet's death do not appear to exhibit any recrudescence of paganism, but merely a desire for liberation from some of the
more onerous exactions of Islâm; and permanent relief in one matter (the number of daily prayers) is said to have been obtained by one of the rebellious tribes, though the revolt was otherwise a failure. It is worthy of notice that these rebellions were led by people who aimed at re-enacting Muhammad's part, not by priests or other representatives of the fallen idols. The liberation of Arabia from paganism was speedily followed by the conversion of many of the inhabitants of the different parts of the peninsula. Even the Jews and Christians, whose rights had been respected by the Prophet, being either banished or forcibly converted in the time of the second Khalifah.

The murder of the third of these rulers in 35 A.H. was an event of the greatest importance for both Arabia and Islâm. On the one hand, as some of the far-sighted are said to have urged at the time, it split the community into sects; complete unity has never been restored. On the other hand, the political centre of Islâm was thereby shifted to a point outside Arabia; the Assassins came from Egypt and the battle for the succession was fought from Basra, Kufa, and Damascus. These cities became the capitals of the rival claimants, and Medina was never reoccupied on its former position. Once held by Arabia has, therefore, ever since been a province, at a distance from the seat of government; and such principalities as have asserted their independence have been negligible both in magnitude and in importance. Such talent as Arabia produced has been attracted to the political centre, whereas the persons attracted to it from outside have been mainly devotees.

There are, however, certain ways in which the influence of Arabia upon Islâm has been constant or permanent. On the one hand, Mecca has maintained its position throughout history as the greatest Islâmic sanctuary; some sovereigns are said to have contemplated substituting either Jerusalem or Baghdad, but to have abandoned the idea as impracticable. This place has not only served to perpetuate the traditions which Islam took on from earlier times, but has also served as a rallying ground for the sects; and only occasionally has its sanctity been violated. Mecca is the place where the Islâmic world as a whole can be most easily addressed, and to this day revivalist movements, which are usually reactionary, have a tendency to materialize there.

Al-Mahmoud, Medina remained the chief seat of Islâmic learning some generations after it had ceased to be the political capital. At this place, the residence of the Prophet's widows, several of whom survived him for many decades, and the theatre of his most eventful years, the science of tradition came into existence, and this speedily became the most important source of law, though not first in the list. In the 1st cent. of Islâm, Medina produced a school of jurists who, though they left nothing in writing, by their labours prepared the way for the codes whose publication followed shortly after the foundation of Baghdad. In the 9th cent., it was the home of the jurist Malik, where he received as pupil Ša'būr; Ša'būr in later life went to Baghdad, where alone conspicuous ability could find its reward. In the 10th cent., the three great Islâmic codes are connected. It is, therefore, Arabic (and indeed Medinese) law that theoretically is observed throughout Islam, though in the more civilized States the civil and criminal codes have been derived from the ghafis of Napoleon.

The development of the other Islâmic sciences has little to do with Arabia, which in these matters has lagged behind the other provinces. The chief battles of the sects, too, have been fought outside Arabia; they could not, however, cut quite adrift from the sacred territory, where they did not, as a rule, win many enthusiastic adherents. There has, however, been always a smouldering desire to recover that hegemony which was lost after the murder of Othman; hence there has generally been dissatisfaction towards the ruling power. Perhaps the most serious attempt made at recovering the lost hegemony was when in the early 'Abbásid period the period Abūl-Aswār, son of Zubair, was able to maintain the two sacred cities for a time against the 'Abbasid generals. His cause perished with him; and rebellions which have since taken place in Arabia have had for their object recovery of independence within the peninsula rather than re-establishment of the political headquarters of the empire.

An account of the religious condition of Arabia in the 4th cent. of Islâm is given by the geographer Muqaddasi (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1877, p. 96). The three great political sects, the Sunnis, Shī'ah, and Khalīfi (called by him Shurāt), were represented. The Sunnis, under the leadership of 'Abbās b. Abū Ša'int, have been the most numerous of the sects. The Khalīfi, which has since disappeared, the Qarmātī, was dominant in Hijār. The Sunnis schools were not then restricted to four, and, besides the other systems of law, the Shī'ah of Dāwūd the Zāhirī, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Ibn al-Mundhir had adherents. The Shī'ahs in parts of the country were also distinguished as Mu'tazilites.

Of the rise of the Shī'a it is difficult to give an account has been given in the art. 'IRĀDĪ. Of a Khalīfi who maintained himself in Yemen from 558 to 569 A.H. a notice is given by Ibn Khaldūn (tr. H. C. Kay, Omarrā's History of Yemen, London, 1892, pp. 161—165). The branch of the Shī'ah which has maintained itself permanently in S. Arabia is the Zādī (q.v.). It is called after a descendant of All, Zād, who perished in an abortive rising of the year 122 A.H. For its history, references may be given to the work of H. C. Kay (pp. 184—190), and Khazarji's History of the Rashīdī Dynasty of Yemen (tr. J. W. Redhouse, 5 vol., London, 1907—13). An account of the Qarmātīs in Yemen by Janādī is also translated in the work of Kay (pp. 190—212). Other sects were either at one time represented in Arabia or are still to be found there; as a Shī'ah sect, called Sab'iyah representatives are to be found in a Yemenite community called Yām (Ahmad Rāshīd, History of Yemen and Sanā' [Turkish], Constantinople, 1291 A.H., ii. 87); their views appear to be similar to those of Azaqīr (Vāqūt, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907—13, i. 301).

Probably the most important religious movement which has taken place in the older Islâm is that called Wahhābī (q.v.), the origin and course of which have been described by the English travellers W. G. Palgrave, Lady Anne Blunt, C. M. Doughty, and the Austrian traveller E. Nolde. So far as the literature of these sects has hitherto been made accessible, it would appear that they have had to adopt and modify the results of the labours carried on in the older Islâm and have themselves been incapable of producing original works of any consequence. One of the few specimens as yet accessible of purely Arabian theology, Al-Imām al-Muhātikā, by Salīh b. Māhī, has been published of Yemen (†1108 A.H.), in which an endeavour is made to find a common ground for the sects by going behind the supposed innovations of the founders, applying to rest entire theological works, already known in Europe, the authors of which were natives of extra-Arabian provinces. We learn from this work that the Shī'ah order and practices, which originated in Baghdad and Basra, were in the author's time
wanderings as a dervish in Iran gave him a very poor opinion of the piety and virtue of their teachings. Outward appearance and formalities, hypocrisy and fanaticism, hatred and implacability, are the main characteristics of the sect; and the fact that a good deal of the hierarchal power is invested in the hands of the Sultán, in Persia we find the clergy the supreme arbiters of the spiritual life, unchecked by the secular government, and very frequently in conflict with it. There, if not in the 40 years' rule of the present Persian dynasty the Shāhs have striven in vain to curtail the influence of the priests; the Imām ʿAmīn is Islāfān and Karbalā were and are their equals if not superiors in power, and the Shāhs' ordinances are nil without their consent.

If we turn now to Central Asia, the difference will at once appear which separates Islam there not only from Iran—which is very natural—but also from the western portion of the Muhammadan world, in spite of their common Sunnite character and common Hanifite rite. For it is only in E. Turkostan that adherents of the Shāfīīite rite are to be met with. There we find a distinctly different religious life, the manners and customs of which do not resemble those of W. Asia. There everything bears the marks of fanaticism, of an exalted conception of the value of ritual trivialities, and of a deep hatred against innovations. In observing the Central Asian traveller the Visābī and his followers of S. Arabia appear to have undergone little molestation on religious grounds; intertribal wars and international politics have interfered with them much more. It is worth noting that the Cairene journal which is conducted ostensibly in the interest of the Muslim chiefly of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the unsatisfactory name ʿAld al-Maṣāḥ, "Slave of Christ." 

it is necessary to begin with the impression which the difference between the religious life in Western and middle Asia must make upon any one who has occasion to study these vast central portions of the Muhammadan world. From Constantinople east a gradually increasing fanaticism and ignorance will be observed, and the deeper the penetration into Asia, the more outspoken and intense become the hatred and aversion of the believer to the adherents of a foreign creed, and the less is it possible to ignore the points of divergence separating men of various religions. In Turkey, where Christians and Muslims have lived for centuries in close proximity, a long existing and continuous intercourse with the European world has undoubtedly smoothed away many asperities, and has, to a certain extent, prepared for a mutual understanding. In spite of the temporary outbreaks of enmity between Kurds and Armenians, caused by the predatory habits of the Kurds and not by their religion, very lax Muslims—the relations between Christians and Muslims are fair, and would be much better if the misrule of the central government on the Bosphorus and the political instigations from without did not steadily worsen the situation. In Persia ʿAlīn presents itself in quite a different form. There first appears the deep-rooted enmity between Shīʿites and Sunnites, and the fire which this feeling has been fanning through the ages is still raging. As for the life of the Shīʿite sect, what the present writer saw and heard during his

1 Description of L'Arabe, Amsterdam, 1774, p. ix.
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of delirium tremens; and Báb and his followers transported this vice to the court of the Mughals. This, however, could not be said of the Masses. In the present writer's time (1862-64) they were rigorously abstemious, and it is only since the annexation by Russia that the use of brandy and beer has been allowed to spread among the inhabitants of the towns.

In the observance, then, of the ruling precepts of the Qur'an and Sunnah the Muhammadan in this region, as in all conservative Mohammedan countries, is subject to many exceptions. Only the higher dignitaries, viz. the El-Khidjís, are undisturbed by the law of Friday; but the lower orders of society are free to forsake the mosques upon their return from the market. However, it is seldom that a. Muhammadan in Central Asia will commit the offense of 'impurity' after any meal, during the day, that he may not be compelled to go to the bath. As a result, the emphasis of the religious code is laid upon the observance of the sabbath, and of Friday, and the law of respect for the religious orders and institutions of the Koran. The Muhammadan of Central Asia, like the Muhammadan of Persia, has, however, many peculiarities of his own; and the writer has observed such strict adherence to the rites of the different orders and such veneration for their members, generally called derivishes, as in Turkestan. In the case of the genuine Turk— the Maulavi, the Baqáši, the İfifá, and the Qádiír orders have many votaries among the lower classes, and the respective derivishes are looked upon as saints.

But the laws, as well as the religious observances, in the higher dignitaries, very rarely manifest the same degree of attachment. They visit the convents on Friday afternoons, they attend the sacred ceremonies, and they take advice sometimes on both worldly and spiritual matters; but they have long ago ceased to be weak instruments in the hand of the Shaikhs, and particularly of the Baqás, who, having acted as revolutionary factors against the innovations in the time of Sulaymán Mahmuíd, are officially interdicted and only secretly followed. Somewhat similar is the case in Persia, where the conflicts between the Central Asiatic and the Western Asiatic have attracted much more attention to leave room for the orders, although the Shaikhs and 'Ali Illähíh find followers among the lower classes. The host of derivishes is to be met with in towns and villages in either case, and vanishing, living nowhere in a true sense, is the superstition of the people, or harmless idlers who conceal their laziness under the khirgah (mantle) of religious exaltation.

In the settled part of Central Asia, and even among the nomads, the orders play a very different and a far more important part. There they have taken hold of the entire population; they have pitted classes, i.e. the El-Khidjís; the 'ulamá, or priests educated in the madrasa, and appointed as such by the government. These, of course, are continually at war with the members of the Bahá'í, among whom the Naqshbandi, founded by Bábá al-Din, best known as the author of the Baskhisat 'asín al-hayát ' (Drops from the Fountain of Life'], occupy the foremost place. Having associated with the Naqshbandi derivishes during his stay in Central Asia, the present writer found among them various subdivisions, the character of which is expressed partly in outer appearance, partly in the way in which they fulfil their obligations. They begin as murids (disciples), and as such they must forsake all worldly pursuits and, clad in the khirgah and kuláb (conical hat), holding in one hand the 'nág (staff) and in the other the kashkál (a bowl made of a half coco-nut), have to wander about singing hymns or taking part in the dhikr (mentioning the name of God) and tevhéd (acknowledgement of the unity of God). As the majority of the derivishes are illiterate, they learn a certain number of hymns by heart and recite them in chorus, accompanying the monotonous melody with frantic gesticulations and wild exclamations.

Public places of performance, in order to attract attention and to collect contributions; for the derivishes, although forbidden to accept money, often betray the greatest greed, and their obtrusiveness has become proverbial. Once or twice the present writer tried to join such a howling company, but he could hardly stand the fatigue for more than an hour, whereas these processions wander about becoming exhausted. What struck him most was the endurance manifested during the dhikr, and he remembers having seen one derivish crying
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two nights without interruption the Ya ḫārī, Ya ḫāqān (‘He is the true and the right’) without exhaustion. This, of course, refers to the lower degree only. Higher adepts, who attain the rank of khalifah, a kind of graduate, entitled to preside over a takyrāh or kāhīyāt (convent), and to lead the ritual proceedings. The title of khalifah is mostly given to learned dervishes, whereas afterwards it is addressed as ishā (‘they,’ as a polite expression instead of ‘thou’), and have always a group of followers, who either stay continually with them or call on them once or twice a week. The takyrāh or kāhīyāt is really a kind of lodging-house in which there are always a few stationary dervishes, while the majority of the inmates are wandering members of the respective orders, who get a temporary shelter in an empty cell without any furniture or bedding and no regular food, except from time to time a pilāw (rice dish), and, if deprived of all means, a piece of bread. The guests and inmates of the takyrāh regard it as a duty to assemble round the chief at the time of the five daily prayers and also at the particular exercises of the dervishes, such as the ṭawfīn (recitation or instruction) and, the takyrāh (a circle of dervishes, presided over by the ishān, who sing and cry so long and so vehemently that they pass into a state of excitement and hallucination; they foam, they tremble in all their limbs, and whoever touches a dervish in this state of ecstasy is believed to have a share in his devotion, and to be cured of all kinds of infirmities. Strange to say, the spiritual leader, who presides over the exercise, always remains quiet and motionless, unaffected by the eccentricities of his disciples, and expressing his satisfaction only by a complacent nodding. They are, and you will find many young women, children, grey-beards, and particularly illing people, press around; they spasmodically seize the dervishes by their arms, head, or shoulders, they cling round their necks and embrace them, crying and sobbing; and some of them actually surpass the dervishes in their ecstatics. In Turkey this excitement, bordering on madness, is seldom or never seen, nor is there a similar participation on the part of the public.

In this and in many other respects the Islam of Central Asia stands alone. Everything in it bears the stamp of extravagance, unbridled passion, and we cannot believe it expected to follow blindly the tenets of the Qur'ān; no discussion or explanation is permitted, nor any effort to attract. Hence we see that, whereas in Western Islam the ishān (call to prayer) is given from the top of a minaret in a sweet melodious song, the muʾaddādhin in Turkestan summons the faithful in rough and half-articulated words from the flat roof of the mosque. The performance of religious duty, they say, does not require any adornment. Austerity and draconic rigour, too, prevail with regard to neglect or trespass of the laws of Islam. In the present writer's time a Muslim convicted of the use of alcoholic drinks was sentenced to death by being hurled from a tower, and a woman caught in adultery had to undergo the penalty of rajm (being stoned to death). Strange to say, the Central Asians are themselves fully alive to the exceptional position which they occupy in Islam; they are even proud of it, asserting that they are the most rigorous executors of the ordinances of the Prophet, and the only Muslims whose religious belief has not been contaminated by fruitless discourses. With Yosufī it is to the northern part of Turkestan, Mashrâb (personal name, Rahīm Bābī) is for the east and south. He was a native of Namangan in Khojand, and known as a divānah, a religious madman. A divānah is a dervish from place to place, behaves like a man insane, but, possessed of divine powers, works miracles, and has consequently an extraordinary influence over the ignorant masses. The present writer's observation of these divānahs or faqīrs (poor) has led him to the con-
viceion that most of them are cunning men with a lust for adventure, ready to exploit the plain people, and unwilling to submit to the sometimes rigorous monastic regulations of the orders to which they belong, or, disliking the individuality of their iṣām, or spiritual chief. It was chiefly in the villages and in the tents of the nomads that he met with these religious vagabonds; there they are highly revered. The mujālā, on the other hand, those of the incendiary, of breakers of the precept of Islam—Lā rukhūdān Fīl-Islam, 'There are no monks in Islam.' The majority of them are illiterate, but the present writer has met with mujašnā who were versed in religious lore, had studied in madrasahs, and had been moved simply by wandering propensities to renounce the regular and sedentary life of a priest. Among these dervishes there is also a certain Turk-dīrānāh, a Turk by origin, as the name indicates (date unknown), who is very often spoken of by the nomads as a saint, and who interceded with Allah for sinful humanity. He asked Him to deliver mankind from hell, to which Allah replied that He would when peace, justice, charity, etc., reign supreme in the world. Further, among the latter dervishes there are many of local celebrity, though others of the countries have their own influence; in fact, the farther a dervish has wandered, the greater is deemed his supernatural power, and the stronger is his position. A distinguishing feature of this extraordinary influence of the beggar-dervishes does not lie merely in the utter ignorance of the people, but rather in the tyrannic rule of the governing classes, laic and ecclesiastic, are everywhere hated. These unofficial servants of God, then, discredited and despised by the mujālā are regarded by the lower class as of themselves; they thus very naturally appeal to the people of the countries, and frequently play the part of publicly avowed protectors against oppression.

In Western Islam there is hardly a trace to be found of these roaming saints, and those whom the traveller accidentally meets in the Balkan countries, in Asia Minor, and in Syria are mostly foreigners, and principally adventurers from Central Asia, India, or Persia. The Turk himself is too large, too easy-blamed, and too much given to a quiet life to find pleasure in the eccentricities of the wandering dervish. The Ottoman Turk, like the Kurds and the Arab, clings with great attachment to his faith; but he is very far from giving way to the religious ecstasy and wild fanaticism which are imputed to him by his detractors. In this respect the Western Muhammadan is many hundreds of years ahead of his fellow-believer in Central Asia; for the latter has remained absolutely in the position of the first centuries of Islam, and, indeed, at the beginning of the past century was even more fanatic and orthodox than in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. Such, however, was not always the case. As long as the Iranian element was predominant beyond the Oxus, worldly science found many votaries, and during the reign of the Samanids and later of Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. But with the increase of the Turkish population and under the rule of warlike Turkish chieftains, the nomadism and later Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. And with the increase of the Turkish population and under the rule of warlike Turkish chieftains, the nomadism and later Central Asia

Naturally, then, scientific inquiry having been gradually banished, religious eccentricity has taken its place, and Central Asia has long been the seat of fanaticism. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the author of the Mathnawī, was right in saying:

'Ve can see the backbone of the tree with the fingers of thy paint.

Thither thou goest, to be put into chains.'

Similar things were said to the present writer by his learned friends in Turkey and Persia when they heard of the Czar's visit of breaking the Central Asia; and when, on returning, he related to them his experiences, many of them disdainfully criticized and laughed at the overreached religious zeal of their fellow-believers. At other times, for this great difference is to be sought in the belt of dreary sand steppes, infested by nomadic robbers, which surrounds Central Asia, and has always been a great hindrance to its communication with the rest of the Muhammadan world. Whilst Western Islam has undergone essential changes in the course of time, Islam in Central Asia has remained stationary, unaffected by the temporary intellectual movements in the West, and checked by the strong conservatism of a fanatical clergy and a despotic form of government. If Shi'ite Persia had not produced its great chief in the general Muhammadan body, distantly related to the shores of the Adriatic, Islam in Central Asia could hardly have retained its fanaticism or degenerated into these aberrations, often censured by plausibly rationalists, and extolled by the Central Asians themselves, who accuse their co-religionists in Turkey and Arabia of levity of mind, and proclaim with pride: 'Bukhārī is the real strength of Islam and of the faith.' This difference becomes still more important when we observe that the spirit of zealotism has extended into N. India, and has particularly infected the barbarous mountaineers of Afghanistan. At other times we hear of a murderous attack by some Pathān or Khaiābī on an offending British officer, we have always to think of one of those fanatics, who, anxious to become a ghāzī, a warrior for the faith, is ready to sacrifice his life for the title of martyr, and for the prospect of a place in Paradise. The existence of such ghāzīs was formerly reported among the adherents of Shāh Shāhīn in the fierce struggle between the Russians and Persians in the N.W. Caucasus, but nowhere else in Islam. It is, therefore, to the wild influence of the Islam of Central Asia that their appearance in the north of India must be ascribed.

A. VANDERBILT.

MUHAMMADANISM (in China).—I. Historical.—China, regarded as a portion of the Muhammadan world, may be divided into (1) China proper (the 'Eighteen Provinces'), and (2) the external provinces (Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia). Of the external provinces only Turkestan need concern us here, for the Muhammadans resident in Tibet and Mongolia have never been more than an insignificant fraction. According to H. d'Ollone, Beuse du monde musulman,2 v. 1908 94, they are to be found all along the highway to India through Tibet; thus, 400 are recorded for the hundred or so Muslim families living in the vicinity, while mosques are found also in Batang and Lhasa, in the latter city being attended, it is said, by British Mohammedans. The Lamas of Tibet are in no way hostile to Islam—a fact that need excite no surprise, since the adherents of the two religions have a common political interest in alluding to all their schools and colleges, the students, flocking from all parts of Central Asia and India, have turned their attention to purely religious questions, neglecting even such subjects as philosophy, law, and philology, which are still cultivated in the colleges of Western Islam.

1 Hereafter cited as RMM.
have brought about no conversions to Islam, though the commercial bond is far from being insignificant. In particular, the Muslims of Sung-p'ang-ting in Sze-chuan carry on with Tibet an important traffic in tea, but in this body of the Ommar expedition of 1097 found only a single Tibetan convert to Islam, who, moreover, was rather lukewarm in his adherence (RMMI v. 403 ff.); on the other hand, several attempts to convert to Christianity were met with in Sung-p'ang-ting.

Muhammadanism was introduced into Turkestan at the time when the powerful kingdom of the Sâmanîs was pressing towards the east. According to the tradition—in common with many legendary features—which is given in the Ta'rikh al-Bughra (extracts in R. B. Shaw, Sketch of the Turki Language, Calcutta, 1878-80), the Turki prince Satak Bughra was converted to Islam at the age of twelve (A.D. 966; he reigned till 1047) by a certain Abû Naqr Sâmanî, who came from the west. It is a fact of history that the descendants of Satak Bughra, known as the Boghrais or Ilkeids, maintained their power till the year 1103, and in 1070, during the reign of Taghbehr (one of that dynasty), Yusuf Khass Hajib finished his great work (Mirâj-ud-Din, or Divining Science), a work imbued with the spirit of Islam. Probably the diffusion of the Persian language and civilization among the Turki population had contributed to the spread of Islam in that region. From this it results that the Turki language of the rulers, it certainly was no more than tolerated in the adjacent Turki kingdom to the east—the land of the Uigurs. Nor can the position of the Muslims have undergone any essential change by the time when the Kara-Khitai overthrew the Ilkeid kingdom, since the conquered people were left in full exercise of their religious freedom as long as they adhered to the old beliefs. Similar methods were practised by the Mongol conqueror Jenghiz Khan and his immediate successors. At the division of his empire Turkestan fell to his grandson, Jagaïï, whose successors soon embraced Islam. Even at a later time, however, as the records conclusively show, the adherence of princes and people alike to the new faith was half-hearted, and the ideas and usages of Lânism (q.v.) were quite common among the professed Muslims. The blind superstition of the people facilitated the unscrupulous tactics of the philosophically gifted descendants of Makhdum A'zâm, who at first ruled as Khalifah (Murad) and then became Khan of Jagaïï, and eventually in their own name. The dissensions that arose within the family of Makhdum, their struggle with the Kalmucks of Zungaria, and the internal wars of the Sahidian khan led (c. 1750) to the conquest of Zungaria by the Chinese, who shortly thereafter won Kashgar as well, and joined the two territories together as the 'New Province' (Hain-chin). Ever since that time the Chinese have been the ruling power there, and various attempts at revolt have proved abortive. Only for a short period, from 1864 to 1877, did the country—as Al'tishshahr (‘Six Cities’), and subsequently Yethishshahr (‘Eleven Cities’)—figure as an independent Muhammadan State under the savage but politically capable Ya'qub Beg, who recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan of Constantinople as his suzerain. The population is estimated at from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000.

In China proper there existed no considerable groups of Muslims before the Mongolian period, and the reports of an earlier immigration are altogether legendary. Chinese tradition says that Islam found its way into the country by land and sea. It tells of a maternal uncle of the Prophet, Walîh Abû Kâabah, who landed at Canton in A.D. 628 or 629, bearing presents from Muhammad to the emperor of China, who was prevailed upon to embrace Islam, and who then proceeded to Hsi-an-fu. Other reports say that the earliest message was brought by Sâd Ibn Abî Wâqwâs, whose tomb may be seen in Canton. The tradition attaches special importance to an expedition of 4000 Muslim troops which the Khalifâh Mânûr is said to have sent to assist the emperor in a struggle with rebels (A.D. 655). The emperor permitted them to settle in the southern cities of the country; they took Chinese wives and became the progenitors of the numerous and important Muslim communities in China.

These traditions find no corroboration in the writings of Arabian historians. China and Islam, as a matter of fact, were brought into contact with each other as a result of the conditions prevailing in either sphere. About 620 a new power in Nearer Asia emerged, and another in China, each characterized by a remarkable ambition for conquest, and, advancing respectively eastwards and westwards, at length came in contact with the ancient world. In the 8th century the Khalifâh Mahdi (c. 720) conquered Transoxania, which it had been attacking incessantly after the conquest of Khurâsân, so T'ai Tsung (627-649), the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty, made himself master of Kashgaria. Of the new religion of the conquerors the strongest was commerce, which was strenuously fostered by the later emperors of the Sui dynasty; another connecting link was the work of Christian missionaries, of whose bold advance into China the Nestorian stele of Hsi-an-fu (dating from 781) affords telling evidence. Against these influences, however, must be placed the impediment to intercourse between the empires of both empires to rest content with their gains, and so to limit their frontiers. The emperor T'ai Tsung showed caution in rejecting the appeal of Yânlâqirît (for assistance as may be inferred from Tabârî, l. 2960 l.), though the report of the ambassador is a fabrication; cf. i. 2876). The Muslims became more aggressive after their able general Qutabî Ibn Muslim had subjugated Farâghânâ, but his expedition against Kashgar in 713 was unsuccessful. A comparison of the sources (Tabârî, i. 1275-1279) shows that Kashgar remained unconquered. The sending of ambassadors to the imperial court of China during the first nine years of the reign of the latter is probably historical, though, as narrated by Tabârî (i. 1277 l.) in the traditional form, it is garnished with all the conventional features. Under the Umayyads the Muslims had, indirectly, a good deal to do with China, since the Khân of the Turki, and also the jâlghû, were vassals of the emperor. A time-honoured tale is that of the scene between Naizak and the jâlghû on the one side, and the shâdî (the shade of the Orchenian records) and the sîbel (probably to be identified with the zîbel of Theophanes; cf. E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-Kui (Turcs) orientaux, St. Petersburg, 1903, 259) on the other, in which the sâdî makes the low-bow to the jâlghû (Tabârî, ii. 1224, year 91 [A.D. 710]).

1 Notwithstanding the surreptitious introduction of silk cultures into the Inner Asian Huns and their cultivation of silk merchandise of China was largely imported to Nearer Asia. It was conveyed on land by the ancient 'Nor ad happiness', or by sea through the Persian Gulf, on the north shore of which Ambarîsah (Tabârî, ed. Leyden, 1879-1891, i. 284), and afterwards Sîrî (cf. G. Le Strange, The Land of the Huns, 1893, 281, p. 385), was the port for such products.

2 Nothing is said, however, of an embossing of the Chinese side. At an earlier date, in the reign of Chowonos Amihirâvan there were Chinese at the Sasanian court (Tabârî, i. 589 l.; cf. Z. Scholz, Griech. der Parsch und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leyden, 1879, p. 107).
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was sent to Damascus, and was probably the first Chinese, or of Chinese Turks, that the Syrians had ever seen. It may be regarded as certain that it was Chinese statecraft that abetted the opposition of the Turkī khāqān and that of the smaller nationalities in Transoxiana dependent upon him or upon China itself, so that the Muslims had to maintain a ceaseless struggle. The Khotzal, who are probably to be located in the Pamirs, were not divided (A.D. 769) (Tahard, ii. 74), while Afīkhrīd, king of Khwarezm, was himself—costly Chinese ware—being conveyed to Abū Muslim at Samarqand (Tahard, i. 79 f.). When with the downfall of the Arabian empire the vigour of the Muslim religion in China was at its height, the central authority was busy with the maintenance and organization of what had been won, and when contemporaneously the central power of China under the T'ang emperors showed symptoms of decline, the intersert territory was soon occupied by strong buffer States—first of all by the Uigurs, and then by the Ilekids (see above). Isbihān was thus placed in a very unfavourable position for making an advance into China. Weak as were the dynasties that followed the T'ang emperors, the people held firmly to the maxim, 'The rule of China is better than that of Buddhism.' It is true, had made a successful entry in the face of vigorous opposition, but this is explained by the facts that (1) Buddhism was to some extent in harmony with the cult of reason (6), which, if having been taught by the Chinese in the most widely diffused than any other, and (2) it assimilated certain elements of the national spirit and so adapted itself to the prevalent sentiment (see art. Chinese, i. 598). Islam, which with its rigid doctrine of uniformity does not on principle express itself in creeds, and tends to repel by the defiant and arrogant tone of its adherents, and which, although the Buddhism of China is essentially a political religion, could not strike root in China save under the protection of the strong hand. The required protection was first provided by the rulers of the Mongol empire founded by Jenghiz Kháñ. These potentates had no religion—nothing at all events beyond the worship of their lucky star, conjoined with the egregious ambition to bring this star down from heaven. Jenghiz Kháñ found himself first in the field of Buddhism. Islam, its doctrine of uniformity does not on principle express itself in creeds, and tends to repel by the defiant and arrogant tone of its adherents, and which, essentially a political religion, could not strike root in China save under the protection of the strong hand. The required protection was first provided by the rulers of the Mongol empire founded by Jenghiz Kháñ. These potentates had no religion—nothing at all events beyond the worship of their lucky star, conjoined with the egregious ambition to bring this star down from heaven. Jenghiz Kháñ found himself first in the field of Buddhism. Islam, in which one of the most widespread and long-lasting elements of the population, so that he might have nothing to fear from the formation of any powerful alliance against him. He found his auxiliaries—apart from his own countrymen—in the various Muslim tribes of the West, a race renowned for their courage. Among these the Turks took precedence, alike in numbers, in importance, in capacity for bearing arms, and in discipline. We shall hardly err in adding Afghan mercenaries; for the Afghans—the Pāshāns of India—were always willing to serve for pay and bands of warriors may also have flocked to him from the mountains of Persia—the fastnesses of the Kurds—though not the Persians in the narrower sense, the inhabitants of the plains, who had small reputation for bravery. Yezidis and Chaldaean, were Mongolia's mobile reserve, and the Mongols were themselves men of war, and kept of trim muster-rolls. We may venture to assume, however, that the largest hordes of their followers were supplied by the countries lying nearest the scene of their conquests, viz. besides the land of the Turki between the Great Wall and the mountain barrier of the T'ien-shan (Chihli-Tien-Kuang, Transoxania and Khurasan. This explains also the curious phenomenon that from that day till the present Persian has been regarded by the Muslims as the language of polite education, and that the vernacular Chinese written by these Muslims is mixed with scraps of Persian. 1 In eludication of this it has been supposed that at some time or other Persian immigrants had settled in the country, and their tenantry, perhaps, preserved vestiges of it in these numerous fragments. This, however, is certainly erroneous, 2 for the intermixure of Persian in the Muslim idiom of China was from the very beginning a circumstance which was regarded for the Persian language entertained by the barbarian and semi-barbarian hordes of Neerth Asia who swarmed to the camps of the Mongol Khan (Khāñ), and established his sway in China, he brought Persians in great numbers to fill the offices connected with the government and the court. Both Marco Polo and the Arabic traveller Ibn Battūfah supply full information regarding these foreigners in the Chinese services. 3 To a great extent they would be full-blooded Persians, and they no doubt helped to establish the policy of keeping the Chinese out of the empire, and to keep it alive in the very heart of the country.

As to the numbers of Muslims brought into China by the Mongol emperors, we can hardly err in estimating them at a million. The emperors and their auxiliaries, who now to hand may throw light upon such importations. In A.D. 1236 a young Muslim warrior, a native of Bukhārā, who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet, 'Ali, 4 longed for a career as an explorer. The official employment of this Muslim from Bukhārā, who, of course, did not come single-handed, but was attended by a company of armed men, was of special interest, because his soldiers were sent on service to Yün-nan, while he himself was installed as viceroy of that province. We may accordingly infer that the influx of Islam into Yün-nan began at that time, for that it reached

1 An excellent specimen of this idiom is found in the short Chinese MS (MS Sio. Hartmann 1 of the Royal library, Berlin). 2 It is no argument against the theory, however, to say that it would involve a wider diffusion of Shi'ism than we can suppose, for the introduction of Shi'ism to the national religion of Persia and the dispersion of the Shi'ite predilections among the people did not take place till a later period. There is also a tendency to regard all Persian writings as of Shi'ite origin—an utterly mistaken idea, as even the widely-read work, Mādrj al-Nabūrat, 'Life of the Prophet,' by Mu'in al-Dīn al-Mishkīn (t. A. 1091), is by no means in character.

3 One of these officials made himself very obnoxious—'Azmān al-A'imād, 'the Bůlī,' whose story is given not only in the Chinese sources (cf. J. A. de M. de Martina, Hist. générale de la Chine, Paris, 1777-85, lv. 414 f. (Strange and Kung-Mun), which might occur to be expected to take a more or less cynical tone, but also in a straightforward account by Marco Polo (cf. H. T. de Bosis, The Black Prince, p. 74). But even this was largely brought to a graphic and ingenious sketch (RMM iv. 1167, 320 f.).
that province by sea is in the highest degree unlikely.

Now, when we take into consideration the number of Muslims in China at the present day and the isolated requirement just mentioned—the only known instance of the systematic migration of Muslims into China, and there was certainly no other—we are prompted to ask how the Muslim element was arrived at, and the extent of its proportions. The total number of Muslims who settled in China from the date of the earliest campaigns of Jenghiz Khan (c. A.D. 1200) to the fall of the Mongol dominion (c. A.D. 1367) cannot certainly be reckoned at more than 1,000,000. At the present day, however, the Muslims resident in China amount on the lowest estimate to 4,000,000. That this vast expansion is due entirely to natural increase is inconceivable; we must therefore look for other possible factors. (1) From time to time fresh companies of Muslims came to China, as, e.g., in the retinue of Turki princesses of Muslim faith who entered the harem of the Chinese emperors. (2) Chinese-born children were, and still are, sometimes made Muslims. (3) When great devastations occurred among the Chinese, the vacant places were filled by Muslims, as the latter, being endowed with a greater courage, would evidently be more capable of grasping with the manifold misfortunes which throughout the centuries have fallen upon this ill-governed country. It has already been noted that the Muslim expansion is connected with the Mongol invasion and conquest, by which the Chinese were brought into contact with the nonChinese peoples, and were thus enabled to gain a more complete knowledge of the exterior world and its products. (4) As the territory which before the Mongol conquest was inhabited by an Indo-European population was now colonized by people who, though descended from a race that was Indo-European in language, had adopted a non-European religion, the extent to which they share the distinctive qualities of the Chinese peoples cannot be precisely determined, the requisite data not being available. In any case they all speak the language of their adopted country; they share the variation of idiom that resembles the real Chinese in their ways of thinking, while in writing also they use almost exclusively the national language. At the same time they are different from the Chinese as regards their physiognomy, characteristics, and the division of the people as a whole—exclusive, however, of the Tatars.

1 The leading instance of this is furnished by the still existing colony of Tatars who are traceable back to the reception of a Turkish princess into the harem of the emperor Ch'ien-lung; cf. J. Arndt, 'Peking und die westlichen Urgelen,' Mitteil. der geograph. Gesellschaft Hanover, 1839-90, p. 64.

2 This term may signify 'those who have come home,' i.e., those who have returned to the true faith, the expression being that all human beings come into the world as adherents of Islam, and only by contact with the Chinese is the 'return' to the true religion possible, and so becomes Jews or Christians. The word corresponds, therefore, to the Osmanli dawma, the name applied to the Jews of Saloniki who have been converted to Islam. The designation Dungan would thus seem to imply that the majority of Chinese Muslims have been converted.
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(Mongols) and the aborigines of the south (Lotos, Minjero)—indicate that Islam holds good throughout. The name Dungans is applied to a large section of the Chinese Muslims, who, how-

ever, as was said above, term themselves simply Han (cf. Dungan; but they would never think of calling themselves Han (‘Chinese’), nor are they ever designated so. They form, in fact, a distinct racial aggregate, co-ordinate with the Chinese and the Turks in the name by which they are erronaneously extended also to the Turki of Turke-
stan, but in reality there exists a marked contrast between Dungans and Turki. The Dungans who speak Turki—they are by no means few—use a peculiar dialect of that language; and, as regards the Chinese spoken by the Dungans, it should further be noted that the document of Dungan origin in the Berlin Royal Library (see above, p. 890) is composed in a very corrupt Chinese. In Forke’s opinion, however, its solitude is not such as might be perpetrated by an uneducated Chinese, but in many cases got Chinese at all, suggest-
ing that the Dungans are of alien origin. As a special illustration of the intercourse between the Chinese Muslims and the Turki, cf. the story of Hidayat-Allah (Agap Khojans) of Kashghar, who came to Hui-ning-in, in Ns Hartmann I (Forke, p. 65 f.)

The process which dominates everything found within the Great Wall is one of adaptation to Chinese culture, this involves the Chinese, the col-

er of the yellow race—or ‘black heads,’ as they like to call themselves. This process overcame the Manchus and many other peoples who invaded the country, and it was impossible that the Muslims should altogether elude its operation. The Chinese have a capacity for dissolving racial character-

istics. This holds good even of physical qualities, for example, the small size, which is a peculiar attribute of native women with foreigners, while Muslim women cannot legally be given in marriage to non-Muslims. The resultant division of Chinese blood among the Muslims is of vast importance, and we cannot but admire the tenacity with which the latter have kept themselves from complete absorption by the Chinese. In spite of a consider-
able degree of assimilation in external matters, they hold on to their own a fundamentally different standpoint. For the Chinese reason (ii) is supreme; for the Muslims tradition is all. Notable, too, is the contrast in certain traits of character. The Chinese, as a rule, are unreserved, and will put up with a great deal; the Dungan has an intense self-esteem, and is a dangerous man to offend. The difference reveals itself also in the outward bearing. The Chinese notion gives one the impression of being a dejected and downtrodden man; the Muslim carries himself proudly, and faces the world with a frank and open coun-
tenance. The relative physical desirability of the Chinese may be due in part to the opium habit. Among

the Muslims this is but rarely found; tobacco smoking is prohibited, and the drinking of wine and other intoxicants, which the stringent interd

cies of the Turks does not prevent, is abroad in Western Islam is quite inconsiderable among the Muslims of China. All this testifies to a very real cleavage between the Chinese and the Muslims, and is a constant reminder that the latter are not Han-yen, but something else.

What, then, are the Muslims of China, ethno-

logically considered? To this question there is no answer. It is generally stated that the name Hui-lui (Hui-ta) and the name Uigur with all its various transcriptions in the Chinese language (Chavannes, pp. 87–94). From the time of the earliest considerable incursions of

Muslims, this region of many races has been over-

whelmed with so many invaders that it is impossible to speak of any single racial type. In addition to this we must also take into account the Muslim policy of incorporating people of other faiths, notably the purchased children (cf. the present writer’s note in his Der islamische Orient, i. [Leipzig, 1905]; more recently d’Ollonne, in RMM ix. Such absorption of foreign elements must be regarded as a very important factor. In this con-

nection we may note that the Chinese of d’Ollonne to the effect that the purchased Chinese children do not exhibit a uniform Chinese type, and that the homogeneity of the Chinese race is simply due to the immense and increasing amount of foreign blood. The Chinese are a mingling people. They are a degenerate Turkish people (see above, p. 890; with reference to the well-known canons allowing the Muslim to marry as many as four wives, and to have slaves as concubines, but cf. also the Marjani, p. 156, n. 11); they are a mongrel people, and the Marjani are forced to submit to the laws of the land regarding marriage. This is undoubtedly a mistake in so far as it implies that
MUHAMMADANISM (in China)

The like is true of the position of women in general. According to d'Ollone, the so-called law of veiling is not observed by Muslim women in China, who walk abroad without reserve (RMM ix. 540); Germain had indicated the fact, but noted an exception in the case of the wealthier classes. In Ho-chow, however, d'Ollone found a different practice, the women there wearing a veil of black silk below the head. The writer was acquainted with the present writer to be connected with the sect of Ma-hua-lung; further, they go on the street on horseback instead of in carriages. As regards foot-binding, d'Ollone says, "Moorish Muslim women and Chinese women; in Kan-su especially the practice is very common. That a Muslim should take in marriage one of alien faith is not objected to; it is rather deemed a meritorious act thus to bring an unbeliever to the true religion. The Muslim woman, on the other hand, must not be given in marriage to a non-Muslim; such a union is regarded as the most heinous of sins. In this matter, however, compromises are sometimes made with heaven: the marriage of a Turkqi princess with the emperor Ch'ien-lung has already been referred to; and, when the present writer passed through Kucha (Kashgar) in 1902, a Chinese with a Turkqi wife (tconcubine) was presented to him. Illicit intercourse is not punished here, any more than in other Muslim countries. At the same time, the greater part of this country is not a country that gives to women the free and open way to the beauty that is not accompanied by the fear which the Orientals place on women's beauty."

The habit of wearing veils, however, is less prevalent among the Muslims. No special attention is devoted to the education of children (for the schools see below (d)). Two very prominent features of family life are filial piety and ancestor-worship. The former is extolled in the narrative given in the Chinese-Arabic MS edited by Forke; the latter finds expression in the literal prayer for parents and ancestors, while use is also made of pictures of ancestors after the Chinese manner. Social distinctions are not invariably fixed by descent, except in the case of the Prophet's descendants. The latter have been brought in other Muslim countries by surreptitious enrolment in the sacred lineage do not seem to be extensive among the Muslims of China. Nor does the veneration of Sayyids appear to have assumed any unusual proportions; the Moslem is simply a venerated man, in the case of the schismatic Ma-hua-lung, who claimed to be a Sayyid, but who failed to win such prestige as the notorious sons and grandsons of Makhdu'm 'Aqsa (see above, p. 899). The relative indifference to Sayyids (Sharifs) in China is explained by the popular belief that they are for the most part converts to Islam or the descendents of converts (Danguans).

(c) Industries.--The industries in which the Chinese Muslims are engaged are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce (including handicraft and traffic in goods), and (3) transit-trade. The Muslims do not take an active part in commerce. They have, however, taken the environment has asserted itself, inasmuch as the Chinese are pre-eminently an agricultural people, and have in great measure the faculty of infecting the alien population with their own habits. Accordingly, the Chinese Muslim is everywhere one of the most industrious tillers of the soil, so that it was recently reported that those employed in Chinese law would intrude upon this domain of personal rights, though it may not be necessary to ask for the universal validity of the imperial ordinances. These ordinances are binding on all by virtue of imperial decree (Le Mariage, p. 583; and see the preface to the Manuel d'Islamologie, 1884, No. 186, Shanghai, 1885). The present writer has not succeeded in discovering among them anything that formally concedes an exceptional position to the Muslims, and beheaded. At that time he acquired landed estates of enormous extent. It was also now that the revolution of 1895 in Hsi-nung-fu and Ho-chow, enriching himself, as usual, with the spoils filched from his co-religionists. He received the title of 'generalissimo' (ta ju), and was in effect king of the country. When the Boxer rising broke out at Peking in 1900, Tung hurried thither with his henchmen—the foremost of whom was the infamous Ma-an-liang, Tongling of Ho-chow—and made himself conspicuous by his violent and malicious proceedings against the foreigners, who saw in him only a Muslim at the head of a horde of Muslims, but a mere adventurer, who gained a following amid the chaos caused by the rising of 1861-74, and who, in return for the gift of a mandarinate, made himself the tool of the viceroy, Tso-tsung-lung, and of General Lu-soung-shan. He caused Ma-hua-lung, the prime mover of the revolt, and the prophet of the 'new doctrine,' who fell into his hands in a sortable from the rebel city of K'un-k'i, to be beheaded. At that time he acquired landed estates of enormous extent. It was also now that the revolution of 1895 in Hsi-nung-fu and Ho-chow, enriching himself, as usual, with the spoils filched from his co-religionists. He received the title of 'generalissimo' (ta ju), and was in effect king of the country. When the Boxer rising broke out at Peking in 1900, Tung hurried thither with his henchmen—the foremost of whom was the infamous Ma-an-liang, Tongling of Ho-chow—and made himself conspicuous by his violent and malicious proceedings against the foreigners, who saw in him only a Muslim at the head of a horde of Muslims,
and were quite unaware of his real relation to Islam. Having been ostensibly punished by 'banishment' to Kan-su, he lived there like a sülān. He held two fortified castles near Kinki-pu, and had a bodyguard of two retinues—tenants of the surrounding estates which he had taken from Muslims. The local councils of Kinki-pu and Lin-chou could not lift a finger without his approval. After his death in February 1908, all his crimes, as well as his crimes, his enemies, instance of the European Powers, were restored, and his remains were buried with the highest honours at Kan-yuen, his birth-place (RMM vi. 706 ff.). Apart from adventurers of this stamp, whom probably the majority of Muslims would regard as apostates, there is a far-reaching antagonism between the indigenous and the immigrant peoples. The Chinese realize the danger involved in the Muslim aspiration of an imperium in imperio, while the Muslims, rejoined as they are by the Qur'an to fight against the unbeliever, feel the ascendancy of the latter as a heavy infliction, and from their time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of such outbreaks have been those of the north (Kan-su and Shen-si) in 1801-74, and of the south (Turkestan) in 1872. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ruinous insurrections to religious motives alone, for racial antagonisms and the conflicting interests of different social classes were certainly no less potent factors.

The mosques resemble pagodas, the minārāb and minbar alone proclaiming their Muslim origin. We sometimes meet with Indo-Arabic styles, as, e.g., the two cupolas above the porch of each of the mosques in Sui-fu. For occasions of prayer the akhona (Pers. akhnâd, 'learned one'; in China, 'mosque-minister') don the white turban; the rest of the faithful wear for the time a cap never otherwise used, which is encircled by the turban, and may be of various colours—white, blue, green, or red. This cap has two shapes: the Meccan—a round, low cup, wholly covered by the turban—not worn by many; and the Bukharan—cylindrical, being formed of four or six pieces—which hangs out from beneath the turban. It is identical with the ḥāba, or toqūr, worn by all Muslims in Russian and Chinese Turkestan.

The disruptive tendencies so common in Islam generally have made themselves felt in China. Ma-hua-lung was in fact a pretender. Even during the rebellion in Kan-su, was the founder of a new sect, and his followers in Kan-su, where they are numerous, and in Sze-chuan, where as yet they are but few, regard him as the true successor of Muhammad. His descendants and disciples claim to possess superhuman powers. His teaching is called khein chiao, 'new doctrine,' in contradistinction to loo chiao, 'ancient doctrine' (RMM vi. 93). The nature of this new doctrine is something of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard it as an endorsement to Shi'ism, or perhaps an unusually bold representation of Shi'ism, but the notices of d'Ollone (q.v.) are by no means conclusive. The sect in reality is of genuinely Sunniite character, and not a degenerate variety of the mystical philosophy so widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma-hua-lung had evidently not yet wakened the immoderate representations in Chinese Turkestan by the Khodiyas, i.e. the descendants of Mahdiyān 'Azām, of whose ecclesiastico-political organization the present writer has given a detailed account in *Ecclesiastical History* i. 195 ff.). It remains an open question whether the Mahdist idea played any part in the project of Ma-hua-lung; the reports of d'Ollone make no distinct reference to it. In any case, the pretender was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a *sheng jen* ('holy man,' 'prophet') equal to, or even higher than, Muhammad himself. It speaks well for the Muslims of Kan-su that only few sided with him and his brother. His motive, wholly diabolus de learning, presumably to know everything, and had his answer ready for every question. As the founder of a new sect, he had to enjoin certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from the Muslims. For this purpose he chose the practice of praying aloud and of holding the hands straight open and horizontal in the *nīyām* (at prayer), in contrast to the general custom of silent prayer with the hands rounded and hollow. From this practice of audible prayer is derived the usual name of the sect, viz. Zaitūrīyah (corrupted to Chaiheriney, 'those who pray openly,' as contrasted with the Khūfīyah (vernacularly 'Hufey'), 'those who pray secretly'). In these externals Ma-hua-lung shows a certain affinity with a movement in the West which had found its way into China at an earlier date. About 150 years previously a reformer had appeared among the Salars (see above, p. 892) in the person of Muhammad Enun, known in China as Ma-ning-hsin, who introduced the custom of praying aloud, and of holding the hands straight open and horizontal in the *nīyām* (at prayer), in contrast to the general custom of silent prayer with the hands rounded and hollow. Usually three or four houses have a place of prayer in common, i.e. a single room set apart for worship, this arrangement being designed, it is said, to familiarize the adherents with the practice of prayer (RMM ix. 571). In Sung-yen-ting, according to *RMM* v. 463, the followers of the new faith attend the same mosques as those of the old, while in Shen-si, on the other hand, the breach is complete (RMM v. 463, ix. 561). The d'Ollone expedition had a very unceviable reception in the mosque at Ch'êng-tu; the people of the 'new doctrine' have the name of being hostile to Europeans, while the Muslims in general are friendly. After Ma-hua-lung's death in 1871, a rupture took place within the sect. His son-in-law, Ma-ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma-mihi-hsi, fought with each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma-ta-hsi, who is now (1915) sixty-two years old, has the advantage in numbers, and his place of residence, Cha-kou, near Ku-yuen, is an important religious centre and a chief battle-ground. Ma-hua-lung's teaching was introduced into Yün-nan by his younger brother (or nephew) Talasan or Talaesan, who fell in a struggle with Ma-jun-lang. In Yün-nan, however, the sect has apparently a smaller following than in Sze-chuan, where d'Ollone met with adherents of the Hsin chiao from the boundaries of Yün-nan to Sung-pan-ting on the border of Kan-su.

Alongside of the two groups of Hufey and Chaiheriney are found two others, viz. Kuberiiney and Kateriney. The meaning of 'Kuberiney' cannot be precisely determined—the word may possibly stand for *khawāla* 'grants)' or *khawālah* 'patron,' which is undoubtedly equivalent to 'Qadiriyyah,' signifying the adherents of *Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī* (q.v.). It is maintained by a certain akhān that four of these sects are related, and classes of visionaries are attached to each of them. The khulāsfahs, each of whom is said to have inaugurated a particular ritual, viz. Abū Bakr that of the Hufey, Othman that of the Chaiheriney, Omar that of the Kuberiiney, and Ali that of the Kateriney. The Khulāsfah *khulāsfah* may be applied also to those who venerate graves. In China, as elsewhere on Muslim soil, peculiar honour is accorded to the tombs of the eminently pious—those who have given credentials of saintship,
MUHAMMADANISM (in India) — Islam was introduced into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind under Muhammad ibn Qasim in A.D. 712 and founded a Muhammadan State which was eventually absorbed by the Muslim Empires of the East. But the system of elementary education is to inculcate the rudiments of religious doctrine, the children being taught by readings from the Qur'an and by short extracts from the Hadith and the bibliographies of the languages in both languages are also found. The life of the Chinese Muslims has no place for art. To anything in the nature of artistic activity only as the means of subsistence of the poor. It is often elaborated in pedantic forms suggestive of the Chinese method of writing, angles and loops being formed as in the native calligraphy (especially in epigraphs). The Muslims also erect ornately written Arabic tablets, which, however, often show such a divergence from the common script that they are very difficult to read. Even the experienced E. Blochet mistook an r for a y (REMM, 821).

(c) political relations.—In China proper the Muslims have never secured an independent political existence, while in Turkestan, since its annexation (c. 1750), they succeeded in establishing only the short-lived Muslim government of Yaqub Beg (see above, p. 889). The object of the Muslim rising in Kun-su and Shen-su (1863-74), which was among the contributing causes of Yaqub Beg's success, was likewise independence; but the movement proved abortive, and, in fact, no other issue was to be expected. The necessary condition of a permanent political organisation is that it shall have a basis of nationality, and no such thing exists among the Chinese Muslims. The latter, as interspersed among the Han (Chinese), form, not a national, but merely a religious, aggregate, and all history teaches that political establishments based upon religion are ephemeral. It has certainly been hinted that the Muslims of China may possibly force their religion upon the rest of the population, and thus evolve a powerful Islamic-Chinese kingdom. It is indiscernible that such an ambition is not wanting among the Muslims, and it will continue to act in certain localities as a source of insurgent movements against the imperial government. It is regrettable that the idea has been exploited for the double purpose of acquiring religious influence among the Chinese Muslims and of furthering political ends. Considerable efforts in this direction were made—though without the least success—by Sultan 'Abd-al-Hamid in the latter part of the 19th century; and minor attempts at a later date proved equally abortive. The word was not abandoned even after the deposition of the Sultan.


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monarchs were signalized by outbursts of fanaticism and the cruel oppression of unbelievers, their temples were destroyed and many of them converted by force. One of the greatest of these persecutions was that of the Hindu king of Delhi, Sher Shah Suri (1537-93) was hated by the Hindus for the stringency of his enactments against them. In Kashmir Sultán Sikandar (1393-1417) acquired the desire of converting the Hindus to be Muhammadans, but his ruthless destruction of Hindu idols and temples, and in Bengal Jalaf al-Din Muhammad Shah (1414-31) made himself notorious by his persecution of unbelievers. Among the later Hindu kings (1669-1720) attempts to carry out a policy of unification led to several acts of repression, and tradition attributes to him the destruction of temples and the forcible conversion of Hindus in various districts throughout the whole extent of the Moghal empire. The latest example of such fanaticism on the part of a Muhammadan ruler was that of Tipú Sultán (1782-99), whose barbarities outdid anything recorded of previous monarchs after the first conquerors. Apart from such outbursts of fanaticism, the rule of the Muhammadans has generally been characterized by an attitude of toleration towards their Hindu subjects, and the adherents of the rival religions have often been closely drawn together by a spirit of amity and mutual respect.

The fact that the Muhammadan dynasty in India has been almost entirely replaced by foreign invaders was of great importance in the history of Islam; they brought with them a large number of foreign troops, and attracted to their courts military men, merchants, priests, poets, scholars, and others, who ultimately settled in the country. The foreign immigrants and their descendents—Arabs, Persians, Turks, Mughals, and Pathans—formed an important element in the total Muhammadan population, and exercised a preponderating influence in the administration, the social organization, and the religious life. They received grants of land from the Muhammadan governments, or in times of political unrest arrogated to themselves rights of ownership, and thus formed the nucleus of an aristocracy that looked down with contempt on the native converts. The missionaries, to whose proselytizing efforts the conversion of whole tribes is attributed, and the saints, whose tombs are still venerated throughout all parts of Muslim India, were for the most part of foreign extraction. The shrines and the saints are still centres of religious influence and attract thousands of pilgrims every year; among the most famous are those of Khwájah Mu'mín al-Din Chishtí (1256) at Ajmir, Farid al-Din Shakarganj (1299) at Pákpatán, Nižám al-Din Awliyá (1235) at Dihli, and Shahí Alam (1475) near Ahmadábad. The great family of Buhárá Sáyídís, who settled in Úch in the 16th cent., may be taken as a typical example of the wide-spread influence exercised by some of these foreign immigrants. The effect of this constant stream of foreign immigration has been to keep India in close contact with the main currents of theological thought and speculation in Islam, and the religious beliefs and practices of the educated section at least of the Muslim population, whether Sunni or Shi'ah, have tended to conform to those in other parts of the Muslim world. A large part of the religious literature has been written in Arabic, and still more in Persian—both languages foreign to India—and the study of these languages has kept the theologians acquainted with the writings of Muslim thinkers outside India, and their foreign influences have thus prevented Islam in India from taking on a provincial character, so far at least as the literate are concerned. But among the uneducated, particularly the descendants of Hindu origin, especially in the country districts remote from the centres of Muslim culture, many survivals of older cults are to be found, and there the Muhammadan differs little but in name from his Hindu neighbour. He continues to worship the gods of his ancestors—particularly the village godlings, whose rites are associated with the cultivation of the soil, and the deities of disease, especially Sitala, the dreaded goddess of smallpox—and forsworn (jihád) by his attachment to the festival of the spring equinox, and Dáshárá, the festival of the autumn equinox. Against such the Hindu king frequently instigated the people at all times protested, but the first active campaign against them appears to have been started by Saiyid Ahmad and Háji Shari'at Alli, who, in the second decade of the 19th cent., began to disseminate in India the doctrines of the Wahhábí reforming movement. The writings of a later religious reformer, Munáví Karámát Ali (1874), were especially influential in combating the observance of Hindu rites and ceremonies by Muhammadans. In more recent years, the greater facilities of communication between one part of the country and another, the spread of education, and the consequent growing influence of theological text-books have increased the tendency towards an orthodox uniformity, but the low level of education among the mass of the Indian Muhammadans still keeps back many from adherence to the tenets of the faith which they profess.

The abiding influence of Hindu institutions on the converts to Islam is still further shown by their great devotion to their own institutions, by the observance of some of their old tribal ordinances in regard to marriage and inheritance. As is well known, Islam is not merely a body of religious dogma but also a system of legislation, but the Muhammadanized Rajputs and Jás in the Panják and the Mughal districts on the west coast of S. India have always continued to follow the customs of their Hindu ancestors in preference to the Muslim law of succession.

The influence of Islam in India has not been confined to the Mushálmáns themselves, but may be observed in sections of the population that stand outside the Muslim community. There can be little doubt that the Hindu reform movements of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially those connected with the names of Kabir and Nának, owed much to Muslim influences. Many low-caste Hindus, such as the sáints of the Muhammadan order, have taken up the old Mughal saints; these saints are sometimes legendary, like Sákhi Sarwar and Sháh Mádár, or historical personages such as Pir Shama Tabriz of Multán, or sometimes a mixture of both as in certain enumerations of the Páchí Pir (‘five holy men’), who are represented by some thousands of Hindus to be the only divinities that they worship. An influence of a different character was that of the Mughal court upon the higher ranks of Hindu society, resulting in the adoption in many Muhammadan habits and observances such as are generally significant of adherence to the faith of Islam.

As an ethico-religious system Islam in India presents in many ways a strong contrast to Hinduism. Both, it is true, cherish an ascetic ideal, pursued by the few, and Hindu and Muslim ascetics have often found that they have much in common, and both have often received the veneration of the adherents of the rival creed. But the stern Puritanism of Islam has set its face rigidly against those characteristics of Hindu conduct which are set forth in the Páchí Pir and illustrated on such Hindu temples as have escaped the iconoclastic wrath of outraged Muslim sentiment. This austerity of Muslim morals runs through the whole of their life. Their life of convents and their wearing an aspect of dignity and self-respect such as springs from a constant recognition of moral
obligation; at the same time it delegates women to the seclusion of the zenana, depriving social intercourse of any sympathy, and depriving women of all hope of being educated to the highest light, deprives usages that other countries find harmless, such as dancing and card-playing. This moral fervour is capable of producing such types as that of the judge who cut himself off from all human relations and lived in a seclusion of his own. The doctrine of the Zab, which depended largely and in part on the battle of the Irán. Although revolts were common, the authority of the 'Abbâsids had been generally recognized by the ruling dynasties in Persia, few of which were Shi'ite. Their determined and powerful attempt to establish Shi'ite Islam was that of the Ismailis, or Assassins (q.v.). Persia was the greatest sufferer of all in the ruin wrought by the heathen Mongols, and Islam seemed about to perish; but Timur willed the revival of Shi'ite Islam, but he had mercy on none. With the rise of Šafavi kings (A.D. 1500) Shi'ite Islam of the Twelve was established as the State religion—a position challenged since only by the audacious Nadîr († 1747), who proposed to make Shi'ite Islam a fifth sect co-ordinate with the four recognized divisions of Sunnite Islam. The paper constitution of modern Persia recognizes Shi'ite Islam as the religion of the realm.

The influence of Shi'ite Islam in Persia is a larger subject than Islam in Persia. Traces of Zoroastrian influence are to be found in the Shi'ite, and still more in the developed Muslim theology.

The victory of the 'Abbâsids was in a sense, a conquest of the Arabs by the Persians. The Nahawand were avenged; Persian ideas and Persian religion began slowly to work on the faith of Muhammad.5

What Islam owes to Persian thought, especially to Persian Shi'ite, is not less. Islam is, in fact, the study of the Zab, which, strangely, has left scarcely a trace in modern Persia. The influence of Shi'ite Islam in Persia is a larger subject than Islam in Persia. Traces of Zoroastrian influence are to be found in the Shi'ite, and still more in the developed Muslim theology.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia)

Even among the Sunnites (especially the Kurds) religion centres much in the cult of the Shahkis, who are credited with miraculous powers. Many of these are connected with the dervish orders, especially the Naqshbandis, practically all the shrines of the Shī'ites is the veneration of the family of 'Ali and the doctrine of the imāmat. While every community numbers its kāfigh, the great shrine for pilgrimage of the living and burial of the dead is Karbalā, which, moreover, is the place of religious authority, the seat of the chief mujtahids, and the centre of theological education and learning. In every city there is a madrasah (college), but an ambitious student completes his training at Karbalā, or at one of the neighbouring shrines that share in its importance. The unifying power of such a centre is very important. The other shrines of importance is Mashad.

For the mass of the people the great religious observance is the commemoration of the battle of Karbalā on the 10th of Muharram and preceding days. On the spectacular side it is the carnival of the religious orders, the timid disapproval of the educated is unavailing to check continual increase of the excesses of grief in cutting the head and beheading the breast. Regular passion-plays are unknown. The saint's shrines with their daily doings, the ḍālān, has an important place in the mosque life, and the great topic for sermons is the life of the Imāms. Ghādir Bāirām (when Muhammad is supposed to have handed over his mantle to 'Alī as his successor) is at least equal to Qurān Bāirām in popular estimation. The hadith (traditions) deal with the sayings and doings of the Imāms as well as of the Prophet, the most popular collections being those of Muḥammad Baqir Majlisī of Isfahān, made three hundred years ago. The expectation of the reappearance of the Twelfth Imām as al-Mahdi is general. The Seyyids rival the mu'llās in authority and claim the fifth of field and herd. So far the description applies to all Shī'ite sects.

The Mutasharīfs, who are by far the most numerous sect, regard the mujtahids as the only representative of the Qāsim, or hidden Imām, and the only inasmuch as they interpret the sharī'ah (canon law). They are conservatives and traditionalists. The Shāhīds, Zaⱬābīs, and minor sects hold that the Imām is always a representative of the Imām, who possesses in some degree his divine authority. They differ as to who that representative is, and in other matters. The Shāhīds are the intellectual mystics, interpreting, e.g., the mi'raj (Muhammad's ascension) in a very different way from that implied in a spiritual way. Zaⱬābīs resemble the dervishes in ascetic practices and in the use of the dhikr, but sofarī and goli (spoken and silent).

The influence of Islam in the world and in foreign lands has always been either as a political or a religious force, often both combined. The influence of Islam has been largely due to the fact that it has been able to adapt itself to the conditions of the countries in which it has been introduced. The influence of Islam has been greatest in the countries where it has been able to establish itself as the official religion. In the countries where it has been introduced as a minority religion, the influence has been much less.

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W. A. SHEED

MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia).—A. SYRIA.—Syria and Palestine have always formed one of the outlets for the superfluous population of Arabia. The invasion of the country by the Arabs in the first half of the 7th cent. A.D. was only one of a series of invasions...
which had been going on from time immemorial. The conquest, which took place in the Caliphate of 'Omar, only a year or two after the death of Muhammad, occupied a few years (13–15 A.H.), and was facilitated by the fact that the people of Syria came, to a large extent, both in origin and in language, to the pre-Islamic Kingdom of Ghassan, which, with that of Hira on the other side of the Syrian desert, formed a buffer State between the empires of Rome and Persia, was of pure descent, and had made their inroads into the country, they were not invading a foreign people, but rather attacking the governing classes only, the representatives of the Eastern Roman empire. Moreover, it was only a score of years since the Persians had wrested the country from the Greeks and held it for ten years. The Persian Wars had depleted the exchequer of Constantinople, and Heraclius had been compelled to withdraw the wanted subsidies from the frontier tribes—a fact which made them all the less unwilling to throw in their lot with the Arabs. When, therefore, 'Omar's forces entered the country, they did not come altogether as invaders, and to the indigenous population the issue was not subjection so much as a change of masters; and it was not impossible that the new masters might be more tolerable than the Romans.

To the Arabs the conquest of Chaldea was motivated by the lust of plunder, the conquest of Egypt was to a large extent a necessity—had it been, it has been said, that the Caliph of Medina would have been saved from famine—but the conquest of Syria was largely a matter of sentiment. Within its borders were contained nearly all the holy places of Islam. Had Salih ministered to tribes within the boundaries of Arabia, but nearly all the remaining prophets—Abraham, Solomon, last above all Jesus—had lived and died in Palestine. Muhammad, too, had visited Syria, once as a mere boy, with his uncle Abu Talib, and again as the agent of Khadijah. Jerusalem had been the goal of his mysterious night-journey, from which he had ascended to the Divine Presence, and it was from Damascus that he had turned away, saying that one could not enter Paradise twice. The reverence of the Arabs for Jerusalem is shown by the fact that it was towards it that the Muslims turned in prayer during the first two years after the death of Muhammad. It was the Caliph who, after the capitals of the city in 637 was accepted by the Caliph in person. On this occasion 'Omar visited most of the sacred places, under the guidance of the patriarch Sophronius. He is said to have identified the site of Solomon's temple, and he erected a small mosque, probably of wood and clay, for the worship of the Muslims. Jerusalem did not become the political capital of the province of Palestine. For that Ramleh was founded somewhat later. But the sacred character attributed to the ancient city by the Arabs appears in the name Bait al-Maqdis (the holy house) by which their historians always call it, or in the shortening of Al-Quds, by which it is known at the present day.

The sanctity in the eyes of the Muslims even of Jerusalem is, however, surpassed by that of Hebron, the holiest place of the Prophet of Abraham, Ishmael, and Jacob, with their wives, as well as Joseph. Hence it used to be named Masjid Ibrahim (Abraham's mosque), but now it is always called Al-Khali (the 'friend'), abbreviated from the city of the friend of God.' Hebron fell into the hands of the Crusaders in A.D. 1099 and remained so until it was retaken by Saladin in 1187. The Crusaders had expropriated of his property, and had made scruples about entering the sepulchral chamber, but the curiosity of the Muslim does not exceed his sense of reverence, and one of them mentions with a feeling of the deepest awe that he had conversed with one who had with his own eyes seen Abraham. At the present day Europeans are not permitted to enter the mosque (originally a Crusaders' church), with very rare exceptions, and then only by a special firman.

Under the Umayyads (A.D. 661–750) Syria attained to the hegemony of all the Arab States, and Damascus became the capital of an empire stretching from India to Spain. Mu'awiyah, the first of the line, had bestowed the government of the Caliph 'Othman: it was to the Arabs of Syria that his dynasty owed its birth and stability, and the Caliphs of the line naturally wished to do all in their power to strengthen the position and precedence of their adopted country. Hence it was that, after the assassination of 'Ali, Mu'awiyah proclaimed himself Caliph, not at Medina, which had been the political as well as the religious capital under the first three Caliphs, but at Jerusalem. When, on the death of his son Yazid, the rest of the Muslim world did homage to the rival Caliph Ibn Zubair in Mecca, it was no doubt in some measure owing to the possession of the sacred city of Jerusalem and the tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron that the Umayyads were still able to maintain their position in Syria. And, whilst their rival was engaged in rebuilding the Mosque at Mecca, which their armies had besieged, the Umayyad, 'Abd al-Malik was building the famous Dome of the Rock upon the site of the Temple of Solomon, as the inscription on it states, in imitation of the Abbasids, still bears witness; and it was only after the building was finished, and a substitute for the Ka'bah had been provided to which the pious Muslim might make his pilgrimage, that the rival Caliph was crushed and the Muslim world once again united under one head. Mu'awiyah had already wished to remove the pulpit of the Prophet at Medina to his new mosque, but in deference to the religious feelings of the people he refrained from doing so. There is no reason to suppose that the Umayyad Caliph acted in this matter from merely pecuniary motives, because he wished to divert the immense revenues arising out of the sacred ground of the Hijaz into his own coffers; because, as soon as he was undisputed Caliph, it would not have mattered which town became the object of pilgrimage (J. W. Wellhausen, Das arabischliche Reich, Berlin, 1902, p. 132 f.). The truth is that the Caliphs, except the exception of the pious 'Omar ii., were not Muslims at heart. They sprang from the old aristocracy of Mecca, the bitterest opponents of the Prophet, who submitted to him only at the last possible moment. They did not scruple to attack and plunder the city of Medina where he had lived and died, and even to destroy the Ka'bah itself, and they had well-nigh exterminated the family of the Prophet. They were a purely civil dynasty ruling in the name of religion, and they did not care what means they used to attain their ends. The great bulk of the population of Syria were Christians. They were, many of them, well educated, and in every way, except in fighting, more useful to the dynasty than the Arabs themselves. All the clerks in the government offices were Christians, and the State archives were written in Latin. A similar state of things existed in Persia and in Egypt. It was only under 'Abd al-Malik that the Arabic language began to be used exclusively, and even then the clerks continued to be non-Arabs. Some of the most influential persons about the Caliphs were also Christians. John of Damascus, as well as his father, held high office under these Arab masters of his race. The panegyrist of the Umayyads was the Christian poet al-Akhtal. Moreover, it was not that these Caliphs merely made use of their Christian subjects,
MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia)

while ignoring their religious creed. Questions of theology seem to have been discussed by the two parties in the presence of the more liberal Caliphs upon equal terms. Al-Akhflat made no attempt to conceal either his religious belief or the external emblems of his faith, when he stood before the Caliph Fatimid; and it was the ambition of Damascus to be an ardent defender of the use of images in divine worship, wherein he stood in opposition not only to the Caliph but to the Greek emperor as well. Such a thing was not to be endured in the sphere of Islam, and there is little doubt that some of the less strict ways of thinking which began to prevail were due to this cause. It was to condone the delinquencies of the Umayyads that the Menfi professed to believe that there was no deadly sin for any one who made the profession of Islam, or that at any rate the sinner would not be punished until the Day of Judgment. Belief in the delinquencies of the caliphs, and not merely in the direction of an admission of free will. This tendency towards freedom of thought culminated in the Mu'tazilite movement under the 'Abbasids (see above, p. 349). Nor was it only on the religious side that Christianity moulded Muslim life. Hishâm, one of the last and best of the Umayyad Caliphs, was a notable agriculturist. His governor was the famous Al-Khidr, who was also a farmer on a grand scale. Khalid's mother was a Christian, and he built her a chapel beside the mosque at Kufa. He employed Christians and other peoples, and other periods appear preferential; as Muslims, as he so doubt found them more intelligent and capable. In Hishâm's days the doctrine that the Qur'an is not eternal, which became the accepted creed for a short time under the 'Abbasids, began to be professed. The century and more during which the Umayyads ruled the Muslim world from Damascus was the most glorious in Arabian annals, and it is not without significance that it was after the last Caliph of the line had removed the capital to his native town of Harrân that the dynasty fell and was replaced by that of the 'Abbasids.

With the fall of the Umayyads the Arabs ceased to be the ruling race and Syria became one of the provinces of the empire, not specially distinguished in the religious aspect from the rest. On the break-up of the Caliphate, with its resulting chaos, Syrians and Greeks, Persians, and the holy men of the belligerent-man of Christianity and Islam. When it was prosperous and well-governed, it was generally as a dependency of Egypt, under Fâtimid, Ayyûbid, or Mamlûk rulers. For the last four hundred years it has formed a province of Turkey.


B. EGYPT.—Since its conquest by the Arabs about the A.D. 640, Egypt has owed its wealth and partly its possession of the Azhar University and its frequent sovereignty has been enjoyed or the holy places, played a leading part in the material and spiritual progress of Islam, and especially during the last hundred years it has outstripped all other countries in the direction of the Europeanizing of the faith. The people of Egypt have always been subservient to those of another race. At the beginning of the 2nd cent. they had to endure twelve years of Persian domination. After the conquest was over, however, the Persians ruled, as they generally did, with moderation and tolerance, and, when the country was recovered for the Eastern empire by the conquests of Heraclius, the change of masters was a change for the worse. The natural craving of the Egyptian for a strong arm on which to lean was supplied by the 'Abbasids, who, through the influence of the great Madhhabians, were the confessors of orthodox doctrine in the sphere of theology in their deification of Jesus Christ, which was the basis of their whole-hearted attachment to the Monophyist doctrine; and, therefore, when Heraclius made it his aim to force upon them the orthodox formula, and at the same time to increase the revenues obtained from the taxation of the country, the attempt was met by the Copts with dogged resistance, culminating in the flight of their patriarch Benjamin. It was owing to this prevailing discontent that the conquest of the country by the Arabs was a comparatively easy matter, accomplished within a couple of years, and with not more than a handful of troops. 'Amr, who had planned and carried out the expedition, became the first governor of the country. He at once granted religious toleration to the people, whose disputes he did not understand; he restored the Coptic patriarch to his office; and he, at any rate, did not increase the burden of taxation. The seat of government was transferred to the fortress of Babylon, close to the modern Cairo, around which a town, called Fustâs, soon sprang up. The southern boundary of the province was at Philæ, the residence of the patriarch, and the capital of Nubia, with which the Arabs concluded a treaty.

The Copts did not at once go over to the faith of the conquerors. Probably they believed that the occupation would be temporary, as that of the Persians had been, and that the enslavement of Egypt in the hands of Islam would be a temporary one. This belief was strengthened by the fact that the chief internal sources of the country's wealth, as in the case of the Persians, were connected with the administration of the conquered territories. The Copts, however, were not too much interested in the conquest of the country, for they did not want to make converts to their religion, but to maintain public order, to see that justice was executed, and to collect the revenues. This was pre-eminently the case in Egypt, to such an extent that the new-comers, professing unitarians as they were, to whom images and pictures were abhorrent, did not scruple to take over even the seals of their predecessors in office, on which was frequently engraven the figure of a wolf or other animal—a rather hard nut for modern writers of Hebrew history to crack. The wise tolerance of the Arabs is shown by the fact that not only were their official documents written in Greek and Coptic as well as in Arabic, but many important positions in the government were filled by Christian subjects. The Copts were not allowed to have a native intermediary. Once more it fell to 'Amr to become the conqueror, and this time on behalf of the Umayyads, in whose hands it remained for nearly a century (A.D. 698-750). The tragic fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the massacre of their house
made a deep impression upon the Christian population of Egypt, and it is not without significance that it was in Egypt that the last of the Umayyad Caliphs sought shelter from his enemies. For a century the 'Abbásids continued to send Arab governors to Egypt, and it was not until the year 858 that Harun al-Rashid, setting aside the heterodox peoples, the Fātimids were enlightened rulers. In spite of famine at home and the inroads of the Copyright © B.R. Hughes, Inc. 1987. All rights reserved.

of the dynasty, proclaimed himself Caliph, in opposition to the 'Abbásid Caliph in Baghdad, and he called Al-Qahirah ("the victorious"), the modern Cairo. The name bears a curious resemblance to that of the ancient Egyptian town of Edfu. From Khere-bi in the neighboring overshadowed all the countries bordering upon the shores of the Mediterranean, from Algeria to Syria, the holy cities of Arabia also acknowledging their sway. Security of life and property led to a great increase of the population. Commerce was flourishing, and the trade of India, which had up till now passed through Baghdad, began to flow into Egypt, and from this period begins the decadence of the 'Abbásid capital and the resulting aggrandizement of Cairo. 'Aziz, the son of Mu'izz, was especially distinguished for his enlightenment and religious tolerance. His reign is the culminating point of the dynasty, although it was considerably later that the prayers were said in the name of the Fātimid Caliphs in the 'Abbásid capital itself, but only for one year (A.D. 1059). Under Ḫikīm, the son and successor of 'Aziz, the position of the Fātimids was that the most in the Ikhshidids (A.D. 935-969), who also ruled both Syria and the holy cities of the Hijaz, Mecca and Medina.

The Arab did not leave behind them much in the way of architecture to tell the visitor of their occupation of the country. The so-called 'mosque of 'Amr' may at least indicate the site on which that of the first conqueror of the country was built, but it is a long way behind the Kufic type of modest dimensions than the present spacious place of worship, and not a trace of it remains. Indeed, the original Arab town of Fustāt, although it received an independent importance for many centuries, is now regarded as merely a part, and not the most florishing part, of its younger sister, Cairo.

The dynasty of Ibn Ṭulūn, on the other hand, left many memorials of their supremacy. The mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, said to be an imitation of the Ka'bah designed by a Christian architect, but with a dome superimposed and a minaret round which winds a long moral staircase leading to the roof of the Church of the Redeemer in Copenhagen, is still one of the sights of Cairo. Ibn Ṭulūn's brilliant but unfortunate son also resembled the late Khedive Ismail in his devotion to building and public works.

It was, however, under the Fātimids that Egypt rose to the height of its greatness. Claiming descent from Fātimah, the daughter of the Prophet, these sectaries, as they were held to be by the orthodox 'Abbásid Caliphs, took their origin, like so many other movements, both political and religious, in N. Africa, from which they conquered Egypt (A.D. 909 or 911), the fourth century. The site of the mosque remains the most important of Cairo. The four schools of doctrine which are recognized as orthodox by the Summite Muslims, the one

which first prevailed in Egypt was that of Malik ibn Anas († A.D. 804). It is still the accepted rite of the rest of N. Africa, but in Egypt itself it has been replaced by that of his friend and disciple Shafi'i, who died in Fustat in the year A.D. 819, and whose tomb is visited still by the pious near the foot of the Mokattam Hills. With a view to removing this advantage, he planted in their stead the orthodox faith, Saladin despoiled the Azhar of many of its privileges and endowments, and founded in its place a mosque and college renowned as the University of Cairo († A.D. 1191), at the same time instituting missions to the outlying districts for the propagation of the true faith.

The Azhar, however, quickly rose again into favour with the great and benevolent, and it is from the Ayyubids rather than from the Fatimid period that its career of brilliance and usefulness takes its beginning. With the coming of the Mamluks (1250-1517), who succeeded the Ayyubids, the University school (called after Abu Hanifa, † in Baghdad, A.D. 767) came into prominence, and still more under the Ottoman Turks (from 1517 on). Being the least strict of the four schools and also the most inclined to eclecticism, it was naturally favoured by the government, whilst the Shafi'i remained the popular school. As for the Hanafi, the last of the four orthodox schools (founded by the Prophet), it never took hold in Egypt, and its students in the Azhar have never been more than a handful at the most.

Meantime the Azhar University, which may be considered as the university of the Orient, grew in importance and splendour by leaps and bounds. In the West the conquests of the Christians ending in the expulsion of the Moors from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, and the incursions of Jenghiz Khan at the beginning of the 13th cent. and of Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) at the end of the 14th in the East, left Egypt untouched. Thus, when its rivals in Cordova and in Baghdad had been swept away, Cairo remained the undisputed mistress of Muslim learning and culture. Both its professors and students were drawn from all parts of the Muslim world, a preference even being given in some cases to those whose homes were most remote. The Muslim man of learning is cosmopolitan in his habits; he visits all countries where he may hope to pick up some core of knowledge, and returns from some world-famous; and the fame of the Azhar and its instructors naturally led many of these travelling students to settle in Cairo, and sometimes to lecture in its college. The best known of these is probably the philosopher-historian Ibn Khaldun, who was a native of Tunis and was given posts in the government not only of that country, but also of Fez and Granada. He then came to Cairo, where he was given the office of qadi of the Malikis. From there he paid a visit to Timur Lenk at his camp in Syria, and finally died in Cairo in A.D. 1406.

But, while the Azhar may be considered as holding aloft the torch of learning to the whole world, both Muslim and Christian, up to the period of the Renaissance in Europe, it must be confessed that after that it became somewhat of obscurantism. This is evident from the books which continued to be studied there. The ancient poetry, which is the whole literature of pre-Islamic Arabia, was unheard of, and even the Assemblies of the Hadith were neglected. A study was theological (including jurisprudence; or grammatical. Even the original texts of the Qur'an and the Traditions of Bukhari were not studied at all, and no critical commentaries on these. Mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and geography were ignored. In other words, the Azhar, like the 'University' of Fez, continued to be a medieval school after the Middle Ages had passed away.

Egypt was one of the first homes of Christian monasticism, and this religious tendency of the people showed itself also after they had largely gone over to Islam. Among the earliest and most typical mysteries of Egypt is called Da'ül-Nun (a name of the prophet Jonah, meaning 'he of the fish'), who flourished in the first half of the 9th cent. A.D.; the other one is the Shafi'i al-Farid, who is considered the greatest of all the poets of the mystics. He was born in Cairo in 1181, and died there in A.D. 1235. He was buried on the Mokattam Hills near the tomb-mosque of Shafi'i. His principal poem, in 671 lines, has been translated by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (Vienna, 1854). Already under Saladin not only cells and monasteries, but even convents (for divorced wives and other women), began to multiply rapidly. Bajiri († A.D. 1279), the author of the famous 'Ode of the Mantle,' which is known all over the Muslim world and has been often printed and translated in the East, was, as his name implies, of Egyptian origin.

Although Islam is theoretically a strictly monotheistic religion, there is perhaps no faith in which the fountain of the worship is more all-embracing than human nature. A centre of prayer is found in practically every town of the Moslem world, and it is in the very heart of these prayer-books of Yazuti, a native of Morocco who died in A.D. 1465, consisting of litanies in which the Arabian Prophet is a being certainly more prominent than human nature, that widespread. They are found, and not least in Egypt. The whole of N. Africa, and indeed the Muslim world generally, is honey-combed with secret societies or brotherhoods (bekta), mostly religious in object. They form such an ekklesia in ecclesia. In Egypt there are four such orders named after four mystic or Sufi (see Sufism) saints of the highest rank called 'poles' (qutub). The most famous of these is the Shafi'i Abu al-Qadr al-Ma'in († 1165), whose shrine is to this day a place of visitation in Baghdad; but the best known locally is Ahmad al-Badawi, a native of Tunis of the 12th cent., whose tomb-mosque is at Tanta, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, on the railway line about halfway between Alexandria and Cairo. A fair is held there annually on his saint's-day, during which the population or about 200,000 is drawn from the neighbouring countries. It resembles a fair elsewhere, shows of all kinds predominating over whatever religious motive ever existed. In Morocco the four recognized 'poles' differ from those acknowledged in Egypt, and one of them, Shadhilt, a native of the country († in 1258), is also the eponym of one of the more important brotherhoods. In these shrines the room containing the catafalque of the saint is lined with banners, rosaries, ostrich eggs, and votive offerings of every description. Where the shrine has fallen into ruin and consists of four bare walls, rugs and other pieces of cloth are often tied to a neighbouring tree. These pious emblems represent the prayers of the faithful to the saint to intercede for them in order to obtain some much-desired object, recovery from sickness or, often, the birth of a child. The saints' tombs are a marked feature of the landscape in all Moslem countries, are the emblems of an ineradicable superstition, and, it is said, in many cases the haunt of evil spirits.

With the French expedition of 1798, a new era began in the history of Egypt, owing to the attempts of the Khedives to transform it into a European State and super-commercialize the affairs of the ruling classes to be educate in Paris, from which they too often returned imbued with the
vices rather than the virtues of Europe. Isma'il laid down railway and telegraph lines all over the country. Under Taufiq slavery largely disappeared, and the doing away with it was a thing of the past. From Taufiq also dates the liberty of the Egyptian newspaper press, a liberty which has been mostly abused. Indeed, the number of newspapers is proportioned to the number of readers. They are, as might be expected, for the most part published in the interest of some political propaganda, nationalist (which generally means Turkish), conservative, or progressive. The best Christian newspapers are edited by Syrian immigrants. There are three or four journals published by and for women.

The progressive movement initiated by the Khedives naturally reacted on that stronghold of conservatism, the Azhar University. Incredible as it may appear, the instruction given there continued on the same lines as in the 13th century. To meet present-day needs the Gordon College was founded at Khartum, and also a modern university in Cairo, but the latter has practically no students. Meanwhile the students of the Azhar, who have always been more or less inclined to make the law into their own hands, in 1909 went out on strike, with the result that some concessions were made to modern ideas. The last century in Egypt, however, can hardly be fairly considered as an example of that spirit of enlightenment which is characteristic of European, although the instruments putting them in force were Muslim.

On the whole, it may be affirmed that the Muhammadanism of Egypt has, considering the times and country, been enlightened and a source of enlightenment. Even at the period of conquest they did not put in force the iconoclastic theory of their faith, and under the Mamluks, and also under the Fatimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen by the specimens of the latter in the museum at South Kensington, of a very high order. Neither was it customary, as in the case of the Mamluks, and also under the Fatimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen by the specimens of the latter in the museum at South Kensington, of a very high order. Neither was it customary, as in the case of the Mamluks, and also under the Fatimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen by the specimens of the latter in the museum at South Kensington, of a very high order. 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Neither was it customary, as in the case of the Mamluks, and also under the Fatimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen by the specimens of the latter in the museum at South Kensington, of a very high order. Neither was it customa...
Arabs of the tribe of Qurān, it rapidly assumed a leading place in the Muslim world, and remained for three centuries, even when the political capital was Damascus, the intellectual and religious centre of Islam. It was generally divided into two provinces—Iraq, the southern half, its most northerly town being Takrit, and the northern portion, Jazirah (the Levant). Of much importance to these two provinces, from the point of view of the history of the faith, is Iraq. It has always been the storm centre of S.W. Asia, from which the majority of the great schisms and dissensions arose, and it remained to-day the seat of the Shi'ah, or party of 'Ali. Even in the days of 'Ali himself it produced the Khawārij or Sceceders, whose main principle was to oppose the established order of belief and of society, and to clamour for a theocracy, by which they really meant anarchy and nihilism. Often apparently exterminated, they continued to be a thorn in the side of the recognized Caliphate for many a day. Baghdad itself was originally built and fortified to protect the province of the Caliph against the fanatic Rawāndis, a sect of Khurāsān (A.D. 762). In the last half of the 9th century, three of the Abbāsid Caliphs threw in the lot with the Mu'tazilah, or party of freedom of thought, and instituted a vigorous persecution of the orthodox believers; and in the second half of the same century the country was divided into a state of anarchy over the north of the Persian Gulf and continued for fifteen years before it was quelled. With the 10th century the inroads of the terrible Caramātians began, and, during the remaining of Bahrain, quickly overspread and devastated Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt (see Caramātians). Meanwhile the Turkish slave-soldiers of the Caliphs had become so numerous that the Caliph was compelled to quit Baghdad and establish itself at Sāmmārā, some seventy-five miles further up the Tigris, and remain there for fifty-five years. By the time they returned the glory had departed from the Caliphate, and the supreme pontiff of Islam had become a puppet in the hands of the military power which happened to be supreme at the moment, until the last semblance of authority was swept away by the Mongol invasion.

But, whilst Iraq was the principal seat of heresy and sedition, it became for that very reason a stronghold of orthodoxy and firm government. Here the Sayyids of Sennarim and the strongest arm to keep them in check, and their very opinionativeness led to the necessary evolution of the particular view which eventually became accepted by the civil power. Just as some of the Caliphs liked to send their worst governors to the holy city of Mecca, so some of the best, from the point of view of the Caliph, were sent to Iraq, which governors were, under the Umayyads, Ziyād, half-brother of the Caliph Mu'awiyah; the famous, if bloodthirsty, Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, and Khālid al-Qurṣi. 'Iraq, too, produced Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (+728), a commentator on the Qur'ān and collector of traditions about Muhammad, to whom the mysteries trace their origin; and Abūl-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari, who at first a Mu'tazilah, ended by reducing the faith to a system which was quickly acknowledged as orthodox and remains so at the present day.

The two cities of Baṣra and Kāfā were founded immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia; by the Arabs about A.D. 629. They were at first cantonments for the Arab garrison stationed in the territory conquered by them. These two cities, however, quickly lost their military character, and became centres of intellectual and religious towns of Islam. They have been well compared to Oxford and Cambridge, not only in their mutual rivalry, but also in the wide-spread authority which attached to their diicta. Their scholars laid down the principles of Arabic grammar, and decided, or at least pronounced upon, the proper reading of the text of the Qur'an, those of one city often taking the view opposed to that advocated by the other. Baṣra especially was the home of free-thinking. It was there that the most famous of the pedants published their tracts, and nowhere could the Assemblies of Ḥarīrī (+1122), with their airy use of expressions from the sacred volume, have been so fitly written. The Zanj and the Caramātians in directions, which devastated 'Iraq, brought ruin to both towns; but, whilst Baṣra, under the enlightened 'open door' policy of native rulers, rose again, and is likely to continue an important centre too long; Kāfā has been, as they were one of the chief means of introducing Greek learning into Islam. They produced many writers and translators, of whom perhaps the best known is Tabīt ibn Qurrah (+901).

The Abbāsid was essentially a Persian dynasty. The cause had its beginnings in Khurāsān. One Caliph even wished to make the capital there. But the claims of the West were still too great for that, and so the Centre, which was then called again and Persian, became and remained the seat of government. Baghdad was founded by Mansūr in the year 762, and quickly eclipsed in greatness all the other cities of the empire. Originally built on the west bank of the Tigris, the government offices and residence of the Caliph were later removed to the east. The insubordination of the Turkish guards at one time necessitated the withdrawal of the court to the small town of Sāmmārā further up the river. There it remained for over half a century (830–892). During this and the subsequent period nearly all the Abbāsid Caliphs came to a violent end at the hands of their own pretorians. Order was somewhat restored when the temporal power of the Caliphs was taken over by the Buwahīdīs (A.D. 945). These princes were, however, shifting, whereas the Buwahīdīs of Baghdad were Sunnites. Thus religious strife was added to civil, and was arrested only on the coming of the Seljuqs (A.D. 1055). Mesopotamia had been split up under innumerable petty chief- tains, but now all Asia from Egypt to Afghanistan was under one strong ruler. The proclamation of the Fatimid Caliph in Baghdad in A.D. 1055 was merely a passport upon the proper reading of the march of events. The Buwahīdīs had already restored the old royal palace of the Khulād and
turned it into a hospital, and now under the Seljûqs many colleges sprang up in Bagdad. Their famous Wazir Nizâm al-Mulk, among his other benefactions, founded the college named after himself, which then came to be the principal college in Bagdad, until it was replaced by that of the second last of the Caliphs, Mustansîr (A.D. 1226–32). Meantime the commodities handled in the Caliphate went through the same change as the temporal power of the Caliphs, and it was not the spiritual head of Islam, but the Seljûqs Sultans, and later Saladin, that proved the chief obstacle to the Christian. After the fall of Bagdad and the extinction of the Caliphate by the Mongols, Mesopotamia came under the sway of Persia until these were driven back by the Ottoman Turks, who have held it for the last four hundred years. Thus the old rivalry of Constantinople and Iran has been revived, with the added bitterness of the hatred of Shi'ah and Sunnâh. To the Persian Muslim Mesopotamia is the most sacred country upon earth, holding as it does the dust of 'Ali and his son Hussain. 'Ali was assassinated in Kufa in A.D. 601, but it was not until 791 that the place of his burial was so consecrated that no one save a priest who has even that authority for this statement is much later. To 'Ali were quickly attributed superhuman qualities, until he came not merely to be regarded as not inferior to the Prophet himself, but even to occupy the second place of honor after Christ and God the Trinity. Najaf or Mashhad ('Ali's shrine'), some four miles to the west of Kufa, and Karbala, the scene of the battle in which 'Abbas and most of his family perished in A.D. 680, some fifteen miles to the north of Najaf, are held, by the Persian protagonists of the divine right of Caliphs, to surpass in sacredness Medina itself, whilst to the Turk, who now rules the land, as to some of the AAbbâsid Caliphs, this devotion is nothing less than idolatry.

Mesopotamia, like N. Africa, has always been and still remains a forcing-house for religious fanatism. In the strife of sects this fair province, one of the richest in the world, has almost gone out of cultivation. There is some prospect, however, that with the construction of the Esphurata valley railway and the annexation of Basra, the efforts to repair the system of canals, which were recently begun under W. Willcocks, will have the effect of restoring the country to what it was under the Christians, and bring the basin of the Tigris, one of the most important points of the capital penalty for apostasy from Islam. In connexion with these points a new penal code was issued, and the suppression of slavery resolved upon, in 1858.¹

No one of these reforms sprang from the will of the Turkish people themselves; on the contrary, they were effected at the instigation of the European Powers, especially of Great Britain, and were introduced only after long temporizing on the part of the higher governing classes in Turkey. When the Western Powers had succeeded in saving Turkey in the Crimean War, they demanded, as an act of gratitude, the abrogation of the ordinances which could not but be humiliating to the Christian mind. They likewise expected that the changes would serve to intensify the nationalistic consciousness of the various Mohammedan elements in Turkey, and thus provide a barrier to the growing

² Heretofore cited as R.M.M.
The abolition of capital punishment for detection from the Muezzin's $\pi$-year, in 1845, the s.knowing principle all every religion and sect in my empire may practice its form of worship with complete freedom, no one shall be obstructed or molested in the exercise of his own religious and spiritual convictions, and no one shall be compelled to change his religious or sect (Fr. text, 8). The abolition of hard (poll-tax) and the introduction of military service for non-Muhammadans were affected in name, but commutation (fihd-i-askari) was still to be allowed (cf. the present writer's art. 'Bedel-i-askeri,' in DI). In reality, the abolition of hard remained to be affected in the laws, but the old modification being that the term $\text{hard}^2$ was replaced by the expression $\text{hard-i-fihd}$. It was not till the Revolution of 1846 that the official services comprised mere civil registration—i.e., the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects alike were subject to the same religious and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Similarly, the new penal code was altogether on the basis of the penal code of the sultan, and based on the simple process of taking over the French code pertain in 1858, although as early as 1849 the $\text{hard-i-fihd}$ had promised that such a code would be attempted. The new penal law was at length modernized by the supplementary decrees of 4th April 1911. The later code, however, did not supersede the penal ordinances of the ancient $\text{hard}^2$; on the contrary, the two sets of laws remain in operation side by side, and offences can be tried by either (Ch. F. Nord, Des türkischen Strafgesetzbuch, Berlin, 1912, and A. H. von der Trenck, Der Prozeß (laufs des administrativen und des empire ottomani., Vienna, 1900, p. 384). Of the other reforms, reference need here be made only to the enactments relating to the slave-trade. A band of 1st Oct. 1854 forbade the buying and selling of Georgian slaves; various ministerial ordinances, dating from the time of the Sultan's deputy of administration, established the slave trade in slaves whatsoever; since 1852 the trade has been regarded as smuggling. From 1860 Turkey has taken part in the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade in Africa at Brussels.

While it is true that many of these reforms were very imperfectly carried out, or not carried out at all, yet their importance should not be underrated. In not a few cases they made a breach in the fabric of the sultan's alike in theory and in practice, and the inconsistencies of the new laws would serve to bring Islam into line with modern ideas; but to what extent this may be affected without great religious wars, and how far Muslim theology is able and willing to deal with the fresh problems involved, the future alone can show. Hitler's Muslim theology has tacitly submitted to the reforms, and has not expressed itself openly regarding them. It is only within recent years that the aspirations of the young Turks have won support among the theologians, but no attempt has been made as yet to produce works of importance in the field of scientific theology. The views of this liberal tendency if we may so call it— i.e., theology find expression in the Siriat-i-Mustaqim, a periodical founded immediately after the Revolution, and from no. 183 (8th March 1912) continued under the name of Sabit al-Rashid (cf. 1. Bouvle, in RMM xx, [1912] 292-304; M. Hartmann, Un-politische Briefe aus der Türkei, Leipzig, 1910, p. 137).

2. Religious organization. — Apart from the theological group just referred to, the religious ranks of Islam in Turkey have no liking for innovation in the name of the entire class, as well as the spiritual member of it, is known is alem (the plural of 'alem', 'known'). This long-established organization, as still existing with but little change in its main features, was founded in the reign of Sultan Mahmut II., the Conqueror (1451-81) (cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Die osmanischen Reiche Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung, vol. II, Vienna, 1813, p. 376 ff.; W. Gibb, A Hist. of Ottoman Poetry, London, 1900-09, li. 394; C. d'Onsem, Tableau général de l'empire ottoman, iv. 2, Paris, 1791, p. 492 ff.). At its head stands the Shaiikh al-Islam, whose office, it is now considered, was created by the imaginative ruler Suleiman I. the Magnificent (1520-66), though the title had been conferred by Sultan I., the Conqueror, upon the mufti of Constantinople. In consequence of the reforms, and especially the creation of the mahkim-i-nizâmiyyâh (see above), his authority has suffered a considerable decline; he now controls only the religious schools and the sultan's. The board over which he presides is called Bâb-i-mašaḥfat-i-islâmiyyâh, Bâb-i-fuatânâdi, or, popularly, Şîh-i-islamîân, and consists of the following departments:

(a) Administrative boards: (1) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fihd-i-askari, for the selection of spiritual judges; (2) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-birâhîmî, for the selection for the office of mufti; (3) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-mâlî, for the selection of judges; (4) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-nâmârî, for the selection of clerks; (5) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-emîlî, for the selection of examiners; (6) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fâyizî, for the selection of accountants; (7) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fikrî, for the selection of lecturers for the imperial theological seminaries; (8) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-nâmârî, for the selection ofppers for the imperial theological seminaries; (9) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-mâlî, for the selection of officials; (10) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-emîlî, for the selection of clerks; (11) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fâyizî, for the selection of accountants; (12) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fikrî, for the selection of lecturers for the imperial theological seminaries; (13) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-emîlî, for the selection of clerks; (14) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-mâlî, for the selection of accountants; (15) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fâyizî, for the selection of accountants; (16) Muğlis-i-ihtisâb-i-fikrî, for the selection of lecturers for the imperial theological seminaries.

While the standing of the Shaiikh al-Islam, as of the 'ulamâ generally, is now greatly inferior to what it once was, their influence among large masses of the people is still very considerable, and to this day they form a power which cannot safely be ignored by the politicians.

4. The dervish orders. — Perhaps an even greater influence among the people is enjoyed by the dervish orders. From the foundation of the Ottoman empire they have played a great rôle in Asia Minor, as they did to some extent even before. As a matter of fact, the gradual Islamization of the Christian elements in Turkey has been their work; in their indifference towards the existing forms of religion, views of the most diverse character could find a refuge in their midst. Their ideas and ideas of slaves, as assimilated to those of the official and national religions. The order of the highest repute at the present day is the Mâlî, so called from the name of its founder, Mâlîâdî Jalâl al-Din Rûmi (q.v.), and known in the West as the Rûmî (the so-called "dancing dervishes.") The next in general regard are the Tâlî's—den the same "howling dervishes." Certain orders which at one time occupied a powerful position—e.g., the Naqshbandi, the Halvâ, the Qâdirî, etc.—have now sunk to a lower level; others, again, have been of late gradually growing in prestige—e.g., the Maliki (cf. Hartmann, Index).

The Bâqtilâsh, an order which at one time, owing to its close connexion with the Janizaries, held a position of special prominence, sank into the background after the suppression of the Bâqtilâsh by Sultan Mahmut in 1826, but have quite recently begun to display a more active spirit. In Asia Minor, and even more decidedly in Albania, this order is constantly adding to its numbers; the reason of its heterodox views it should hardly be regarded as belonging to Islam at all, but it certainly makes this claim.

It has been methodically dealt with in several recent works of great reliability, such as G. Jacob, Einzige sur l'histoire des

**MUHAMMADANISM** (in Turkey)
MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-'ARABI

Pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not return to Spain. Many of the remaining years of his life were passed in the neighbourhood of Mecca, but he also travelled extensively in Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Syria, everywhere gaining the respect of the people and spreading his doctrines in conversation with high and low, while, as behoved a good Muslim in the period of the Crusades, he called for protective measures against the Christian colonisation and encouraged his fellow-Muslims to persevere in their faith. He died at Damascus in A.D. 1240.

Whether we regard the extent of his theological writings or the number of his disciples and the rapid development of Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-'Arabi can justly claim the supreme position among Sufi authors which posterity has accorded him, and which is attested by the title, 'al-Shaikh al-Akbar,' conferred on him by the almost unanimous voice of those who are best qualified to judge.

The list of his works drawn up by himself contains 280 titles (Broedelmann, Gesch. der arab. Litteratur, iv. 443), and some of them are of enormous length. The most famous and important is the Futuhat al-Makkiyya (4 vols., Eulàq, 1876, comprising about 3500 pages). In this, as in many of his works, Ibn al-'Arabi presents to the reader truths revealed to him in ecstatic vision by prophets, angels, and even God Himself (a brief résumé of part of the contents of the Futuhat will be found in H. O. Pellat, and F. D. H.amil, The Turanian library manu. libri. senatore. Lippman., Grima, 1838, pp. 490-495). Another book, of smaller compass but equally celebrated, is the Fuguy al-Hikom, in which the author discourses upon the national and religious significance of the revelations imparted to twenty-seven prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammad. Besides the Futuhat and the Fuguy, both of which contain a considerable quantity of verse, his prose writings include a mystical commentary on the Qur'an, a collection of definitions of Sufistic technical terms, which has been edited by G. Fluegel, (Leipzig, T. 1846), and a short treatise on mystical psychology (Arab. text with Span. tr. by Asin Palacios, in Acta du xi,e Congres interant, dos orientalistes, iii. 151 ff.). He also produced several volumes of mystical poems, one of which, the Tariyimé al-suhayl (cf. with Eng. tr. by the present writer, London, 1911), has a curious history. The erotic style in which it is written gave rise to scandal, and in order to refute his accusations Ibn al-'Arabi published and dedicated to the caliph a poem accompanied by a commentary in which the mystical sense of each verse is explained. Although his interpretations are often far-fetched, the poems themselves supply evidence that there was no ground for the charge brought against him, plausible as it might appear to the uninitiated. The question of his orthodoxy was keenly debated, and, if many Muslims saw in him a dangerous heretic, others had no doubt that he was a great saint; but even his admirers recognized that the outward sense of his writings was frequently ambiguous, and that the study of them should be permitted only to those of ripe experience. At first sight, it seems hard to reconcile Ibn al-'Arabi's extreme conservatism in the sphere of religious law with his remarkably bold and fantastic speculations in the domain of theosophy. He belonged to the Zahirite school, which rejects opinion, analogy, and authority, and takes its stand on the external (zahir), literal meaning of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. His attitude in regard to legal and ritual practice was that of the literalist (zahir), who looks only at the outward form, in all matters of doctrine and belief he was pre-eminently the mystic (bâtinî), who fixes his gaze on the inward spirit and seeks to
MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-ARABI

discover the reality of which the words and letters are a symbol. As I. Goldzieder has shown (Die Zähriten, Leipzig, 1884, p. 179 ff.), the two points of view are not mutually exclusive. The Zährite procedure failed to find an expression of their own dislike for the hair-splitting pedantry of the rival schools of law, for the acceptance of external authority as the standard. 

But the Qur'anic and theosophical aspects of one Absolute Reality: the world could not exist apart from God, and, if the world did not exist, God could not be manifested and known. The terms 'creator' (al-hakim), 'light of God,' and 'manifestation' are all in one another as moments of the Absolute Being, not indeed of equal worth—since al-hakim is eternal, while khayy is contingent (i.e. eternal in the sense of being constituted as the whole universe of created things). 

Although the contrary might be inferred from some passages of his writings, he makes a distinction between the absolute and the world. His pantheism does not lead to the doctrine of incarnation (khayy) or identification (tithahid). 

Man can never say with Hallaj, 'I am God' (una al-hakim), because, over and above the constitution of his mind, he is unable to think all objects of knowledge simultaneously, as God thinks them; therefore he is only 'a truth' (khayy), not 'the Truth' (al-hakim), which is God, the Body of the universe of created things (cf. Massingham, p. 182 ff.).

In view of the scanty attention that Ibn al-Arabi has hitherto received from European scholars, it would be impossible to give a detailed account of his doctrines, and premature to make a more definite statement concerning the character of his theosophy as a whole. Much of it, of course, belongs to the common stock of Sufi speculative discussion, but there is also a great deal that appears to be original and based upon the immense store of his own mystical experiences, which he has so copiously recorded and analyzed (for his theory of destiny and the significant constitution of his mind, see Asín Palacios, "La Psicologia según Muhàhidn Aëbnàrì," in Actes du x° Congrés internat. des orientalistes, ii. 125 ff.). Among the twenty-four heretical doctrines attributed to him by Ali al-Qarî ('Ilàl al-fish yahd al-wujûd, Constantiopole, 1294 A.H.), the following are noteworthy:

(a) That man stands to God in the same relation as the pupil of the eye, which is the instrument of vision, to the eye; i.e., man is the means whereby God beholds Himself as He really is. This description refers only to the supreme type of humanity, 'the perfect man' (al-innàf al-karan), whom Ibn al-Arabi identifies with Adam as representing the class of men—prophets, saints, and theologians—that possess a unique knowledge of God (Fawqàl al-fikr, ch. i.; cf. Bi, art. 'al-innàf al-karan').

Knowledge is a process of reminiscence. In proportion as each particular soul is purified, it receives illumination from Universal Reason by means of revelation (wukhûy), and from Universal Soul by means of inspiration (ilhâm). The organ of this knowledge is the reasonable soul (al-nafis al-nàtìq), which must be distinguished from the vital or animal soul (al-rûq al-hayauk). When the former has had a spiritual connexion with the body and is incapable of sin, the animal soul, though not consciously evil, is naturally corrupt, and suffers punishment for sins committed in the flesh.

The system of Ibn al-Arabi may be described as a pantheistic monism. God and the world are two correlative and complementary aspects of one Absolute Reality: the world could not exist apart from God, and, if the world did not exist, God could not be manifested and known. The terms 'creator' (al-hakim), 'light of God,' and 'manifestation' are all logically involved in one another as moments of the Absolute Being, not indeed of equal worth—since al-hakim is eternal, while khayy is contingent (i.e. eternal in the sense of being constituted as the whole universe of created things). 

(6) That God is the 'self' (a'in) of the things that He brought into existence, for He is the 'self' of things in manifestation, though He is not the 'self' of things in changes. Therefore Ibn al-Arabi holds that the true mystic, combining the doctrines of twair and tawâlî, worships God both
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as absolutely transcendent and as externalized in
name (Fusils, etc.).

(c) That all forms of religious belief are relatively true. This follows from the proposition that God is the ‘self’ of all created things, whether they be
sensible or intelligible. Every sensible form some
notion of God, and in praising the god which he
has made he praises himself, while at the same
time he blames the gods of other sects and indi
dividuals. It would be more wise and just if he
preached of himself and dwelt in his gospel,
according to the verse (Qur'an, ii. 109), 'Whereso
ever ye turn, there is the face, i.e. the reality, of
Allah' (Fusils, ch. x. and xxvii.; cf. Tahir'um al
ashrâq, Preface, p. vii).

(d) That, even if the infidels shall remain in hell
for ever, their torments will ultimately be trans
mitted into such pleasure is as enjoyed by the
blessed in the paradise of love.

Abd al-Karim al-Jilji develops this theory in his Insin al-Kûmil (see the present
writer’s article, 'A Moslem Philosophy of Religion,' in Musîm, 3rd ser. i. i. (1919) 83 ff.). Evidently
there is no room in Ibn al-‘Arabî’s system for the
Muhammadan scheme of rewards and punishments.
The fullness of the divine wisdom as manifested in
creation requires that the spiritual capacities of
human souls shall be infinitely variously and
indefinitely expanded. His aim is to show that
correspond in the capacity eternally implicit in God’s
knowledge of every human soul before its individualiza
tion in the material world. Ibn al-‘Arabî proceeds
to show further, inasmuch as knowledge is a relation
dependent on the object known, viz. the soul and
its potential capacity, each individual is responsible
for the good and evil which are produced by that
capacity (Fusils, ch. v.); but in another passage of
the same work (ch. vii.) he declares that it is a
more profoundly mystical thought to regard the
soul as a mode of God, and its recompense as a
divine act of generosity (Ilm al-khalîq) in the form of pleasure
or pain which are felt by God Himself.

(e) That the saints are superior to the prophets.
Ibn al-‘Arabî does not state the doctrine in this
absolute way. The prophets, he says, may be
viewed in three aspects: as apostles, they bring a
religious code to their people; as prophets, they inform them about God in proportion to their own
knowledge; and, as saints, they pass away in God
and are not answerable to the world, nay universal
eternal, everlasting element in prophecy. Hence
the prophet qua saint ranks above the prophet qua
religious legislator or preacher of divine truth
(Fusils, ch. ii). Ibn al-‘Arabî compared this to the
ulamâ‘ and to appointment to the higher judicial
and university positions. Owing to the Oriental
veneration for scholars, as well as to certain privi
ges which the ulamâ‘ enjoy (such as exemption from
military service, and free, though very simple, food
and lodgings), many students enter the madrasah
who are physically unable to bear the hardships
of the student life and mentally unfit for the
full curriculum. Accordingly, the majority leave
the madrasah after from one to five years of study,
during which any tendency to independent thought
and investigation has been discouraged and a blind
devotion to tradition has been fostered. By this the
Arab religious mode of life was made the fixed principle of life. At the end of
each year’s work or the completion of each pro
fessor’s course, the student receives a certificate
(of the kind of line of life). It is a common
reigning that amount of learning. Leaving the
madrasah, he is now in the mulla class, and
receives the support of that class in the appoint
tment to some minor office, generally in some village
or small town in the provinces. He may become an
imâm, ‘leader in prayer’ (though this office is
not reserved exclusively for the mulla class), or
a teacher in a primary school (and the incapacity
of such teachers in the Orient is proverbial), or a
lecturer in some small madrasah, or even a judge
of one of the minor courts. It is the mulla as a
provincial mosque preacher who is regarded as typical of
the class. Once in office the mulla is in a more position for life, though he may be transferred from
one school or mosque to another.

Without any fixed organization, the mulls
nevertheless almost a caste. It is almost the lowest
of the three main religious orders, distinct by
the large turban and the flowing robe,
notwithstanding. In influence over the
masses and in devotion to formal
religion, the mulla class has often been likened to a priesthood
of the primitive hunter and
sages. It is even the case as far as the mulla
receives no special consecration to
office, does not in any way replace the individual
in offering prayer or sacrifice, cannot grant absolu
tion, and performs no necessary part in the rites connected with birth, circumcision, marriage, or death. But, in being the teacher of these rights and duties and the accepted adviser in questions of faith as well as of daily life, the mulla considers himself in a position above that of the other Oriental clergy—which equal at least he generally is in learning and whose superior he is in the persuasive powers of his dialectics.

In their conservative and reactionary tendencies the mullâs have generally given their support to the absolutism of temporal authorities—in Turkey especially to the Sultan as head of both the Church and the State—and they have opposed the introduction of Western culture as encouraging religious indifference and ceremonial laxity, and as substituting rationalism for their own fatalism. In Persia, however, where the Shi'ite form of Muhammadanism prevails, and where, consequently, the temporal ruler is not regarded as the head of the Church, the mullâs often exercise their popular power against the State authority, matching the despotism of the latter with their own extreme fanaticism. There the house of the mulla, like mosques and shrines in all Muhammadan lands, is an inviolable place of refuge; and Persian mullâs have often been charged with harbouring outlaws, whose services they have then used in furthering their own designs. The power of the mullâs is sometimes checked to a certain extent by that of the dervish orders, and in Turkey, India, and Egypt by the secular courts instituted in more recent times to administer the so-called 'urf ('customary law').

The mullâs in general, being sincere in their devotion to their calling, are seldom guilty of infractions of the moral law; indeed, they have generally been held to contrast favourably with the lower priesthood of other faiths. Moral probity is less marked among the Persian mullâs, however, who, at heart more devoted to Persian poetry than to Muhammadan theology, hold their own functions in light esteem. In one respect, too, the mullâs everywhere, especially those who fill the office of minor judge, are not above reproach; insamuch as the stipend furnished by the mosque endowments, and official salaries in general, are very small, the practice of usury and acceptance of bribes is frequent—an abuse which early Muhammadanism attempted to avoid by the principle that religious teachers should always have some other means of gaining a livelihood.

Despite the reactionary tendencies and the corruption generally ascribed to the mulla, the history of Muhammadanism contains the names of many mullâs conspicuous for nobility of character and devotion to absolute justice, who have risked their lives to reprove the corruption and tyranny of rulers. To-day, too, the number of clear-headed, honest leaders among the Turkish, Arabic, and Indian 'ulama is steadily increasing; not a few softâhas have been sent from Turkey to receive part of their education in Europe; in India the mullâs have sometimes warmly advocated the innovations of the English; and everywhere in the larger cities subjected to European influence the traditional type of mulla is being combated by advanced Muhammadans who, even when they are rationalists, at the same time deny that they are guilty of any defection from the fundamental principles of Muhammadanism; and fatalism is often taught, practically if not logically, as a doctrine which induces fortitude in bearing the accidents and misfortunes of life, without permitting the cessation of righteous endeavour in any cause as long as Allah has not shown, by making its failure a fait accompli, that His will and decree are opposed thereto.


W. Popper.